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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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THE SOURCES OF BEN JONSON'S *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon.*

The sources of Jonson's masque, *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon*, were Lucian's *Vera Historia* and *Icaro-Menippus*, both of which deal with trips to the moon. Jonson's indebtedness to the Greek writer is clearly indicated in the following lines :

1 Herald. No, I assure you, he rather flew upon the wings of his muse. There are in all but three ways of going thither : one is Endymion's way, by rapture in sleep, or a dream. [Cf. *Vera Historia.*[1] "And he, in return, related to us his own history, and informed us, that he also was a man, that his name was Endymion, that he had been taken away from our earth in his sleep, and brought to this place where he reigned as sovereign."] The other Menippus's way, by wing, which the poet took. [The reference is to the *Icaro-Menippus.* "I took, you must know, a very large eagle, and a vultur also, one of the strongest I could get, and cut off their wings. . . . To make wings for myself, was impossible, but to fit those of a vultur and an eagle to my body, might, I imagined, answer the same purpose. I resolved, therefore, to try the experiment, and cut off the right wing of one and the left of the other ; bound them on with thongs, and at the extremities made loops for my hands." Thus equipped, Menippus made his way directly to the moon]. The third, old Empedocles's way ; who, when he leaped into Ætna, having a dry sear body, and light, the smoke took him, and whift him up into the moon, where he lives yet waving up and down like a feather, all soot and embers, coming out of that coal-pit : our poet met him, and talk'd with him. [According to Lucian, Menippus encountered Empedocles in the moon. "On a sudden Empedocles the philosopher stood behind me, all over ashes, as black as a coal, and dreadfully scorched : when I saw him, I must own I was frightened, and took him for some dæmon of the moon ; but he came up to me, and cried out, 'Menippus, don't be afraid,

I am no god, why call'st thou me divine?

I am Empedocles the naturalist : after I had leaped into the furnace, a vapour from Ætna, carried me up hither, and here I live in the moon, and feed upon dew.' "]

Compare this last statement with the following from Jonson :

Fact. How do they live then?
1 Her. On the dew of the moon, like grasshoppers, and confer with the doppers.[2]

The motive for the journey is thoroughly characteristic of Lucian. Menippus undertakes the trip because, after listening to all the philosophers of Greece, he finds nothing but contradiction and confusion.

"I could not tell how to refuse my assent to these high-sounding and long-bearded gentlemen, and yet could find no argument amongst them all, that had not been refuted by some or other of them ; often was I on the point of giving credit to one, when, as Homer says,

To other thoughts,
My heart inclin'd.

The only way, therefore, to put an end to all my doubts, was, I thought, to make a bird of myself, and fly up to heaven."

This idea, so cleverly developed by Lucian, seems to have been in Jonson's mind when he wrote the following :

Print. Right, and as well read of you, i' faith : for Cornelius Agrippa has it, *in disco lunæ*, there 'tis found.
1 Her. Sir, you are lost, I assure you : for ours came to you neither by the way of Cornelius Agrippa, nor Cornelius Drible.
2 Her. Nor any glass of —
1 Her. No philosopher's phant'sie.
2 Her. Mathematician's perspicil.
1 Her. Or brother of the Rosie Cross's intelligence, no forced way, but by the neat and clean power of poetry.
2 Her. The mistress of all discovery.
1 Her. Who after a world of these curious uncertainties, hath employed thither a servant of her's in search of truth.

[1] The translation is by Thomas Francklin, 1780.

[2] Cf. also the following from the *Vera Historia:* "Their drink is air squeezed into a cup, which produces a kind of dew."

According to the *Vera Historia*, the moon was "like an island, round, shining, and remarkably full of light; we got on shore, and found on examination that it was cultivated, and full of inhabitants." These inhabitants, as the reader of Lucian knows, were stranger than any of the creatures described by Gulliver.

2 Her. Certain and sure news.
1 Her. Of a new world.
2 Her. And new creatures in that world.
1 Her. In the orb of the moon.
2 Her. Which is now found to be an earth inhabited.
1 Her. With navigable seas and rivers.
2 Her. Variety of nations, policies, laws.
1 Her. With havens in't, castles, and port towns.

Vera Historia: "I will now tell you every thing which I met with in the Moon, that was new and extraordinary. In the first place, they never breed there from women, but from men; they always marry males, and do not so much as know the name of woman; the men are wives till five and twenty, and then marry themselves. The fœtus is borne not in the womb, but in the calf of the leg," etc.

This doubtless inspired the following in Jonson:

1 Her. Only one island they have, is call'd the isle of the Epicœnes, because there under one article both kinds are signified, for they are fashioned alike, male and female the same; not heads and broad hats, short doublets and long points; neither do they ever untruss for distinction, but laugh and lie down in moon-shine, and stab with their poinards; you do not know the delight of the Epicœnes in moon-shine.

2 Her. And when they have tasted the springs of pleasure enough, and bill'd, and kist, and are ready to come away; the shees only lay certain eggs, (for they are never with child there,) and of these eggs are disclosed a race of creatures like men, but are indeed a sort of fowl, in part covered with feathers, (they call them VOLATEES,) that hop from island to island; you shall see a covey of them, if you please, presently . . . .

[*Enter the* VOLATEES *for the* ANTIMASQUE *and* DANCE.]

These curious creatures thus introduced for the antimasque were obviously suggested by the strange creatures of the *Vera Historia*. The moon, according to Lucian, was peopled with such monsters. There were many kinds.

"As we were advancing forwards, we were seized on a sudden by the Hippogypi,[1] for so it seems they were called by the inhabitants; these Hippogypi are men carried upon vulturs, which they ride as we do horses: these vulturs have each three heads, and are immensely large: you may judge of their size, when I tell you that one of their feathers is bigger than the mast of a ship. The Hippogypi have orders, it seems, to fly round the kingdom, and if they find any stranger, to bring him to the king." The Lachanopteri were "very large birds, whose feathers are of a kind of herb, and whose wings look like lettuces." Other creatures, equally curious, made up the lunar population.

Most important of all, Jonson introduces the Volatees upon the stage with the following lines:

> Then know we do not move these wings so soon
> On which our poet mounted to the moon,
> Menippus like, but all 'twixt it and us,
> Thus clears and helps to the presentment, thus
> [*Enter the* VOLATEES.]

These lines are meaningless unless the reader is familiar with Lucian's dialogue. Menippus, when he reached the moon, perceived the earth as a very small speck.

"I could not find the high mountains, and the great sea; and, if it had not been for the Rhodian Colossus, and the tower of Pharos, should not have known where the earth stood. . . . When I beheld the earth, but could not distinguish the objects upon it, on account of the immense distance, I was horribly vexed at it, and ready to cry, when, on a sudden, Empedocles the philosopher stood behind me. . . . 'Menippus, don't be afraid. . . . I am come to free you from your present distress . . . and now, how shall we contrive to make you see clear?' 'That, by Jove,' said I, 'I cannot guess, unless you can take off this mist from my eyes, for they are horribly dim at present.' 'You have brought the remedy along with you.'[2] 'How so!' 'Have you not got an eagle's wing?' 'True, but what has that to do with an eye?' 'An eagle, you know, is more sharp sighted than any other creature, and the only one that can look against the sun: your true royal bird is known by never winking at the rays, be they ever so strong.' 'So I have heard, and I am sorry I did not, before I came up, take out my own eyes and put in the eagle's.'

[1] Literally *horse vultures*, from ἵππος and γυψ. Volatees is a word coined by Jonson from the Latin *volitare*. Cf. *volaticus*, flying, winged.

[2] In his translation, Francklin inadvertently ran together as one speech this and the preceding sentence.

'You may have one royal eye, for all that, if you please; it is only when you rise up to fly, holding the vultur's wing still, and moving the eagle's only; by which means, you will see clearly with one, though not at all with the other.' . . . I acted as he advised me, and no sooner moved my eagle's wing, than a great light came all around me, and I saw everything as clear as possible: looking down to earth, I beheld distinctly cities and men, and every thing that passed amongst them.''

If I interpret correctly, the Heralds, when they appeared on the stage, were fitted with wings as was Menippus. During the four lines just quoted, they moved their wings gently. This, like an enchantment, was supposed to bring to the vision of the spectators the surface of the moon peopled with Volatees.

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PARTINUPLÉS DE BLES. AN EPISODE IN TIRSO'S *Amar por Señas*. LOPE'S *La viuda valenciana*.

Bödtker[1] has recently published a masterly treatment of *Parténopeus de Blois*, in European literature, correcting and completing the various studies by Kölbing, Massman and others, although primarily concerned only with the relations of the Icelandic and Danish versions to the Old French poem. On the whole, one needs must subscribe to the classification proposed by Bödtker,[2] but there are certain tests which he has neglected to use, and which might modify his classification in minor details. Some points may be mentioned here for reconsideration. No use has been made, for instance, of Weingärtner,[3] and the fragment published by Wülker from the Lord Robartes' manuscript,[4] has received no mention whatsoever. I would not insist upon the importance of this fragment, and refer to it merely for the sake of completeness. No copy of the Crapelet edition of *Parténopeus de Blois* being accessible to me, I refrain from discussing its relation to the other English fragments, or to the Old French poem. It doubtless belongs to the group Y. Long since, Köhler, in a discussion of a passage in the *Orlando Furioso*,[5] threw out a hint that might have served both Bödtker and Sneyders de Vogel[6] in good stead. Such an episode—*das vom Sterbenden nicht vollendete Wort*[7]—is a very important one for fixing the filiation of the various versions and adaptations. It is not in Konrad von Würzburg's version, nor in those of the Peninsula. How far this is due to chance, it would be impossible to determine. As for the Spanish and Catalan versions, it will be seen below that exception may be made to Bödtker's classification.

Before coming to the subject proper of this article, attention may be called to the striking use of the Spanish name Urraque in *Parténopeus*.—Of the soil too is the episode in which the hero on his return to the enchanted palace is heart-broken because he has forgotten to bid farewell to the fifty Spanish subjects at the court of the French king.—In some of the manuscripts of *Parténopeus*, the spelling Urra*cle* is found; but the rime with *miracle* puts us on our guard against a learned orthography.[8] The name is extremely rare in mediæval French literature, if, indeed, it occurs at all outside of the poem in discussion. Diligent search in the *chansons de geste*—confirmed by Langlois' *Table des noms propres . . . dans les chansons de geste*,—and in *romans d'aventure*, etc., has revealed not a single instance of its use. In the name and episode referred to we may simply have another instance of Spanish and French interrelations during the twelfth century,[9]

[1] *Parténopeus de Blois. Étude comparative . . . par* A. Trampe Bödtker. *Videnskabs-Selskabets Skrifter, II. Hist.-Filos. Kl. 1904, No. 3.*

[2] Cf. Stengel's favorable, although brief, review in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1905, cols. 34–35.

[3] *Die mittelengl. Fassungen der P.-sage und ihr Verhältnis zum altfranz. Originale.* Breslau, 1888.

[4] *Anglia*, Vol. XII, pp. 607 ff. Cf. also Kölbing, *Englische Studien*, Vol. XIV, pp. 435–7.

[5] *Eine Stelle in Ariostos Orlando Furioso und Nachahmungen derselben. Archiv*, 1876. Cf. *Kleinere Schriften*, Vol. III, pp. 1 ff.

[6] *La suite du Parthénopeu de Blois et la version Hollandaise, Revue des langues romanes*, 1905, pp. 5 ff.

[7] Melior does not die, however, on pronouncing *Parto-*, but her voice grows feeble as she concludes with—*nopeu.*

[8] Cf. *Saint Jaque: Romacle*, [Fabliau] Du chevalier à la robe vermeille.

[9] Cf. Puymaigre, *Revue Hispanique*, 1895, pp. 163 ff.

rather than an indication that the legend first appeared in the Peninsula.

The object of the present article is, however, to define more exactly the bibliography of the chap-book as printed in the Peninsula, and to attempt a classification of the many prints.[10]

Castilian I. 1513?–1705?

On account of the erroneous reference given by Antonio to an edition, printed at Tarragona, 1488 (most recently discussed by Haebler, *Bibliografía Ibérica del siglo XV*), it used to be argued that the earliest edition published in Spain was Catalan. Hence, too, certain theories as to Catalan authorship (cf. Gallardo, No. 1017 n.). The earliest edition seems to have been one published at Alcalá de Henares, 1513. Haebler refers to a copy in the University Library at Barcelona, without date or place. He feels sure that it did not appear before 1500; but he fails to give further details. The Castilian editions up to 1705(?) followed the Alcalá text very closely; then appeared a new adaptation, the work of a certain Gaspar Aldana (*cf. infra*).

*1513. Alcalá de Henares. Mentioned in the Bure catalogue. Probably lost. Cf. Gallardo, No. 1017.

? (1515. Alcalá de Henares. Referred to by Moratín, a careless bibliographer, in his *Orígines del teatro*. Cf. Rivad., Vol. II, p. 174. The title is the same as in the edition just cited, and the inference is that 1515 ought to read 1513.)

1526. Toledo. The oldest edition now accessible, (Mazarine Library). Described by Gallardo, No. 1018, etc.

*1547. Burgos. Cf. Gallardo, No. 1020. Bib. del Excmo. Sr. D. José de Salamanca. Amador de los Rios, Vol. VII, p. 377, n. 1. Brunet states that there is a copy in the Mazarine Library; if so, it was not accessible to me in 1903–4 when I copied the Toledo text.

Alcalá [de Henares] referred to by Ebert. The cataloguers of the British Museum Library make the query whether the mutilated edition described below is of this date and place. Buckley's reference in his edition of the English version of *Parténopeus, Roxburghe Club*, 1862, p. xxxvi, is apparently not at first-hand.

*1548. Sevilla, Ebert, etc. Details in Gallardo, No. 1022. I have not succeeded in finding a copy of this edition.

? (1558. Sevilla, cited by Conchu (*Bibliothèque des Romans*, dec. 1779). The description of this edition corresponds with the Sevilla edition of 1548, and may be an error (?). No copy known.)

1560? Sevilla? British Mus. Mutilated copy. Cf. above, edition of Alcalá, 1547. Gallardo refers to this edition, No. 1021. Read, however, muye | forçado (sic). It was published probably about 1560, and in Sevilla, as may be inferred from the fact that two copies of another chap-book (*La historia del rey Canamor*), in apparently the same series, are dated 1567 and 1588 respectively. The colophon of the second states that the work was printed *en Sevilla, en casa de Sebastian Trugillo.* In both, however, although the press-work is strikingly alike, the title is in red, not in black, as in the *Partinuplés* text.

Gallardo, No. 1019, refers to an edition in the British Museum, without date or place. But such a text (in Gothic letter) is no longer there. It might repay the pains to compare Gallardo's description with the copy in the University of Barcelona.

1623. Valladolid. Bibl. Nat. Paris. Inv. Res. Ybis 1,077. Sign. A_2-F_4. *El Conde Partinuples* (wood-cut: draped horse, prancing). *Libro del esforçado cauallero el Conde Partinuples,* | que fue Emperador de Constantinopla. Impresso con licencia en | Valladolid, por la viuda de Francisco Fernandnz [sic] de Cordoua, Año de 1623.

? (1643. Sevilla. Referred to at first-hand by Conchu alone. Cf. Gallardo, No. 1024.)

*1643. Sevilla. The unique copy of this edition, different from the one just referred to, is in the University Library of Göttingen. I am indebted to Dr. Reicke for the following description: *El Conde Partinuples, La coronica de el muy valiente, y esforçado Cauallero el Conde Partinuples, y de sus grandes hechos en Armas* . . . Impresso en Seuilla, por Pedro Gomez de Pastrana. A la Esquina de la Carcel Real. Año de 1643.

*1693. Sevilla. Cf. Gallardo, No. 1025.

Castilian II. 1705?–1856?

About 1700 appeared an abridged edition of *Partinuplés* "*compvesta*" by a certain Gaspar Aldana. About Aldana the works accessible to me are silent. His text follows the original rather closely, but the following changes are to be noted: The Pope's niece, who is to become Partinuplés' wife, is given a name, Elenisa; Gaudin becomes Guadin. There are minor changes in the wording, but the plot remains the same. Aldana's text was reprinted as in the 1705? edition until about 1856?.

1705? Madrid. *Historia* | *del Noble, y esforzado Cauallero,* | *el conde* | *Partinuples,* | *Emperador* | *de*

[10] Texts of which there are inadequate descriptions, or which have not been examined by the present writer, are marked by an asterisk, and are classified by inference alone.

Constantinopla. | *Compvesta por Gaspar Aldana.* (Wood-cut: knight on horse-back.) *Con licẽcia: En Madrid, por Francisco Sanz.* . . . In fol. Without date, but another chap-book (*La historia de Carlo Magno*) in the same series, is dated 1705. Bibl. Nac., Madrid.

*1739. Madrid. *Historia* | *del muy noble,* | *y esforzado cavallero* | *el conde Partinuplés* | *emperador* | *de Constantinopla* | *compvesta* | *por Gaspar* | *Aldana* | *Año* (wood-cut, knight on horse-back, between banners) *1739. Hallarase en Madrid en la Imprenta de Antonio Sanz* | *en la Plazuela de la calle de la Paz* | . 40 pp., 4to. This edition has been neglected by bibliographers. The only copy is at the Royal Library, Berlin, and I owe the description of it to the kindness of Dr. Perlbach.

1756. Madrid. *Historia* | *del muy noble,* | *y esforzado cauallero* | *el conde* | *Partinoples* . . . *compuesta* | *por Gaspar Aldana,* (wood-cut: two knights attacking each other), *Año 1756. Hallaráse en Madrid en la Imprenta de* | *Antonio Sanz* . . . *In fol.* Brit. Mus.

1756. Valencia. Salvá, No. 1655.

1800? Córdoba. *Historia* | *del muy noble y esforzado caballero* | *El conde Partinuples* | . . . *compuesta por Gaspar Aldana.* | *Con licencia: En Cordoba, en la imprenta de D. Rafael Garcia* | *Rodriguez, Calle de la Libreria.* This edition Salvá (No. 1654) places about 1750, but in one of the chap-books of this series (Bibl. Nat., Paris, Inv. Res. Y² 1,040), *Historia del descubrimiento de las tierras de los Gigantes,* there is a reference to an event which occurred in 1792. A copy in the Bibl. Nac., Madrid, also in Brit. Mus., whose catalogue asks whether this edition is of the year 1820.

Castilian III. 1856—.

About 1856 there appeared in Madrid an abridged and sorely mutilated version of Aldana's text. This process of mutilation and curtailment was not limited to our chap-book, but is noticeable in a large number of others. It is these garbled editions that the vendors of *libros de cordel* to-day sell in the markets and highways of Spain, with their characteristic cry: *leyenda! leyenda! mejor que en los libros* [sic!]. The most important changes in the text are: Julian becomes Juan; Melior is now called Leonisa (a corruption of Elenisa, the Pope's niece, and now no longer named?); Urraque becomes Oriana,[11] but is no longer Melior's step-sister, but a lady-in-waiting; Guadin's (sic) marriage is not mentioned at all.

1856. Madrid. (Wood-cut: knight addressing a lady on a throne.) *Historia* | *del muy noble y esforzado caballero* | *conde Partinoples* | *el cual llegó á ser emperador de Constantinopla* | *Reformada y compendiada de la que compuso Gaspar Aldana* | *Madrid.* | *Se hallará de venta en la Plaza de Riego* . . . *1856.* 7 chapters, 32 pages, 4°.

1878. Madrid. *Historia* | *del muy noble y esforzado caballero* | *Conde Partinoples,* . . . *Reformada, etc. Madrid: 1878.* | *Despacho calle de Juanelo, num. 19.* 4 pliegos, 4°.

1880? Madrid, Barcelona. *Historia del muy noble* | *y esforzado caballero* | *conde Partinoples* | *Reformada, etc.* | *Despachos:* | *Madrid* | *Hernando, Arenal* || *Barcelona* | *Bou de la Plaza Nueva, 13.* 4 pliegos, 4°. I have a copy.

Castilian IV. Unclassified.

*1700. Barcelona? Valladolid? Gayangos, Rivad., Vol. XL, p. lxxxii, states that Salvá in the *Repertorio Americano* refers to an edition of about the year 1700, without date or place, but probably of Barcelona or Valladolid.

1842. Barcelona. *Historia* | *del esforçado cavallero* | *Partinoples* | *conde de Bles;* | . . . *ahora nuevamente traducida de la lengua catalana* | *en la nuestra castellana* . . . *En Barcelona:* | *Por José Torner* | *calle del Regomí No. 22* | *1842.* 4°. This edition is the *only* Castilian text translated from Catalan. The work is preceded by a prologue by the "*editores*" (*i. e.*, publishers). They state, among other remarks, that the Castilian edition indicated by Moratín (*cf. supra*) being inaccessible to them, they have been obliged to resort to the *traducción catalana que corre en dos* [sic] *distintas impresiones, una de Barcelona y otra de Tarragona. Tenemos noticia de otra edición mas antigua también catalana, que no nos ha sido dable ver por lo mucho que escasean los ejemplares* . . . The only old Catalan edition of Barcelona that has been recorded is the one cited by Brunet (cf. *infra*). The Tarragona edition may be the one of 1700?, and the older print referred to would be the Tarragona edition of 1588. The archaisms in this translation are striking and puzzling, *e. g.*: vido = vió (p. 167); en le viendo Guadin, demandógele (p. 168); habedes (*ibid.*); estonçe (*ibid.*); los sus dos pages (p. 169), etc. These are not Catalanisms, but why should archaic speech be affected in such a work? I have a copy. Bibl. Nac., Madrid.

Catalan I. 1588–.

Morel-Fatio (*Grundriss der roman. Phil.*, II, 2, p. 124) repeats the doubts of previous critics, (1) as to whether the Catalan version is derived from a French or Provençal

[11] From *Amadís*; Leonisa and Elenisa recall Elisena of the same work.

origin, or (2) whether it is a translation from the Castilian. It may be noted, (1) that no Provençal edition is recorded, (2) that the earliest known Catalan edition appeared seventy-five years after the first Castilian edition, and, moreover, distinctly states on the title page, *novament traduyda de llengua castellana en la nostra cathalana.* But,—and here's the rub,—was this Catalan edition based on the Castilian version as it has come down to us? The oldest Catalan edition, now accessible, is one of Tarragona, 1700? (*cf. infra*). The title corresponds closely with that of the 1588 edition described by Gallardo, No. 1023, and one may infer that the contents are the same. It is true that the Catalan editions, without exception, bear on the title-page the words, *novament traduyda*, etc., but, as will be seen in the bibliographical examination below, the remark is merely reprinted from previous editions, an examination of the editions subsequent to 1700, at least, showing no influence of the Castilian text. To return to the difficulty noted above, Gaudin in the Catalan version *se feu Christiã, y fonch casat ab la Donzella Urraca.* Castilian, Nos. I, II, simply state, *desque fue tornado christiana luego lo hizo condestable de su imperio z lo caso con vna donzella hija dalgo z muy hermosa* (the edition of 1705? *con una Dama muy noble y muy hermosa*). In Castilian No. III, no mention of Gaudin's marriage is made. Castilian, No. IV, follows the Catalan version. Is it a mere coincidence that the earliest Castilian edition in this detail resembles all the manuscripts of the Old French version, except the Arsenal copy, whereas the Catalan text is like the versions of the North and the Italian story of Gherardino and Fata Bianca? It would appear then (1) that the words, *novament traduyda* are a figment, or, (2) that an intermediate Castilian text, differing in this respect from the extant version, has been lost. At any rate, Bödtker's classification requires some readjustment, or a more satisfactory solution of the problem just raised.

*1588. Tarragona. Cf. Gallardo, No. 1033.

1700? Tarragona. *Assi comensa | la general historia | del Esforçat cavaller . . . y al ultim và anyadida una Decima burlesca* (wood-cut: knight with lance). *Tarragona: Per Magí Canals Estamper, y Llibreter, al carrer Mayor.* 4°. n. d. Bibl. Nac., Madrid. Brit. Mus.

1700? An imperfect copy in the Bibl. Nac., Madrid (R. 8316), is very similar to the edition just described. Last page (182) begins, *llur estat: y nostre Senyor Jesu Christ.* n. d.

1700? Gerona. Three editions appeared at Gerona, published by the Bros. (a) Gallardo, No. 1026 (*Joseph Bró . . . en la Plaza del Vi*); a copy in the Imperial library at Vienna. (b) I have a copy similar to the one just mentioned, but *Per Joseph Bró, als quatre Cantons.* Buckley had a copy of this edition *op. cit.*, p. xlvii). (c) Gallardo notes a third, *Per Jaume Bró*, 8°. My friend, M. Lemaître, gives me the following details of another Gerona edition (likewise without date), at the Bibl. Nat. Paris (Y² 14706), *Assi comensa | la general historia | del esforsat cavaller | Partinoples | comptes* [*sic*] *de Bles, y apres fonch | emperador de Constantinolla* [sic?] *Novament traduhida de llengua castellana | etc.* (Wood-cut, as in Gerona edition (b). *Ab llicencia | Gerona: en la estampa de Anton Olivia, estamper, y llibreter en las ballesterras.* 8°, 155 pp. and 5 not paginated, containing likewise the *obligaciò que tenen los marits, y las mollers*, also the *Decimas burlescas*[?]

*1700? Barcelona. Brunet refers to an edition, without date, published by Rafel Figuero. 8°.

1720. Vich. *Assi comensa | la general historia | del esforzat | Cavaller | Partinoples, | Comte de Bles: y apres | . . .* (wood-cut, as in previously cited Catalan prints). Vich: *Per Joan Dorca, y Morera Estamper.* 164 pp. Brit. Mus. Bibl. Nac., Madrid.

1844. Barcelona. *Historia | del esforçat cavaller | Partinobles | Compte de Bles. | y apres fonch | Emperador . . . Escrita* [sic!] *en nostra llengua Catalana. | Barcelona: Estampa de Miguel Borras . . .* 1844. Small octavo. Bibl. Nac., Madrid.

. . . . . .

Readers of Tirso de Molina's *Amor por señas* (1606?) must have been struck by the peculiar atmosphere of mystery that pervades Act I, with vague reminiscences of *Partinoplés de Bles*, all confirmed by Montoya's remark:

> Si te encanta
> *qualche* princesa o infanta,
> llámate Partinuplés.
> (Ed. 1839, Vol. VIII, p. 27.)

There can be little doubt but that the introductory episode of this play is a conscious reproduction, or adaptation, of the chap-book under discussion,—and the result is an infinitely more valuable product than Ana Caro's mediocre comedia, *El conde Partinuplés.* Calderon, somewhat later, imitated the first act of *Amar por señas* in *El encanto sin encanto* (*Jornada segunda, escena XVI*, to the end of the play). The story of *Partinuplés de Bles* haunted the writers of Spain, more especially during the first half of the seventeenth century, as might be shown by the constant reference to our hero.[12]

[12] The earliest reference is probably in the *glosa* to the *romance:*

Oh Belerma! Oh Belerma!
Por mi mal fuiste engendrada. The *glosa* may be read in

It will be recalled that the scene of *Amar por señas* is in France (Lorraine).[13] Gabriel is enamoured of Beatriz, who, however, is to wed his master. He flees from Lorraine. Meanwhile a servant of Beatriz overtakes him and deprives him of his *maleta* in the hope that their mistress may thus identify Gabriel whom she loves. He pursues the thief and is finally lost in a *Sala de la quinta. Una chimenea; un torno como de monjas en la pared, una luz en un bufete.* He exclaims:

> Hombre ¿ estás encantado?
> Cuando corro tras ti por bosque y prado,
> sus alas te da el viento;
> si te pierdo de vista, a paso lento
> me aguardas; . . .
> Siguiéndote me traes de sala en sala,
> despues que en esta quinta
> entraste, que de Circe hechizos pinta;
> sola y deshabitada,
> de luces y tápices adornada.
> A nadie en ella veo.
> O loco estoy, o lo que sueño creo.

The thief extinguishes the light and escapes, leaving Gabriel alone. Meanwhile the lacquey, Montoya, has been let down the chimney. The *torno* revolves, *con dos luces en candeleros de plata, recado para escribir y un billete.* Presently it revolves again: *Vuelvese el torno con luz y con un tabaque grande y curioso lleno de comida: Cubrenle unos manteles, y sobre ellos viene otro papel.*

At this point the lacquey exclaims:

> Si te encanta
> *qualche* princesa o infanta,
> llámate Partinuplés.

Here the element of mystery comes to a close and the resemblance to the story of *Partinuplés de Bles* ceases. Not to be overlooked, however, is Filipo's remark (p. 89) to Armesinda, *Condesa de Bles eres.*[14]

It seems to have escaped the notice of critics that the plot of Lope de Vega's *La viuda valenciana* (*ca.* 1604)[15] is strikingly reminiscent of *Partinuplés.* This a brief analysis of the play will show: Leonarda, a rich widow, living in retirement, is averse to all thoughts of a second marriage. But one day she sees Camilo and becomes enamoured of him. Lest she incur criticism for her fickleness, more especially as she has long repelled the advances of suitors, she has Camilo meet her servant, by night, at a certain bridge. There he is blindfolded and conducted to her presence. She forbids him ever to attempt to see her. These mysterious interviews are continued for some time, until Camilo determines, even at the risk of his life, to solve the mystery. To this end he conceals a lantern under his cloak; on producing it, she cries out. Her uncle enters, and, to be brief, she is obliged to admit her love for Camilo, and concludes by marrying him.

It would be difficult to decide whether Lope took the suggestion for this plot from Apuleius, or from *Partinuplés.* The *Golden Ass* was a familiar book in Spain; moreover, Lope makes Camilo say,—in reply to the servant's suggestion that he take along a lantern,—

> Podráme costar la vida,
> Floro, aqueste atrevimiento;
> Que si Psíques vió al Amor,
> A quien á escuras gozaba
> Perdió la gloria en que estaba,
> Y negoció su dolor.
> (ed. *Rivad.*, p. 80 c.)

On the other hand, Lope's plot resembles that of *Partinuplés* more closely, especially in the following important details: firstly, in the matter of the sexes of the protagonists, and, secondly, in the conclusion. In the story of Cupid and Psyche, it is Cupid who forbids Psyche to attempt to see

Gallardo, Vol. I, col. 588; *ibid.*, col. 822. Salvá, Vol. I, pp. 29–30, refers to a copy of about 1530. The reference to Hernando de Andrada, a general under Charles V, might help to fix the date more precisely. A reference by Loyola (Macedonio de) in his *Viaje y naufragio de Macedonio de Loyola*, 1587, shows how *Partinuplés* had by the end of the sixteenth century become part and parcel of Spanish literature, as much as *Amadís de Gaula*, or the *Doce Pares.*

[13] The contents of the *Partinuplés* chap-book are easily accessible in Dunlop's *History of Fiction*, 1888, Vol. I, pp. 406 ff., or of the Old French poem in Gröber's *Grundriss*, Vol. II, pp. 586–7. Tirso's play is quoted from the 1839 edition, Vol. VIII.

[14] It may be noted here that the reference in *Don Gil de las Calzas verdes*, ed. Bourland, 1901, pp. 142–3, is not to what is distant so much as to what is mysterious. Cf. especially, *El Castigo del penséque*, Vol. V, p. 135; and *El Amparo de los hombres*, fol. 7 vo. in the copy of the Royal Library at Munich. A good instance is in Tirso, vol. V, p. 292.

[15] Not 1619, as in Rennert, p. 263. For plays based on the Apuleius story, see Schmidt, *Die S. Calderon's*, ch. 76.

him. In Apuleius, too, the irate god flies from Psyche, leaving her a prey to remorse. In *Partinuplés*, on the contrary, Melior is, indeed, wroth, but a marriage finally ensues.

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CYNEWULF, *Christ* 1320.

In the note on *synrūst* in my edition, reproduced from *Mod. Lang. Notes*, I was not able to refer the idea to an earlier source than Prudentius. I should have done better to turn to Gregory the Great, or rather to the 24th chapter of Ezekiel. The passage in Gregory is (Migne 77. 71) :

'Hine rursum scriptum est [Ezek. 24. 12] : "Multo labore sudatum est, et non exivit de ea nimia rubigo ejus, neque per ignem." Ignem quippe nobis tribulationis admovet, ut in nobis rubiginem vitiorum purget ; sed nec per ignem rubiginem amittimus, quando et inter flagella vitio non caremus.'

The passage from Gregory is thus translated by Alfred (Sweet's ed., 269. 11–17) :

'Bi ðǣm ilean is eft āwriten : "Ðǣr wæs suīðe suīðlic gesuinc, and ðǣr wæs micel swāt āgoten, and ðēah ne meahte monn him of āniman ðone miclan rūst, ne furðum mid fȳre ne meahte hiene mon āweg ādōn." Hē ūs stiereð mid fȳres broce, forðǣmðe hē wolde from ūs ādōn ðone rūst ūrra unðeāwa, ac wē ðēah for ðǣm broce ðæs fȳres nyllað ālǣtan from ūs ðæt rūst ðāra unnyttra weorca, ðonne wē on ðǣre suingellan nyllað gebētan ūre unðēawas.'

Ezekiel begins the use of the word in 24. 6 : 'Væ civitati sanguinum, ollæ cujus rubigo in ea est, et rubigo ejus non exivit de ea' ; and continues it in 24. 11, leading up to the verse quoted by Gregory : 'Pone quoque eam super prunas vacuam, ut incalescat, et liquefiat æs ejus ; et conflatur in medio ejus inquinamentum ejus, et consumatur rubigo ejus.'

Jerome, in his commentary on Ezekiel (Migne 25. 226), makes *rubigo* = *malitia*.

It appears from the foregoing that my conjecture that *rubigo*, rather than *ærugo*, underlies Cynewulf's word, is corroborated by the verses in Ezekiel, and their interpretation by Latin commentators.

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SOME NOTES ON *La Constante Amarilis* OF CHRISTOVAL SUAREZ DE FIGUEROA.

The pastoral romances were received with great favour in Spain in the latter part of the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth century. Many illustrious poets, among them Cervantes and Lope de Vega, followed in the footsteps of the Portuguese Jorge de Montemayor, who had introduced this new form of literature into Spain. Suarez de Figueroa's pastoral romance, *La Constante Amarilis*, was published at Valencia, 1609, and the *Aprobacion* was signed August 1, of that year. Figueroa himself did not seem to think highly of his work, but it was praised by Cervantes in the *Viaje del Parnaso :*

> "Figueroa estotro, el Doctorado,
> Que cantó de Amarili la Constancia
> En dulce prosa, y verso regalado." [1]

In 1614 a French translation of the *Constante Amarilis* by N. Lancelot, was printed at Lyon.

According to our eyes, the pastoral romances have many faults. We complain of their artificiality and of their incongruities, just as the authors themselves must have done, for no one laughed at them more heartily than Cervantes, in his *Coloquio de los Perros*. However, in Spain, the pastoral romances served a capital purpose, they allowed the poet to celebrate his patron or his friends with enough disguise to prevent the flattery from being too apparent. Montemayor is the protagonist of his *Diana*,[2] under the name of Sireno, and Lope de Vega tells us that Diana was a lady of Valencia de Don Juan.[3] Cervantes followed suit and introduced some of his friends as shepherds in the *Galatea*. Lope de Vega celebrated the young Duke Antonio de Alba

[1] According to Barrera, *Nueva Biografia de Lope de Vega*, p. 307, Figueroa is the "*forte calvo cuidam, tuberosi admodum vultus*" mentioned in the *Expostulatio Spongiæ*. It is interesting as giving us the only hint we have of the personal appearance of our author. Clemencin, note to *Don Quixote*, vol. VI, p. 441, conjectured that the *Amarilis* of Figueroa was, perhaps, the actress Maria de Cordoba, merely from the fact, I presume, that the actress was generally known under the name of *Amarilis*.

[2] Ticknor, *Historia de la literatura española*. Sp. translation, Vol. III, p. 277.

[3] *Dorotea*, Act II, scene ii ; Ticknor, *idem*.

as Anfriso in his *Arcadia*, and he himself appeared as Belardo, a poetical name he had assumed at the beginning of his career.[4] In introducing well-known personages into his story, Figueroa merely followed tradition.

He tells us the history of the composition of the *Constante Amarilis* in his *Passagero*, which appeared in 1617.[5] He says that some years before, a friend had come to him and begged him to celebrate the beauty and constancy of his sweetheart in a pastoral romance like the *Galatea* or *Arcadia*. The lover was so persistent that Figueroa was obliged to accept the task, which was not at all congenial to him. He was forced to work rapidly, for the lover constantly annoyed him and urged him to finish the story as soon as possible. In two months the book was completed, though the author was far from satisfied with it, owing to the haste with which it had been written.

In the prologue to the reader,[6] Figueroa tells us his intention was to celebrate the constancy and suffering of two persecuted lovers, from the beginning of their lives until their happy marriage. In his dedication of the book to D. Vincencio Guerrero, Marques de Montebelo, he says: "These discourses contain a recent story of such worthy love, that the most ardent lovers can learn from it to attain what they desire by long suffering."

The outline of the story of the *Constante Amarilis* is quite simple. Damon, a shepherd from the banks of the Pisuerga, comes to a fair and spacious plain, three leagues from Madrid, where the shepherds and shepherdesses under the leadership of Menandro, devote themselves to rustic life and more particularly to love-making. Damon is kindly received by Menandro, who promises to take him under his protection and who tells him the sad story of his love affairs. He had fallen passionately in love with his cousin Amarilis, who was shut up in a convent, and they had promised to marry each other. However, the match was bitterly opposed by the family of Amarilis; the affair was brought to the King's attention and both Menandro and Amarilis were kept in confinement. Near the end of the book, we are told that Menandro's wedding would soon be celebrated, for a dispensation had been received from the Pope, allowing the cousins to marry. We have here all the elements of a romantic love story; namely, abduction of a girl from a convent, consequent disgrace, King's displeasure, blood relationship makes union still more difficult, and then the *deus ex machina* appears to untie the knot, a dispensation from the Pope arrives. This looks like pure fiction, but as we shall see, it is an absolutely true story.

The marriage celebrated by Figueroa in *La Constante Amarilis* was that of D. Juan Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza with doña María de Cardenas, daughter of D. Bernardino de Cardenas, Duque de Maqueda, and of doña Luisa Manrique de Lara, Duquesa de Nágera. Both parties belonged to the highest nobility of Spain. D. Juan Andrés de Mendoza was a son of D. García Hurtado de Mendoza, fourth Marqués de Cañete, whose heroic deeds in Chile are told in Ercilla's *Araucana*,[7] Pedro de Oña's *Arauco Domado* and in other epic poems and dramas. When his love-affair with Doña María de Cardenas (Amarilis) took place, D. Juan Andrés was about forty-three years old, and had already been twice married, the first time to doña María Pacheco, by which marriage he had a son, D. García de Mendoza, and the second time to doña María de la Cerda.[8] Our sources of information in regard to the love-affair of Menandro and Amarilis are Cabrera de Córdoba's *Relaciones* and Figueroa's life of D. García de Mendoza, the father of D. Juan Andrés. These accounts agree so closely with the story as told in *La Constante Amarilis* that there can be no doubt as to the identity of the leading characters.

[4] H. A. Rennert, *Life of Lope de Vega*, p. 102, also *Spanish Pastoral Romances*, Baltimore, 1892, p. 70, note.

[5] *El Passagero*, Madrid, 1617, fol. 96–97 b.

[6] The references are to the edition of Madrid, 1781.

[7] The heroic deeds of the Marquis de Cañete are told in the *Araucuna*, it is true, but the name of the Marquis is rarely mentioned. The lukewarmness of Ercilla is due to the harsh and unjust manner in which he was treated by the Marquis. Indeed, the objections which Suarez de Figueroa found to the *Araucana* were: 1) "que calló a D. Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza en su *Araucana*; 2) que este silencio procedió de la ingratitud de su ánimo, obligado por otra parte de muchos favores, que habia recibido de su mano; 3) que su historia quedó como apócrifa." See the introduction to the ed. of the *Araucana*, Madrid, 1781, vol. I, p. xxi.

[8] Lopez de Haro, *Nobiliaro*, II, p. 353.

Damon, the shepherd from the banks of the Pisuerga, is Figueroa himself.[9] On page 19 of the *Constante Amarilis*, we are told that Menandro loved with firm intention and promise of marriage, the peerless Amarilis. Cabrera de Córdoba, in his delightful *Relaciones*, in a letter dated Madrid, September 29, 1607, gives us our first information about this third matrimonial venture of D. Juan Andrés de Mendoza :

"Ha sucedido que la duquesa de Nágera tenía su hija mayor Doña María en un Monasterio de Torrijos, y por algunos medios que hubo don Hurtado, hijo del Marqués de Cañete, fué allá, y delante de un escribano se decían palabra de casarse, y poder para traer dispensacion para efectuarlo.[10] Esto llegó á la noticia de la Duquesa, que lo tomó con mucho sentimiento, y prendieron á don Hurtado y le tienen con dos guardas en casa de un alcalde de Corte, y enviaron otro alcalde al monasterio para que guardase á la dicha doña María, que nadie la hable ni la pueda dar ni recibir de ella recaudos ni dádivas, y se puso pena á la Duquesa y al Duque su hijo para que no puedan ir allá. Dícese que la Duquesa mostraba poca voluntad á la hija y quería que fuese religiosa, y por no quererlo ser, la trataba con aspereza, y no le daba lo que habia menester, y fué necessario acudir al consejo para que la mandase dar alimentos ; y este rigor ha sido causa de lo que ha sucedido y querer la Duquesa casar otra hija menor con grande dote ; y ha mandado S. M. que no se escriba sobre este negocio, lo que hace creer tendrá efecto el casamiento." [11]

Figueroa also tells of this proposed marriage :

"Mientras atendía a esto, se le recreció una ocasion de gravissimo cuidado. Esto fué el tratado casamiento du su mayorazgo con Doña María de Cardenas, hija de los Duques de Maqueda y Nájera. Hizieronse de la otra parte para impedirle las diligencias possibles, (por tener ya de otro matrimonio hijo varon sucesor de su casa y estado), no solo en España con su Magestad, sino en Roma con el Pontifice, de quien pendía la dispensacion del parentesco que avía entre los dos." [12]

If we examine the story which Menandro related to Damon, in the *Constante Amarilis*, we find that it corresponds closely to the above. He says he formerly took pleasure in entertaining with music and celebrating in verse, the fair shepherdesses of the Manzanares, but never was his heart touched by love—a rather remarkable statement when we remember that he had already been twice married, and had a son. He continues : "Passing from one village to another, I happened to hear of the beauty and perfection of my cousin Amarilis. In strict confinement, owing to the wishes of her family, she was honoring a small place, etc." [13] He determined to go and see her and his joy and delight knew no bounds when he could "pelar la pava" at her window. "I went to see her frequently, but the novelty and conversation of the guest caused some disturbance in the neighbouring farm houses, so the last time, hastening our intentions, we solemnly promised each other the faith of man and wife, and thereupon, the sun which nourished my life, was hidden." [14] Cabrera de Córdoba says that don Hurtado went to the convent at Torrijos, where doña María de Cardenas was confined, and before a notary, they mutually made a promise of marriage.

Menandro continues : "Finally, when the affair was known, her relatives, for certain reasons, began to destroy the marriage bond, asking our supreme shepherd (the King) to proceed against me with all severity, for what I had attempted." [15] They were both put in confinement and he tells Damon that the moon has sixteen times shown its face full since his troubles began.[16] Cabrera de Córdoba's account of the discovery of their relations is dated September 29, 1607, and the action of the *Constante Amarilis* is supposed to take place after a lapse of sixteen months or about March, 1609. This corresponds to the date March 29, 1609, given by Figueroa in

[9] He was born at Valladolid, which is situated on the river Pisuerga.

[10] This was necessary because they were cousins.

[11] *Relaciones de los cosas sucedidas en España*, 1599–1614, p. 316.

[12] *Hechos de Don Garcia Hurtado de Mendoza*, Madrid, 1613, p. 322.

[13] Ed. 1781, p. 33, *ibid.* According to Cabrera de Córdoba, *Relaciones*, p. 316, this "small place" was Torrijos. It is a small town near Toledo, and from the beginning of the sixteenth century belonged to the Dukes of Maqueda.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 35.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

Hechos de Don Garcia de Mendoza[17] as the date of the marriage of Juan Hurtado with his cousin. We have already seen that Cabrera de Córdoba speaks of the hostility of doña María's family to the match and says that when their love was discovered, both parties were kept closely guarded, while the lady's family appealed to the King for aid.

Near the close of the *Constante Amarilis*,[18] we read that Menandro's troubles are about at an end. "In the meantime, the father of Menandro, a famous shepherd, whose valiant sword penetrated with rare glory the two extremes of the world,[19] petitioned the Supreme Priest (the Pope) to remove the bar of relationship which hindered the happy marriage of Menandro and Amarilis, and after some difficulty, so just a petition was granted." The Temporal Power (the King) had to yield to the Spiritual Power (the Pope) and so the confinement of the lovers ceased and their marriage was expected without delay.[20] Great was the joy of Menandro and Amarilis when they saw an end to their misfortunes, and then followed the congratulations and the visits of relatives and of those in Menandro's service.

Cabrera de Córdoba in a letter dated Madrid, April 11, 1609, gives the following account of the marriage :

"El casamiento de don Hurtado, hijo del Marqués de Cañete, se hizo en Barajas,[21] asistiendo los de la casa de Lemos como deudos, con la hija de la Duquesa de Nájera ; aunque la madre lo ha procurado impedir y contradecir la dispensacion, y cuando no ha podido mas, en lugar de librea, ha dado á sus criados luto, y se ha mandado á los casados se vayan á residir en Argete, lugar del Marqués, hasta ver si se pueden reducir en la gracia de la Duquesa." [22]

The account given by Figueroa in his life of Don García de Mendoza[23] is substantially the same.

La Constante Amarilis is filled with lavish praise of Figueroa's patron, and contains many veiled allusions to the great deeds of D. Juan Hurtado's father. By means of a dream, he tells of the heroic achievements of Menandro's noble ancestors against the Araucanians :

"Fueron, vieron y vincieron ; alcanzando en diferentes batallas gloriosos trofeos, fixando el estandarte de Austria en los encumbrados cerros jamas domados, y poniendo con heroica virtud, los invencibles plantas sobre los essentas cervices." [24]

These allusions to Don García de Mendoza serve to strengthen the identity between Menandro and Don Juan Hurtado de Mendoza. Besides, we know that this nobleman was for a number of years a patron of Figueroa, for he dedicated to him the first edition (1612) of his epic, *España Defendida*, and the Madrid edition (1616) of the *Hechos de Don García de Mendoza*.

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[17] Ed. Madrid, 1613, p. 321. [18] P. 277.

[19] This praise is due to Don García's victories over the Araucanians in Chile and his viceroyship in Peru.

[20] *La Constante Amarilis*, p. 278.

[21] Barajas is a small town in the province of Cuenca.

[22] *Relaciones*, p. 367. [23] *Hechos*, p. 321.

[24] *Constante Amarilis*, pp. 125–126.

MACBETH'S "*unmannerly breech'd with gore.*"

In Macbeth, II, iii. 122 :

> their daggers
> Unmannerly breech'd with gore,

the interpretation of *breech'd* that appears now to be most commonly accepted is, 'covered as with breeches.' This is the meaning assigned to the word in this passage in the *Oxford Dictionary*, but neither there nor, so far as I know, by any editor of Shakespeare, is an example cited of a similar use by any other writer, or in any other passage of Shakespeare. It is generally held that Shakespeare invented the metaphor for this special passage, as in keeping with the strained language of Macbeth throughout the speech. That Shakespeare did not here invent a new use of the word will, I think, be clear from the following passage in "*The ciule Conuersation* of M. Stephan Guazzo ". . . the first three [books] translated out of French by G. pettie [the fourth out of the Italian by Bartholomew Young], London, Thomas East, 1586" (it is as well to give the context in full) :

. . . "And therefore though solitarinesse be agreeable to melancholik persons, yet it is unpleasant to all other, which you shall better understand, if you marke how some women with child long to eate things which all other folke abhorre: and yet for all that we must not saie that such meates are conuenient, for though they please some women, yet commonlie they are displeasant to all. And when the melancholike person, & the woman with childe shall be rid, the one of his false imagination, & the other of her altered taste, they will haue in hate the things aboue said.

GUAZ. You make me now doubt least I be in worse case than I am aware of: for you meane by your wordes to include mee in the number of the melancholike, which haue their wit so *breeched*, that they cannot discerne sweete from sowre. But if I flatter not my selfe, I haue a whole minde within my crasie bodie, and my pleasure is common to other men of good taste." Fol. 4, rect., lines 3–19.

In "*La Civile Conversation* . . . Traduite de l'Italien du S. Estienne Guazzo . . . par Gabriel Chappuys Tourangeau, Lyon, par Iean Beraud, 1580," from which Pettie's version was doubtless made, we find:

"Vous me faites maintenant douter, que ie ne sois en pire estat que ie ne me sens: car vous voulez dire & inferer que ie sois du nombre des melancoliques, lesquels ont tellement, le cerueau *obfusqué*, qu'ils ne sçauroient discerner le doux d'auec l'amer:"

obfusqué answers to *offuscato* of the Italian of Guazzo, which is defined by Florio (*Worlde of Wordes*, 1598, s. v., 'offuscare'), 'to darken, obscure, blind, dazzle, ecclipse, shadow, dim.'

From this I think it is pretty clear that *breech* was more or less current (perhaps current only as an affectation) in the sense of 'cover over,' (of the mind, 'becloud') the original sense being, no doubt, 'cover as with breeches.' The passage from Pettie's translation, therefore, confirms the usual interpretation to the extent that Macbeth means "covered with gore," but disposes of the assumption that Shakespeare invents a fantastic metaphor for the occasion. It may be that he makes Macbeth use an affected expression.

It may be mentioned that Miss M. A. Scott (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, XIV, 543) states that she has been unable to learn anything of the French original of Pettie. The copy from which I have made the citation is in the Bodleian library, Oxford. There is no copy in the British Museum.

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A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF COMPARATIVE LITERATURE.

(Continued: See Vol. xx, p. 239.)

3293. The diss. contains 34 pages; the complete work (Weimar, 1897), xii + 181. The review references should have been added (Koeppel is in *E. St.*, xxiv. 108–118; for Ritter I have searched long but in vain). Cp. also *M. L. N.*, xv. 159–160.

3297 a. Enter here no. 3307, Schömbs, which appeared in 1898.

3305 a. Add: F. J. Mather, Jr., ed.—The Prologue, The Knight's Tale, and The Nun's Priest's Tale (Boston, 1899).

3307. Read: Schömbs.

3307 a. Add: Schömbs, J.—Orlando furioso in der englischen Litteratur. (In *E. St.*, xxvi. 456–457, 1899.)

3311 a. Add: Axon, W. E. A.—Italian Influence on Chaucer. (In Chaucer Memorial Lectures, pp. 83–110, 1900.)

3315 a. Add: Fränkel, L.—Romanische, insbesondere italienische Wechselbeziehungen zur englischen Literatur. (In *Krit. Jahresb.*, iv. 2, 440–549, 1900.)

3317 a. Add: Koch, J.—Chaucer's italienische Periode. (In *E. St.*, xxvii, 1–4, 1900.)

3319. Cp. no. 3286.

3332 a. Add: Bond, R. W.—Note on Italian Influence in Lyly's Plays. (In his Complete Works of John Lyly, ii. 473–485, 1902.)

3571. For XVIII. read XVII. Add rev. by R. Beer in *Anz. d. Alt.*, xxvi. 134–161.

3605 a. Enter here the first instalment of Stiefel (no. 3615), 1890.

3613. Enter as no. 3610 a. Appeared in 1894.

3614 a. Add: Koeppel, E.—Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen George Chapman's, Philip Massinger's und John Ford's (Strassburg, 1897; Quellen u. Forsch., lxxxii; rev. by R. Boyle

in *E. St.*, xxv. 289–297; by J. Lecoq in *Rev. Crit.*, n. s. xliii. 509–510).

3617 a. Add: Koeppel, E.—The Prince of the Burning Crowne und Palmerin d'Oliva. (In *Archiv*, c. 23–30, 1898.)

3624 a. Add: Wiener, L.—Spanish Studies in England in the 16th and 17th Centuries. (In *M. L. Q.*, ii. 5, 3–10, 1899.)

3625 a. Add: Becker, G.—Die Aufnahme des Don Quijote in die englische Litteratur (1605 bis c. 1770) (Diss., Berlin, 1902).

3628 a. Add: Reade, H.—How did Calderon Know Shakespeare's Plays? (In *Westm. Rev.*, July, 1903, clx. 84–88.)

3628 b. Add: Rosenbach, A. S. W. — The Influence of the "Celestina" in the Early English Drama (Univ. of Pennsylvania diss.; *Shakesp.-Jb.*, xxxix. 43–61, 1903).

3750 a. Add: Stefánsson, J.—How Browning Strikes a Scandinavian. (In Browning Soc. Papers, iii. 115–123, 1891.)

3750 b. Add: Stefánsson, J.—Oldnordisk Indvirkning på engelsk Literatur i det 8. og 9. Årh. (*Nord. Tidskr. f. Vetensk.*, etc., pp. 489–503, 1891.)

3751, l. 3. Read for XVIII : XVII.

3799 a. Add: Kölbing, E.—Romanische Einflüsse auf die nordische und englische Litteratur des Mittelalters, 1891–94. (In *Krit. Jahresb.*, iv. 2, pp. 427–437, 1899.) Cp. no. 3744.

3835 a. Add: Farley, F. E.—Scandinavian Influences in the English Romantic Movement (Boston, 1903; *Stud. and Notes in Philol. and Lit.*, ix; rev. by E. Koeppel in *E. St.*, xxxiv. 397–402).

3838 a. An appendix on linguistic studies should include Flom, G. T., Scandinavian Influence on Southern Lowland Scotch (New York, 1900); Björkman, E., Scandinavian Loan-Words in Middle English (Halle, 1900–2); and many other titles.

4043 a. Add: An.—Lord Byrons Beziehungen zu Amerika. (In *Allgemeine Zeitung*, Beilage, pp. 58 ff., 1897.)

4044 a. Add: Van Nüys, F.—The Spirit of Tennyson's and Longfellow's Poetry Compared. (In *University of Virginia Magazine*, May, 1897.)

4054. Continued in same, Jan., 1902.

4058, l. 2. Read: elementary.

4099 a. Add: Varnhagen, H. — Longfellows Tales of a Wayside Inn und ihre Quellen nebst Nachweisen und Untersuchungen über die vom Dichter bearbeiteten Stoffe (Berlin, 1884).

4146 a. Add: Kratz, F.—Das deutsche Element in den Werken H. W. Longfellow's, i. (Progr. Wasserburg, 1901). Cp. no. 4152.

4163 a. Enter here also no. 2460 a.

4193 a. Add: Smith, C. A.—Finnish Influence: Repetition in Hiawatha and Other Finnish Imitations. (In his Repetition and Parallelism in English Verse, pp. 38–43, 1894.)

4301 a. Add: Remy, A. J. F.—The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany (New York, 1901).

4312 a. Add: Behn-Eschenberg, H. — Die Wechselwirkungen der englischen und der festländischen Literatur vor der Zeitalter Shakspeare's (Zürich, 1865).

4331 a. Add: Fränkel, L.—Zur Geschichte von Shakespeare's Bekanntwerden in den Niederlanden. (In *E. St.*, xv. 155–159, 1891.)

4339 a. Add: Moolhuizen, J. J. — Vondels Lucifer in Miltons Verloren Paradijs: kritisch onderzoek ('s-Gravenhage, 1895).

4345 a. Add: Nicholson, R. A.—The Arthurian Legend: a Persian Parallel. (In *Athen.*, 1901, i. 434.)

4346 a. Add: Hoog, W. de—Studiën Over de Nederlandsche en Engelsche taal en letterkunde en haar wederzijdschen invloed (Dordrecht, 1902–3).

4347 a. Enter here also no. 2461.

4520 a. Add: Rigault, A. H.—Histoire de la querelle des anciens et des modernes (Thèse, Paris, 1856; same in his Oeuvres complètes, i. 1859).

4744 a. Add: Beaussire, É.—De summi apud Britannos poetæ tragœdiis e Plutarcho ductis (Thesis, Grenoble, 1855).

4747 a. Add: Arnold, M. — On Translating Homer (London, 1861).

4749 a. Add: Arnold, M. — On Translating Homer: Last Words (London, 1862).

4755 a. Add: Stapfer, P. — Qualis sapientiæ antiquæ laudator, qualis interpres Franciscus Baconus exstiterit (Thesis, Paris, 1870).

4766 a. Add: Rawnsley, H. D.—Virgil and Tennyson (In *Macm. Mag.*, xxxiii. 43–49, 1875. Same in *Lit. Liv. Age*, ccxxvii. 756–762, and in Memories of the Tennysons, 1900, pp. 201–220).

4774. Also trans. into English by Emily J. Carey (London, 1880).

4778 a. Add: Bock, W.—Zur Destruction of Troy, eine Sprach- und Quellenuntersuchung (Diss., Halle, 1883).

4796 a. Add: Kittredge, G. L.—Chaucer and Maximianus. (In *Am. J. Ph.*, ix. 84–85, 1888.)

4804 a. Add: Koeppel, E.—Chauceriana, i, ii. (In *Anglia*, xiii. 174–183, 1890.)

4805 a. Add: Collins, J. C.—Illustrations of Tennyson (London, 1891; 2d ed. 1902).

4805 b. Add: Cook, A. S.—The Literary Genealogy of Ulysses. (In *Poet-Lore*, iii. 499–504, 1891.)

4805 c. Add: Guild, Edward C.—A List of Poems Illustrating Greek Mythology in the English Poetry of the Nineteenth Century. (In Bowdoin College Library Bulletin, no. 1, June, 1891, pp. 16.)

4805 d. Add: Moulton, R. G.—Balaustion's Adventure as a Beautiful Misrepresentation of the Original. (In Browning Soc. Papers, iii. 148–167, 1891.)

4807 a. Add: Lounsbury, T. R.—Studies in Chaucer, His Life and Writings (Boston, 1892). Chap. v, The Learning of Chaucer.

4810. Read: Whibley.

4815 a. Enter here also no. 5868, Gayley (appeared in 1893).

4817 a. Add: Paul, H.—Tennyson's Classical Poems. (In *19th Cent.*, March, 1893, xxxiii. 436–453: same in *Lit. Liv. Age*, cxcvii. 407–418, and in Men and Letters, pp. 1–26, London, 1901.)

4819 a. Add: Holthausen, F.—Chaucer und Theodulus. (In *Anglia*, xvi. 264–266, 1894.)

4822 a. Add: Flügel, E.—Ueber einige Stellen aus dem Almagestum Cl. Ptolemei bei Chaucer und im Rosenroman. (In *Anglia*, xviii. 133–140, 1895.)

4823. The reference is wrong. Read: *Acad.*, Mar. 16, 1895.

4828 a. Add: Lawton, W. C.—The Classical Element in Browning's Poetry. (In *Am. J. Ph.*, xvii. 197 ff., 1896. Also in Boston Browning Soc. Papers, pp. 363–388, 1897.)

4828 b. Add: Sawtelle, A. E.—The Sources of Spenser's Classical Mythology (New York, 1896).

4829 a. Add: Boll, F.—Chaucer und Ptolemaeus. (In *Anglia*, xxi. 222–230, 1898.)

4829 b. Add: Goodenough, M. L.—Bacon and Plutarch. (In *M. L. N.*, xii. 142–146, 1897.)

4829 c. Add: Liddell, M.—One of Chaucer's Sources [Boethius]. (In *Nation*, lxiv. 124–125, 1897.)

4829 d. Add: Mather, F. J., Jr.—On Chaucer's Cleopatra and Her Pit of Serpents. (In *Nation*, lxvii. 331–332, 1898.)

4829 e. Add: Mustard, W. P.—Tennyson and Catullus. (In *Nation*, lxvi. 362–363, 1898.)

4829 f. Add: Mustard, W. P.—Tennyson and Horace. (In *Nation*, lxvi. 438–439, 1898.)

4829 g. Add: Scudder, Vida D.—The Greek Spirit in Shelley and Browning. (In Boston Browning Soc. Papers, pp. 438–470, 1897.)

4830. Appeared in complete form in 1899 (Münchener Beitr., xvi).

4832 a. Add: Allen, K.—Lucretius the Poet, and Tennyson's Poem 'Lucretius.' (In *Poet-Lore*, xi. 529–548, 1899.)

4832 b. Add: Bowen, E. W.—Shelley and Catullus. (In *Sewanee Rev.*, vii. 337, 1899.)

4832 c. Add: Boyle, R.—Shakespeare and Ovid. (In *E. St.*, xxvii. 323, 1899.)

4834. Read: Smyth. Appeared in 1898; enter as no. 4830 a.

4834 a. Add: Anders, H. R. D.—Shakespeare's Belesenheit (Diss., Berlin, 1900; amplified in 1904 as Shakespeare's Books).

4839 a. Add: Haight, Elizabeth H.—Tennyson's Use of Homeric Material. (In *Poet-Lore*, xii. 541–556, 1900.)

4847 a. Add: Koeppel, E.—Spensers Florimell und die Britomartis-Sage des Antoninus Liberalis. (In *Archiv*, cvii. 394–396, 1901.)

4851 a. Add: Bushnell, C. C.—A Parallelism between Lucan and Lines in Tintern Abbey. (In *J. G. Ph.*, iv. 58, 1902.)

4854 a. Add: Mustard, W. P.—Homeric Echoes in Matthew Arnold's 'Balder Dead.' (In Studies in Honor of B. L. Gildersleeve, pp. 19–28, 1902.)

4856 a. Add: Stevenson, W. H.—Chaucer and Theodolus. (In *Athen.*, 1902, i. 338.)

4859 a. Add: Gilde, J. A. A.—Die dramatische Behandlung der Rückkehr des Odysseus bei

Nicholas Rowe, Robert Bridges und Stephen Phillips (Diss., Königsberg, 1903).

4862 a. Add: Root, R. K.—Classical Mythology in Shakespeare (New York, 1903).

5222 a. Add: Reed, H.—Lectures on English History and Tragic Poetry as Illustrated by Shakespeare (Philadelphia, 1856).

5300 a. Add: Möller, G. H.—Die Auffassung der Kleopatra in der Tragödienliteratur der romanischen und germanischen Nationen (Ulm, 1888; rev. by Sachs in *Lb. g. r. Ph.*, x. 262–263).

5350 a. Add: Darmesteter, J.—The French Revolution and Wordsworth. (In his English Studies, trans. Mary Darmesteter, 1896.)

5360. Continued in same, xcix. 59–76, 327–38, c. 131–52.

5368 a. Add: Tyler, M. C.—The Literary History of the American Revolution (New York, 1897–98).

5550 a. Add: Conway, M. D.—The Wandering Jew (London, 1881).

5584 a. Add: Rees, J.—Shakespeare and the Bible (Philadelphia, 1876).

5605 a. Add: Batiouchkof, T.—Spor dushi s tielom. (In *Journal of the Minister of Public Instruction* [Russian], St. Petersburg, Sept., 1890–Aug., 1891; also reprinted in book form, 1891, and in part translated in *Romania*, xx. 1–55, 513–578, 1891.)

5605 b. Add: Bruce, J. D.—A Contribution to the Study of "The Body and the Soul:" Poems in English. (In *M. L. N.*, v. 193–201, 1890.) Of this subject, on which Betz's list includes no entries, a separate bibliography has been compiled and will appear soon.

5625 a. Add: Kuhn, E. — Barlaam und Joasaph: eine bibliographisch-literargeschichtliche Studie. (In *Abhandlungen* d. kgl. bay. Akad., Philos.-philol. Cl., xx. 1–88, 1894. Additions by F. de Haan in *M. L. N.*, x. 11–17, 69–73.)

5657 a. Add: Cook, A. S.—Biblical Quotations in Old English Prose Writers (London, 1898–1903).

5671. Read: Cushman.

5673 a. Add: Krapp, G. P.—The Legend of Saint Patrick's Purgatory: Its Later Literary History (Diss., Johns Hopkins; Baltimore, 1900).

5692 a. Add: Machen, Minnie G.—The Bible in Browning with Particular Reference to The Ring and the Book (New York, 1903).

5746 a. Add: Axon, W. E. A.—The Legend of the Disguised Knight. (In Trans. Roy. Soc. of Lit., 2d ser., ix. 440–475, 1870.)

5793 a. Add: Koeppel, E.—Lydgate's Story of Thebes: eine Quellenuntersuchung (Diss., München, 1884; rev. by A. Brandl in *Lb. g. r. Ph.*, vi. 284–285.)

5863. Read: Schofield.

5868. Appeared in 1893. Enter as no. 5857 a.

5896 a. Add: Sarrazin, G. — Germanische Heldensage in Shaksperes Titus Andronicus. (In *Archiv*, xcvii. 373–375, 1896.)

5897 a. Add: Axon, W. E. A.—The Story of the Substituted Bride. (In *N. Q.*, 8th ser., xii. 323–324, 1897.)

5911 a. Add: Fastenrath.—Die Don Juan-Sage in Spanien und in der Weltliteratur (preface to his trans. of Zorrilla's Don Juan Tenorio, Dresden, 1898).

5939 a. Add: Nutt, A. T.—The Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare. (London, 1900.)

5957 a. Add: Kühne, W.—Venus, Amor und Bacchus in Shakespeare's Dramen: eine medicinisch-poetische Studie (Braunschweig, 1902).

5968 a. Add: Perrett, W.—The Story of King Lear from Geoffrey of Monmouth to Shakespeare (Diss., Jena; Weimar, 1903).

In conclusion it may be remarked that a bibliography of "The Celtic Influence in Literature" (cp. Baldensperger in *Rev. Crit.*, n. s. l. 93) remains a desideratum; and that we hope before long to publish a collection of titles which may serve at least as a nucleus for such a bibliography.

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ARNOLD'S SOURCES FOR *Sohrab and Rustum.*

It is generally assumed, either explicitly or by inference,[1] that Matthew Arnold's *Sohrab and*

[1] Cf. editions of *Sohrab and Rustum* by G. A. Watrous, p. 101, etc.; L. M. Hodgkins, p. 120; J. C. Castleman, p. 149, etc.

Rustum (1853) is based on the story as told in the abridgment of the *Shâhnáma* of Firdawsí by the Rev. J. A. Atkinson[2] (1832), which gives in an appendix a complete rendering of the Sohrab and Rustum episode in heroic couplets ; or on Sir John Malcolm's[3] *History of Persia*[4] (1815) ; but no one has investigated the relative use made of the two, or the exact debt of the poet to either. The *Shâhnáma* has since been made accessible, in complete form, in the French translation of J. Mohl (1876–78) and in the German translation by Rückert (Berlin, 1890–95), and portions of it in the abridged versions of A. F. von Shack (Stuttgart, 1877), and Miss H. Zimmern (1883). Arnold might well have known Atkinson's epitome, published a good many years before he composed his poem, and the general impression seems to be that it was his principal source for the story of the poem. Many editors of *Sohrab and Rustum* make no reference at all to the *History of Persia* of Sir John Malcolm, contenting themselves with citing Atkinson's book.

To the present writer it seems that Malcolm's *History* was the chief basis for Arnold's narrative. The poet's familiarity with it is evident from the fact that it is the short sketch, from the latter, of the episode of Sohrab and Rustum that is included in the notes illustrative or explanatory of Arnold's *Poems*,[5] in the complete edition published during his lifetime. No similar reference is made to the *Shâhnáma* or to Atkinson. But this, in itself, need not mean much. In his *Letters*, Arnold has little to say about the composition of his poem, and nothing about his sources for the story. In the absence of direct external testimony, internal testimony must be sought by those interested in the question of where Arnold found his materials.

The results given by a short comparison of the three accounts may be briefly summarized.

(1). In general, great variety, if not inconsistency, prevails in the English rendering of Persian names, whether proper names or place-names ; but in his choice of name-forms Arnold seems to follow Malcolm quite faithfully, making few departures or modifications. For example, Malcolm has Peeran-Wisa,[6] *hyphenated* (I, 30), Zoarrah (I, 28), Ferood (I, 34), Gudurz (I, 35), Haman (I, 28), Feriburz (I, 33), Seistan (I, 34), etc. Arnold has Peran-Wisa, *hyphenated*, Zoarrah, Ferood, Gudurz, Haman, Feraburz, Seistan. Atkinson, on the other hand, has Pírán-Wisah, *unhyphenated*, Zúára, Férhad, Gúdarz, Húmán, Fraburz, Sístan, etc. Afrasiab is king of the "Tartars" with Malcolm (I, 39, etc.) and with Arnold ; of the "Turanians" with Atkinson.

(2). In Arnold's poem, Sohrab proves his identity by revealing Rustum's seal pricked on his arm, whereas in the *Shâhnáma*, Atkinson's translation, he reveals an amulet (pp. 124, 139, etc.) or a golden bracelet, bound on his arm (p. 402). Most editors,[7] referring to this passage, assume that Arnold intentionally departed from the original story, and credit the change to the poet's art ; but Malcolm's words here (I, 28) are :

"The afflicted and dying youth tore open his mail, and showed his father a seal which his mother had placed on his arm when she discovered to him the secret of his birth and bade him seek his father."

It would seem that Arnold was following or interpreting this abridged or inexact passage in Malcolm's account, not deliberately modifying Atkinson's.

(3). The name of Sohrab's mother, Tamineh, is not given in Malcolm's *History*, and is not mentioned in Arnold's poem in the passages referring to her, although they afford good opportunity. In the story in the *Shâhnáma*, she is very prominent, and, had the poet relied on the account of the episode as given by Atkinson, she would be as likely to be named as Zal, Rustum's father. Arnold gives Zal's name and story, but these are given (I, 17) by Malcolm.

(4). In Arnold's poem, the opposing armies are encamped by the Oxus—readers of the poem will remember how much is made of this—and it

[2] The edition cited here is the reprint in the *Chandos Classics* series (1886).

[3] Cf. editions of Arnold's poem by L. M. Guiney, p. 1; L. M. Hodgkins, p. 20, etc.

[4] References in this article are to the edition of 1829.

[5] Cf. the Macmillan edition (1883), I, 268.

[6] Described by Malcolm as the "Nestor of the Tartars," and pictured by Arnold with many touches that recall the Homeric sage.

[7] Watrous, p. 102; Hodgkins, p. 67 ; Seabury, p. 133, etc.

is here that the combat takes place. This might have been suggested by the reference to the Oxus in his sketch of the episode (I, 28) by Malcolm; in fact, this is the only scene for the episode which the latter suggests. The Oxus region stands out clearly in Malcolm's chapters as the frontier region defended by Rustum against the invading Tartars. In Atkinson's work (pp. 131–33, etc.) Sohrab is represented as in a fortress, Rustum as arriving before it; and the scene suggested is of quite different character. When the river is mentioned (p. 408), it is called the Jihún, and so throughout.

(5). A few references like that to Rustum's falcon (II, 199–203), the Bahrein diver (II, 284–9), Jemshid's pillars of black granite at Persepolis (II, 860–3), might possibly have been suggested by passages in Malcolm (II, 397; I, 540; II, 370), although it is possible also that the poet made them independently.

Perhaps it should be added that, of the two books, the *History of Persia* seems, in any case, the more attractive and clearer book for the poet's purpose. Atkinson's heroic couplets are not very good reading, and the story as given by him from Firdawsí, is relatively tedious, and complicated by the introduction of many personages and many details. Arnold's story is simple and clear cut, like Malcolm's, and there seems to be nothing in his materials that might not be based only on Malcolm's book. From the references given, it would seem that he turned to the first few chapters of Vol. I, the Appendix to this volume, and chapters XXII and XXIII (on the climate, manners, and usages of the Persians) in Vol. II.

If Arnold did make use of Atkinson's translation—an assumption that is not absolutely imperative, but which it is perhaps well to make—it was for stray touches in the handling; though here by far the strongest influences are the Homeric and the biblical. It might easily be that having found his story, incidents, allusions, and names, in Malcolm's *History*, he turned to the episode as told in fuller form in Atkinson's abridgment of Firdawsí. A number of similarities in the handling, perhaps fortuitous, perhaps otherwise, may be noticed between Arnold's poem and the verse account of Atkinson. Such are the embassy of Gudarz, to Rustum, and the former's argument (cf. Atkinson, p. 131), the description of Sohrab, giving the "cypress tree" simile (*ib.* 132), touches in the dialogue where Sohrab and Rustum meet, or in the narrative of the combat, and so on. Most of these, however, are pointed out by various editors of the poem.

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NOTE ON MILTON'S *Comus*.

Milton's *Comus* in many ways presents singular analogies to Spenser's account of the adventures of Amoret in the palace of Busyrane, *Faerie Queene*, Book III, Cantos xi–xii.

1. The latter was without doubt in its original form the masque entitled *The Court of Cupid*, one of Spenser's lost poems mentioned in the dedication of the *Shepherd's Calendar*. Spenser, describing the scene within the palace, uses these words:—

> After whom marched a jolly company,
> In manner of a masque, enranged orderly.

2. The subjects of the two masques are identical—the triumph of chastity. In handling the subject, however, Milton is far more restrained than Spenser. The former has for his heroine the chaste lady, the sister of the two brothers; the latter the equally chaste Amoret, the bride of Sir Scudamour.

3. Both the palaces are of magic, the homes of dread enchanters who wage incessant warfare against virtue. Both are beautiful in their appeal to the sensuous eye, yet in both are found, "oughly-headed monsters, visored falsehood and base forgery."

4. Neither palace is to be entered with impunity. Scudamour finds the fire that burns before the door an effectual bar. Britomart, however, strong in the strength of her virginity, finds a ready entrance. The brothers in *Comus* dare not enter until they have received the counter-charm from the Attendant Spirit. Then they may,

> Boldly assault the necromancer's hall.

5. In both the ladies are constrained in body. The lady in *Comus* is in a chair from which she may not rise. Amoret is suffering from a wound, and her hands

> Were bounden fast, that did her ill become,
> And her small waste girt round with yron bands
> Upon a brasen pillour, by the which she stands.
>
> And her before the vile Enchanter sate,
> Figuring straunge characters of his arte :
> And all perforce to make her him to love.

6. In each case the liberation is not complete without the aid of magic. "The brothers rush in with swords drawn, wrest his (Comus') glass out of his hand, break it against the ground ; his rout make sign of resistance, but all are driven in." But the maiden is not yet free.

> *Attendant Spirit.*
>
> What ! Have you let the false enchanter scape ?
> O, ye mistook ! Ye should have snatched his wand,
> And bound him fast. Without his rod reversed
> And backward mutters of dissevering power,
> We cannot free the lady that sits here
> In stony fetters fixed and motionless.

The nymph Sabrina is called in to undo what Comus had done.

In the *Masque of Cupid*, Britomart would have slain the magician, Busyrane,

> Had not the lady, which by him stood bound,
> Dernly unto her called to abstain
> From doing her to dy. For else her paine
> Should be remedilesse ; sith none but he
> Which wrought it could the same recure againe.

Busyrane mutters the charms backward, and Amoret, like the lady in *Comus*, is free.

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THE *Ludus Coventriae*.

The readily available information concerning the cycle of miracle-plays most properly designated the *Ludus Coventriae*, is well summed up in Chambers' *Mediæval Stage* (II, 416–22). The whole question, however, is still involved in such obscurity that a slightly different exposition of the cycle as it stands, and some new theories closely akin to guesses concerning its genesis, may be hazarded.

The *Ludus Coventriae* was divided for presentation into two parts : the first twenty-eight plays given one year, the remaining fourteen the next. This is deduced from the words of Contemplacio (XXIX) :

> We intendyn to procede the matere that we lefte the last ȝere.

Furthermore, the plays of the first part subdivide into four more or less clearly defined groups. The seven plays at the outset, handling Old Testament stories, form a series in which continuity of action and homogeneity of dramatis personæ almost conceal the gaps between its component parts. All might easily have been given without intermission by one set of actors on one stage. The second group extends from the *Barrenness of Anna* (VIII) through the *Visit to Elizabeth* (XIII) ; its integrity as a series is marked by the prologue in the former, in which both audience and players are recommended for divine mercy, and the epilogue in the latter, which thanks the spectators for their patience. The third group should be terminated, I think, with *Christ Disputing in the Temple*, the last of the plays on the boyhood of Christ, because its close,

> All that hath herd this consummacion
> Of this pagent, ȝour [Christ's] grace them save !

reads like a farewell to the audience. Chambers does not mark this as the close of a group ; but the point of division seems warranted by the context, especially since it thus breaks into halves a group unusually long. The fourth group ends with the *Betraying of Christ*, where the plays were discontinued for the year. Just why the main break should have been made here, with the cycle more than two-thirds completed, and in the midst of a series of plays (XXV–XXXII) related in subject and strikingly similar in manner of presentation, is hard to explain on any other ground than some external necessity like the close of the day. Only fourteen plays, at any rate, were left for the second year, and since they are not easily disunited, we may place them together. The extraordinary length of such a group may be satisfactorily explained. The long play on the Assumption is a late addition to the collection, and it may be that other unnecessary episodes like *King Herod* and the *Descent of the Holy Ghost*

were inserted when it was found that the whole day was open for the performance. This classification of the plays, which is based entirely on textual evidence, may find readier acceptance since it accords closely with a topical division. Group one contains Old Testament themes; group two, the life of Mary previous to the birth of Christ; group three, Christ's birth and boyhood, though an apocryphal story prior to the nativity is prefixed; group four, Christ's manhood; and group five, Christ's trial and subsequent events.

This exposition of the internal composition of the cycle may throw light on certain problems connected with it. It is the commonly accepted opinion that the *Ludus Coventriae* was presented on one fixed stage, not on moveable pageants. But the fair inference seems to be that it was at least derived from a cycle or cycles whose plays, classified topically, were acted in groups by a few companies on their respective vehicles. The first seven plays could easily have been acted as a unit by a few actors on a small stage. More obvious traces of a pageant presentation are found in later portions of the cycle. The prayer in the prologue of the second group invoking divine mercy on "this congregacion" and "the personys here pleand," as well as the call for respectful attention, suggest that a new company of actors had appeared and was seeking to quiet the commotion caused by the shifting of the pageants. For the same reason the first play of the third group is opened noisely by the summoner,

> Avoyd, seres, and lete my lorde the buschop come,

as if he was clearing the way for a new pageant, and at the same time lustily shouting rough matter of current interest to regain the audience's distracted attention. This theory is confirmed by the stage direction following the summoner's speech: "Hic intrabit pagentum de purgatione Mariæ et Joseph." Moreover in the succeeding play, the birthplace of Christ is described as,

> An hous that is desolat, withowty any walle,

and we know that on pageants, but not on interior stages, the stable was left visible from all four sides (Creizenach, I, 168). Finally, the last of this series ends, as we have seen, with reference to the pageant, which should here be taken literally, although the same word in the *Prologue*—not an integral part of the cycle—is used with more general application. These points indicate that the *Ludus Coventriae* was a cycle for which moveable pageants, each presenting a group of plays, were provided as stages.

Whether the origin of the *Ludus Coventriae* lay in one cycle or several is perhaps indeterminable at present. Herod dies in the nineteenth play and is taken to hell, but reappears in some of the closing pieces. A considerable portion of the *Adoration* as well as one whole play, is devoted to a rehearsal of the prophecies, as though the two were not originally intended to form parts of the same collection. The plot of the *Visit to Elizabeth* is not consistent with itself. Such evidence implies a borrowing from different sources. Metrical tests, however, aid little in solving the problem. Plays XII–XVIII and XXVI–XXXIX, which in subject are indispensable to the cycle and therefore perhaps the oldest, are metrically the most irregular. But in these plays four of the five groups are represented, showing that the irregularity is not peculiar to one in particular. Nor is any group distinguished by a characteristic meter; it can only be noted that the stanza, *aaabcccb*, does not appear in the second, while in general the interchange of meters was made apparently for the sake of variety. In fact, a conclusion from metrical tests would be similar to that from linguistic investigation—that the present cycle exhibits considerable unity in spite of its structural disjointedness. But at present nothing is known definitely concerning the composite character of the cycle.

But the fact, if it be accepted as such, that the *Ludus Coventriae* was derived from pageant plays, does not force the conclusion that the existing cycle was acted on moveable vehicles. Indeed, reasons to the contrary have been adduced. Creizenach believes the machinery and setting of the plays, as prescribed in the stage directions, to be too elaborate for such presentation. But the records of the Coventry craft plays, as published by Sharp, and also some of the directions of the Chester cycle, presuppose an equally varied and imposing stage display. So also it matters little that the *Prologue* was apparently addressed to a seated audience (p. 1); since the *Prologue* was antedated by the plays, and since even at craft plays the audiences were sometimes seated (Sharp,

p. 20). More to the point is it that the stage directions of plays XXV–XXXII, in groups four and five, imply a large stage on which certain portions—called scaffolds—are reserved for particular persons, and are so arranged that each one separately can be screened from view. A "mid-place," or general stage, is also mentioned, with a little oratory furnished with stools and cushions. References to constant going and coming on this stage are frequent. One must remember, however, that an elaborately equipped stage is not hinted at in the earlier plays, if we except the one very dubious reference in *Noah's Flood*. And the direction: "What tyme that processyon is enteryd into the place, and the Herowdys takyn his schaffalde, and Pylat and Annas and Cayphas here schaffaldys" is ambiguous. It may denote a permanent stage; but it may just as well signify that the actors rode to the appointed place together and then took their assigned stations. Hence it is safer to believe that in that age of open credulity an unusually large pageant gave room for all the scenic display called for in the actors' instructions. Or several wagons stationed near each other may have been employed for the high priests when not engaged on the "mid-place" or central pageant. It is known that the main pageants sometimes drew subordinate ones —for the accommodation of spectators, Sharp supposes (p. 20)—and for use as stages they could have been placed so near together that armed guards, like the "iiij Jaked men about the pageant" of the Coventry Smiths' Play, could keep the intervening space easily passable, and that a messenger, as in the *Trial*, could address collectively the priests in their respective scaffolds. To assume such a combination of vehicles would be perhaps more radical than the supposition of a fixed stage. Fortunately, the difficult choice of alternatives is not compulsory. For after all, since the stage directions of this and also of the Chester cycle often obviously state what the audience is supposed to see, not what is actually exhibited, too much stress may easily be laid on the indicated arrangement and equipment of the stage. It may be that although in origin these plays (XXV–XXXIII) were pageant plays, as they now stand they have been reworked into a cycle for presentation by a company of actors on a fixed stage. Or it may be that the stage directions give false impressions concerning the mode of acting, and that even these last plays, like those of the earlier groups, were given on a pageant. At any rate, the contrary view, on which rests the burden of proof, has not been established.

If the conclusions here reached have been well-grounded, the manner of presentation of the *Ludus Coventriae* was strikingly similar to that of the Coventry craft plays; for it is known that at Coventry each pageant, in charge of a number of allied crafts, presented a series of plays. This recalls the hypothesis that the *Ludus Coventriae* is the discarded fifteenth century cycle of the Coventry guilds—a theory based on no very tenable arguments. Doubtless the *Ludus Coventriae* had no connection with Coventry. Where and by whom, then, was it acted? Linguistic investigation or some happy historic find must answer the first. As to the second, despite the close of the *Prologue*,

> A Sunday next, yf that we may,
> At vj. of the belle we gynne oure play,
> In N. towne, wherfore we pray,
> That God now be ȝoure spede. Amen,

we put little trust in the idea that a company of professional actors carried the plays from town to town. Such a company would have given the cycle on two successive days, not in parts in successive years. Only the service of a skilled advance agent and the arrangement of a fixed itinerary—both out of the question in those times—would have made a bi-yearly presentation feasible. So here again there is not sufficient reason for departing from accepted tradition, and our conclusion would read thus: Companies of native actors presenting each a group of plays on its own pageant.

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THE INFLUENCE OF JONSON ON DEKKER.

Both before the Quarrel and after, Dekker, like his fellow 'poetaster' Marston, shows traces of the influence of their common antagonist, Jonson. The first and most conspicuous trace, to be found

in the earliest of his extant plays, the *Shoemaker's Holiday*, is the character of Simon Eyre. Eyre is Juniper—of the *Case is Altered*—over again. Both are merry cobblers who suddenly grow rich and then are merrier than ever. But it is not so much in character or deeds that they resemble each other as in utterance. 'Madcaps' both, they exploit a very similar madcap vocabulary and rhetoric. They rattle off questions, imperatives, expletives, and fantastical epithets in breathless succession or alternation. They repeat and reiterate, and accumulate parallelisms and synonyms. They coin words, blunder with words, and ejaculate exuberant nonsense.[1] Nothing could be more unmistakable than the identity of their manner and—what is perhaps more striking—of their whimsical vocabulary.

Presto. Go to, a word to the wise; away, fly, vanish! *C. A.*, I, 1.

Nay, 'slid I am no changeling, I am Juniper still, I keep the pristinate; ha! you mad hieroglyphic, when shall we swagger? *Ib.*

Why, now you come near him, sir; he doth rail, he doth remunerate, he doth chew the cud, in the kindness of an honest imperfection to your worship. *Ib.*, II, 2.

'S blood, why, what! thou art not lunatic, art thou? an thou be'st, avoid, Mephistophilus.[2] *Ib.*, II, 4.

How, second person! away, away. In thy crotchets already! longitude and latitude! what second, what person, ha? . . . . . .

Tut, no more of this surquedry; I am thine own ad unguem, upsie freeze, pell mell; come, what case, what case?

Not bear what, my mad meridian slave? not bear what? *Ib.*, IV, 3.

What's the old Panurgo gone, departed, cosmographied, ha? *Ib.*, IV, 4.

Away, scoundrel! dost thou fear a little elocution? Shall we be confiscate now? shall we droop now? shall we be now in helogabolus? *Ib.*, V, 4.

Without further citations, the reader of Dekker will recognize the uproarious accents of Simon Eyre; and with further citations he would have run virtually the whole gamut of Eyre's rollicking rhetoric, and would have exhausted his store of far-fetched appellation[3] and phrase.[4] That the source of much of this is Juniper—the source of Eyre and Juniper both is, in a measure, the hilarious cant of the day—is pretty certain. In the case of Jonson's play, there is evidence of an earlier date,[5] and of an immediate and striking popularity of the character in question[6] such as Dekker, sitting in Grubstreet obscurity, would eagerly have availed himself of[7]; and in the case of Dekker's play, there is evidence of his having availed himself of it, for what with Jonson was a minor part is here magnified into a hero who appears on every page, though he has little to do but show off his delectable 'humor.'

It was before the Quarrel,[8] in 1599, while he was collaborating with Jonson on the *Page of Plymouth*[8] and *Robert the Second*,[9] that Dekker imitated the jolly Juniper; it was in the midst of the Quarrel, in 1601, that he had cause to imitate the swaggering Tucca. In *Every Man Out of his Humour*, Jonson had satirized Dekker's friend, Marston, and now, in *Cynthia's Revels*, both him and Dekker; and in his *Satiromastix* Dekker chose to reply—so much at home

[1] Juniper, indeed, hunts phrases at times somewhat self-consciously—'I have the phrases, man,' II, 4,—a trait which Dekker wisely omits to reproduce.

[2] *Shoemaker*, v. 4, 'avaunt, avaunt, avoid, Mephistophiles!' An echo of *Faustus*.

[3] Such as 'mad Greek,' 'mad slave,' 'mad meridian slave,' 'mad Capricio,' 'ingle,' 'bully,' 'sweet ingle' or 'bully,' 'rogue,' 'scoundrel,' etc., in Juniper, and the same in Eyre besides a wealth of others,—especially variations upon 'mad Greek,' as 'True Trojans,' 'mad Cappadocians,' 'finc, dapper Assyrian lads,' etc. Much of this, of course, is taken from the cant of the day; cf. in Shakspere 'Trojan,' 'Greek,' 'Cataian.'

[4] Of this there is too much to quote; the more striking are the irrelevant ejaculatory imperatives, 'avaunt,' 'avoid,' 'abscond, 'vanish,' 'let that pass' (cf. Margery in *Shoemaker*); the interjection 'ha'; and the boisterous adverbs, 'away,' 'pell-mell,' 'helter-skelter.'

[5] Long recognized. Forward limit: 'the merry cobbler's cut in the witty play of the *Case is Altered*,' Nash's *Lenten Stuff*, reg. Jan. 11, 1599. Backward limit: the referencc to 'Antonio Balladino,' Anthony Munday, as 'already in print for the best plotter' (*C. A.*, I, 1) which, in turn, echoes Meres' *Wit's Treasury*—'Anthony Mundye our best plotter'—reg. Sept. 7, 1598. The earliest notice of the *Shoemaker* is in Henslowe, July 15, 1599.

[6] See the allusion in Nash, above, to this very character.

[7] Cf. Dekker's wholesale reproduction of Tucca in *Satiromastix*, probably because his 'humor' had made a palpable hit.

[8] For the best account of the Quarrel see Small, *Stage-Quarrel*, Breslau, 1899.

[9] The *Page of Plymouth*, Aug. 10, 1599; Robert the Second, King of Scots, Sept. 3, 1599 (Henslowe).

was he in the Jonsonian style—by appropriating the 'Janus-faced' Captain bodily and turning him even against his creator. In other respects Tucca remains quite the same as in Jonson—only a 'little less gay, less fickle, more revengeful,'[10] and, in addition, a lover. His manner, as in the *Poetaster*, is that of Juniper. It is said to have been taken from one Captain Hannam—that is one of the things reckoned against Ben by the Poetasters for satirical unrighteousness—but, except for a greater extravagance and a swaggering repetition[11] of the auxiliaries 'do' and 'shall' and of vocatives after imperatives, it is not new.[12] New or old, it is imitated by Dekker still more faithfully than that of Juniper in Simon Eyre.

Echoes of the style of Juniper and Tucca are by no means limited to Dekker's Eyre and his Tucca or to the plays in which these appear. Snatches of Juniper's vocabulary are to be found on the lips of Babulo and the Beggar in *Patient Grissel*[13] (1600), and something not only of the vocabulary, but also of the rhetorical tricks of Juniper, Eyre, and Captain Tucca is to be found on the lips of Wyatt and Brett, soldiers as they are, in *Sir Thomas Wyatt*[14] (1602). Tucca's reiteration seems to have spread by infection to other characters in *Satiromastix*, to Sir Quintilian Shorthose,[15] for instance, and it reappears later in some of his citizen comedies—those written in association with Webster and the *Honest Whore*. Mere abrupt reiteration and parallelism, however, are so characteristic of Dekker's dialogue, whether verse or prose, throughout his career, that the presence of those qualities is not enough to prove the influence of Juniper's or Tucca's rhetoric, though it might tend to prove, after a sufficient investigation, the influence of Jonson's earlier rhetoric in general.

[10] Small.

[11] 'And thou shall import the wine, old boy, thou shalt do it, little Minos, thou shalt.' 'Punk, kiss me, punk.' Repetition of 'do' is especially common. All of this reappears in the Tucca of Dekker.

[12] The more imposing array of ingenious appellations, too, may be credited to the example of 'honest Capten Hannam.'

[13] *Patient Grissel*, ed. Hübsch, ll. 1923–5, 2288, 'helter skelter,' 'pell-mell,' 'huftie-tuftie,' 'vanish.'

[14] Webster's Works, ed. Hazlitt, vol. I, pp. 6, 7, 40–41, 45–6. Brett, as a turncoat, is modelled upon Tucca.

[15] Dekker, *Works*, London, 1873, vol. I, p. 225.

Long after the Quarrel was over, in the *Honest Whore*, of 1604, Dekker, seems in several ways again to be echoing Jonson. The merchant Candido is molested in his own house by gallants, and is supported by his faithful apprentices, by one of them in particular,[16] as is Kitely, the merchant in *Every Man in his Humour;* and though Candido is *par excellence* the patient man, and Kitely on the other hand the jealous man,[17] he has something of Kitely's jerky, nervous manner:

> My gown, George, go, my gown.
> Come, where's the gown? *H. W.*, III, 1.

> O that is well; fetch me my cloak, my cloak!
> Stay, let me see, an hour to go and come;
> . . . . . .
> Carry in my cloak again. Yet stay.
> *E. M. I. H.*, III, 2.

Unlike any other characters in Dekker, moreover, the patient Candido and his 'longing' and his shrewish wife are done in the spirit of distinctively Jonsonian 'humors.' Their characteristics are read and known of all men, as if written in their foreheads, and are not forgotten even by the characters themselves. And, finally, Matheo, the 'high-flying' gallant, displays, in the Second Part of this play, a mannerism of omitting the pronoun in the first person, which—though possibly too common an affectation for that—may have been imitated from Hermogenes in the *Poetaster*.[18]

In *Westward Ho*, a play written in the same year in conjunction with Webster, there is unmistakable borrowing from the plot of *Every Man out of his Humour*.[19] The wife of the citizen Tenterhook is in love with the gallant Monopoly as the wife of the citizen Deliro, Fallace, is with the courtier Fastidious Brisk, and either one, when at her husband's suit her lover is lodged in jail for debt, endeavors to bail or buy him out. Master Parenthesis, moreover, as the envious mischief-maker running with tales from husband to wife and from wife to husband, is a replica—vaguer in contour and duller in hue—of the Macilente of the same play.

[16] George in *H. W.* and Thomas in *E. M. I. H. H.*

[17] The jealous citizen is not left unrepresented in Dekker—in *Westward Ho* and *Northward Ho*,—but he is only sketched.

[18] II, 1; *2 H. W.*, III, 2.

[19] Registered April 8, 1600, printed the same year. *W. H.* was registered March 2, 1605.

In much indeed that cannot now be definitely ascribed to influence, Dekker is at one with Jonson—in interests, in methods, in tone, and even in vocabulary. After Jonson he is the poet of London life, of 'merchants and apprentices, gulls and gallants,' and—beyond Jonson—the partisan of the citizens and their wives against the courtiers ;[20] after him he paints this life in lively and veracious colors, and his sympathies and judgments, his humor and morality, are of the same coarse-grained but manly cast; after him, once more, he uses a language rich in racy Saxon, in cant, slang, and dialect. The friend of Marston, Dekker has little in common with him, as he has little in common with a better friend and a collaborator, Webster ; he has not their burrowing, dissolving turn of mind,—neither the obscene ghastliness of Marston nor the ghastliness of Webster, which is sublime ;—but he has the simplicity and soundness of vision and the bourgeois interests of Jonson. The rise—or the development—of this oneness of temper and interests is no doubt to be assigned to the period of our poets' collaboration for Henslowe, before Jonson had struck off into his thorny path of satire and humors ; and the persistence of it, on either side, is attested, if by nothing else, by the instances already adduced of Dekker's unmistakable imitation of Jonson in the five or six years which follow, and by Jonson's less extensive, but still more unmistakable, imitation of Dekker so early as in *Eastward Ho* and so late as in the *Devil is an Ass.*[21]

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[20] Not after Jonson only, but also after Shakspere. The latter, as I have shown in *John Webster* (Cambridge, Mass., 1905), pp. 74–79, Dekker, from *Satiromastix* through the *Honest Whore*, imitated in the portrayal of citizenesses, both of fair name and of foul name, and in the matter of partisanship.

[21] See the explicit allusions in the prologues of both plays.—*E. H.*, as the authors avow, is written in imitation and rivalry of Dekker and Webster's partisan citizen-play, *Westward Ho.* (Whether Jonson had actually a hand in *E. H.* we cannot here inquire.) In a like general way the *D. I. A. A.* is indebted to Dekker's *If this be not a Good Play.* The motives are the same—men baffling and outdeviling the devils themselves,—and in both plays devils take service with men. See Herford, *Literary Relations of England and Germany.*

"PAW."

In Congreve's *Love for Love* (v, iv), Tattle says to Miss Prue, "O fy ! marrying is a paw thing." This word was always a mystery to me. The *Oxford Dictionary* cites this and several other instances of its use, and defines it, "Improper, naughty, obscene," which is clearly not the meaning here. As to the etymology, it says, "apparently a variant of *pah.*"

In the (MS.) *History of the Tuesday Club*[1] (circ. 1750), I find what I have no doubt is the true etymology. The writer says : "Our politest people, and persons of the first fashion and quality, use . . . . for 'positive,' 'pos,' for 'paltry,' 'paw,' for 'reputation,' 'rep,' for 'incognito,' 'incog.' "

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HAVELOK'S LAMENT.

In the romance of *Havelok*, the young prince, being cruelly treated by the churl Grim and his wife, exclaims,

> Weilawei !
> That euere was I kinges bern !
> That him ne hauede grip or ern,
> Leoun or wlf, wluine or bere,
> Or other best that wolde him dere."
> (ll. 570–4.)

In *Mod. Lang. Notes* (VII, 134), I suggested the change of *dere*, 'injure,' to *nere*, 'save, deliver.' Dr. O. F. Emerson, in a note in his *Middle English Reader*, cites my suggestion, but does not approve it. His explanation is, "Havelok laments not only that he is a king's son, but that wild beasts do not have him rather than such inhuman people." "Have," however, is hardly an equivalent for *dere.*

I incline, myself, to abandon my suggestion, chiefly on the ground that I can recall no such late use of *nere.* But it does not seem reasonable

[1] The Tuesday Club was the leading club of Annapolis in the middle of the 18th century. The so-called "History," however, is not a veracious chronicle, but a witty burlesque in the style of Swift, written by Dr. Alexander Hamilton. It is in the library of the Johns Hopkins University.

to me that Havelok, though he had been gagged by Grim, and buffeted by his wife, with a prospect of being drowned, should sigh to be torn to pieces by wild beasts. It looks like what a Scotchman would call "prayin' for sma' mercies."

At present, I am disposed to look upon the three lines as a compassionate exclamation of the poet, who, remembering the old superstition that "the lion will not touch the true prince," cries "(A King's son) whom not even wild beasts would harm (was thus cruelly treated by Christians !)" This preserves the text, is reasonable, and accounts for the change of person in the pronoun.

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GERMAN LITERATURE.

Aprilwetter von Hans Arnold. Edited, with Notes and Vocabulary, by Lawrence Fossler, Professor of Germanic Languages and Literatures, University of Nebraska. Boston : D. C. Heath & Co., 1905. 12mo., vi and 144 pp.

Professor Fossler's school and college edition of Hans Arnold's *Aprilwetter* is quite an object lesson in itself—especially for the teacher of modern languages who uses the text and for the editor who chooses the text.

With the many stories at his command, which it is gratifying to find Professor Fossler obtained the author's consent to use—a mere, small matter of etiquette which editors through too great zeal overlook or deliberately ignore—a better selection might possibly have been made. Yet the stories are amusing, and personal preferences on the part of the reviewer can in no sense detract from the value of these three as educational material.

Professor Fossler's introduction is interesting—extremely so for the educator to whom the reason for the choice of a certain text must be of moment, but it can hardly be so to the student, who looks to the introduction for an account of his author and for specific information as to the text he is about to study which cannot readily be put into the notes and vocabulary. Such a one as that which Professor Fossler gives, properly belongs in the announcement of his text to the profession, or in a short paper or note on Frau von Bülow as a source for texts for the use of the English and American student of German.

The edition fails in accomplishing the purpose for which it was gotten up, because of the many evidences of carelessness. Chief amongst which are misprints, imperfect impressions due to the use of old type, and here and there misinterpretations of the German.

An incomplete list of these is appended :

p. 1, line 6. *Szepter* instead of *Scepter* or *Zepter*.

p. 54, line 7. *Gastav* instead of *Gustav*.

p. 62, line 21. *blinde Mut* instead of *blinde Wut*.

p. 73, line 2. *affort* instead of *effort*.

p. 73, note to p. 2.—1. *Tee und Abendbrot-Fest*, the first *b* in *Abendbrot*, needs new type.

p. 79, note 6. *für Professors* refers back to *Exzellenzens* p. 17, line 22, while the words "für Professors," p. 17, line 26, have no note indicated for them.

Above all things, a textbook of this sort should have uniformity in spelling. Throughout the text and in the note at the top of this page we find *Exzellenz* but on the last line in the note *Excellenzens*—a bit of carelessness which reflects on editor and professional proofreader alike.

p. 82. *Borsdorfer* needs a new type for *B*.

p. 93. Note 3 to p. 63 is rather unfortunate in rendering *auf ihr ehrlich Gesicht hin*, by "on her face," as in some parts of our country this expression is the equivalent of "cheek" (audacity, boldness). "The face of the fellow" in slang means the "effrontery of the man." However, much "face" the old lady may have had, and she was blessed with a good deal of that article, in this instance she was merely forgetful, not "fresh." By the retention of the single word *ehrlich* in translation, the note will be deprived of its slangy character and the point of the German *ehrlich Gesicht* will be brought out clearly. A note on why it is *ihr ehrlich Gesicht* instead of *ihr ehrliches Gesicht* would seem to meet all the student's needs at this point.

In the grammatical notes Professor Fossler has been more fortunate ; they are often, indeed, most excellent.

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ENGLISH LITERATURE.

The Principles and Progress of English Poetry, with representative masterpieces and notes, by CHARLES MILLS GAYLEY and CLEMENT C. YOUNG. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1905.

Since the uniform requirements for admission to our colleges north and south have become each year more and more widely adopted, publishers have sought in every possible way to supply the growing demand for well-edited, moderate-priced texts of the poems and prose pieces required. Thus there are the excellent paper editions of the Riverside Literature Series, the Cambridge Literature Series, the Silver Series of English Classics, Maynard's English Classic Series, and many others, which have proved almost indispensable to a modern college course. Besides these, publishers have put forth in one volume carefully annotated selections of masterpieces of prose and poetry, such as Pancoast's *Standard English Poems* and *Standard English Prose*, Syle's *From Milton to Tennyson*, George's *From Chaucer to Arnold*, and Parrott and Long's *English Poems from Chaucer to Kipling*, all arranged with biographical and bibliographical data, either in the notes or as connecting links between the texts. The present book, however, differs from all the others of its kind in that it attempts to combine into one volume a digest of literary criticism, a connected history of English literature, biographical sketches, complete texts of the poems required for entrance to most American colleges, and full critical notes, so that it may serve as a *vade mecum* during the four years of a High School course. Professor Gayley in his preface thus sets forth the purpose and method of the volume:

"This book is designed to serve as a kind of compendium or manual, not only for students and teachers, but for the general reader who takes interest in the materials and history of the higher English poetry, and seeks a simple statement of its principles in relation to life, conduct, and art. . . . The introduction on the Principles of Poetry aims to answer the questions that inevitably arise when poetry is the subject of discussion, and to give the questioner a grasp upon the essentials necessary to appreciation and to the formation of an independent judgment. Hence the discussion of the relation of art to nature, and of literature to art; of poetry to literature, and of verse and prose to poetry; of the creative or imaginative expression in poetry proper, and of its association with rhetoric and logic; of rhythm and metre, melody, harmony, and structural form in verse, and the relation of all these to the organic principles of speech; of the kinds of poetry, ballad and epic, reflective and descriptive recital, lyric, elegy, and ode, drama, pastoral and idyl, satire and philosophical poem, and the æsthetic conditions precedent to and attendant upon each in turn; finally, of poetic tests and of the terminology of such criticism as the general reader is likely to consider or apply. This portion of the book should be mastered by the teacher, and retailed to younger pupils as occasion offers and discretion dictates. By the more advanced student it should be read, as a whole, some time during the course, for it presents a system; and it should be applied continually in the appraisement of poems as they are studied" (pp. vi and ix).

Professor Gayley has succeeded in compressing within the narrow limits of less than a hundred pages a complete system of poetics and of criticism, and furnishes the student with the necessary critical apparatus for the study of the masterpieces of poetry. But much as we may admire the studied compression and repression of this Introduction, we cannot help feeling that the style is ill adapted to the development and training of the class of students for whom it is intended. It might seem to be a carefully prepared digest of lectures delivered to college seniors, rather than a course of study for high school students. At times the language is needlessly stilted and pedantic, and would serve utterly to bewilder even the most conscientious advanced pupil of the high school. Imagine the student, for example, struggling with the following definition of poetry: "From the point of view of the *subject and the form*, poetry may be defined as the imaginative and emotive expression or suggestion of that which has significance, in the rhythmical and preferably metrical medium of language appropriate to the subject. From the point of view of the *purpose*, it is an imaginative attempt, by means of rhythmical, and preferably metrical language, to awaken

emotions in the reader or hearer that correspond to the mood of the poet himself" (p. xxxix).

Or picture his efforts to unravel the meaning in the following explanation of how metres are varied: "The aim of artistic technique is not to reproduce the unyielding sameness of natural law alone, but also to display the manifold details and differences of garb, through which Nature may reveal herself, by emphasizing the variety of her manifestations to certify their common spirit and significance" (p. lviii).

Clearly anticipating the difficulty the pupil will have in comprehending this Introduction, Professor Gayley recommends that "This portion of the book should be mastered by the teacher, and retailed to younger pupils as occasion offers and discretion dictates" (p. ix). But, as this is intended to be a useful and practical text-book, why not, one might ask, write an introduction that the student can read, understand, and enjoy for himself, without any retailing process on the part of the teacher?

There is, moreover, a lavish and useless display of figurative language, where the figures, far from helping to convey the thought, serve only to confuse it and to lead the student away from the main idea. The following are typical examples of such tawdry adornment: "Of course all these accentuations of the usual method of excited utterance, and these departures from the careless order of conversational speech [antithesis, balance, parallelisms, climax, etc.] are common to the prose of practical literature. But the devices of the former or *emotional* kind [simile, metaphor, etc.] appear frequently in poetry, as if playing the part of waves on which the fleet of imagery—really poetic—may fare afloat. Devices of the latter or *ordering* kind serve as winds to marshal battle-ship and cockle-shell to the haven that is the heart" (p. xlix).

The charm of blank verse is thus pictured: "Upon the cadence of prose diction—broad of sweep and free from restrictions of stress and quantity—the iambic convention is imposed; not, however, as a die pressed upon molten gold, but rather as a vestment of Coan simplicity thrown about an Aphrodite,—heightening the natural grace that it half conceals" (p. lx).

And, finally, the sestet in the sonnet is said to have the following effect: "It gilds thought with the tracery of instance, crowns it with the sufficient and inevitable actuality that lies within the wisdom of art" (p. lxxxvi).

Worse, however, than pedantry and useless ornamentation, there is an occasional tendency to looseness and obscurity of style, as in the following sentences:

"Paraphrasing, therefore, should be employed, if at all, in the schools, not as an insult to the poet's intelligence, formative skill, and inspiration, but as a necessary, though unfortunate, concession to the inexperience of the pupil, as a means to the removal of that necessity, and as an exercise in translation, which, when pupils study Greek and Latin, has little reason for existence" (p. xvii).

"Those who enjoy, enjoy the accepted rhythm; those who do not, are not in the artistic or poetic mood. Consequently, mankind has from the beginning acknowledged that taste or feeling; that is to say, the *general* taste or feeling, and not judgment, that is to say, the individual judgment, is the arbiter in art" (p. xxx).

"Similarly the innuendo insinuated by the statement that a monk is not pale as a forpined ghost [*sic*] depends for its success upon the probability that the reader will jocosely leap to the conclusion that the monk is the exact opposite, all that he was not said to be, a wine-bibber and purple-nosed" (p. xlix).

"So far as imagination goes, *Horatius* is principally a vivid representation of images that, if experienced in real life, would move our feelings by their simplicity and fervor, and that still more move when apparently remembered by the minstrel, and recited in a season of tranquillity with all the focussing of emotional effect and dramatic coloring that manner and order can contribute" (p. xliii).

Such sentences are enough to call forth the shade of Dick Steele with another "Humble Petition of WHO and WHICH."

Occasionally one is inclined to take issue with Professor Gayley on a question of fact, as, for example, when he tells us that "poetry frequently indulges in archaic or obsolescent forms of speech, for these recall the simpler days when words had more direct and explicit meaning than now" (p. xl). To what golden past in the history of our language do these "simpler days" belong?

Though most rhetorics agree in considering

personification, apostrophe, and vision as species of metaphor,[1] — *idealized metaphors*, Professor Gayley calls them,—not all would agree with him in identifying vision and simile, as he does in the following examples: "And close akin to this trope [apostrophe] is Vision, by which the distant, or past or future, is regarded, and spoken of as present. 'I see before me the Gladiator lie,' says Byron; and the image is merely a *simile idealized:* 'I hold in mind the image of the Gladiator as if I saw him.'" And in the oft-cited passage from Keats,

> "So these two brothers with their murdered man
> Rode past fair Florence"

we are told that the figure is "nothing but a metaphor or simile in which time has been swallowed." "The brothers have not yet murdered their companion, but he is as good as murdered" (pp. xlv–xlvi). It is difficult to see how in either case the figure could possibly be classed as a simile, for we have to do, not with a comparison of unlike objects, but with identity between mental and physical processes applied to the same object.

It seems strange that both in the introduction and in the text and notes, the editors should cling to the traditional and mistaken punctuation and interpretation of *Lycidas*, ll. 56–57,

> "Ay me! I fondly dream
> 'Had ye been there,'—for what could that have done?"

I give Professor Gayley's spelling and punctuation (p. xlix). This passage is here interpreted, and is generally understood, to be an example of broken utterance or aposiopesis. But Professor C. A. Smith, *Modern Language Notes*, XI (1896), p. 28, corrects this long-continued misinterpretation and gives the proper punctuation and true meaning:

> "Ay me! I fondly dream
> 'Had ye been there,' for what could that have done?"

"If there had been a sudden and violent turn to the poet's thought, the construction would have required the conjunction 'but' instead of 'for,' the former being the almost preëmpted word in such construction. The true meaning would seem to be, 'It is foolish [fond] in me to keep imagining Had ye been there, for what could your presence have done?'"

In his treatment of accents, hovering and wrenched, Professor Gayley cites *Comus*, l. 421,

> "She that hath that is clad in complete steel,"

and says it is to be scanned "with a suspended or deferred stress over 'in com.' Both syllables of the succeeding foot are heavily accented" (p. lxvi). It seems more natural, however, to read *cómplete*, with the stress on the first syllable. In certain disyllables,—*complete, adverse, extreme, secure, sincere*, etc.,—the accent in Shakespeare's time was unsettled,[2] just as it is to-day in such words as *access, contents, expert, annex, adult*, etc.

Though in the preface Professor Gayley emphasizes the importance of reproducing the exact orthography of Chaucer, Shakespeare, Milton, and other early poets, and though Mr. Young has been exceedingly careful and accurate with his texts (if Mr. Young is to be given all the credit for that part of the volume), the following quotations in the Introduction show a strange disregard for the proper spelling:

> "Smale fowles maken melodye
> That slepen al the night with open eye."
> *Prol.*, 9–10 (p. xlix).

On p. 8 appears the proper reading:

> "And smale fowles maken melodye
> That slepen all the night with open ye."

The spelling *eye* is found in only one MS.

> "let olde thinges pase." *Prol.*, l. 175 (p. civ),

should read,

> "leet olde thinges pace." See p. 13.
>
> "She that hath that is clad in complete steel."
> *Comus*, l. 421 (p. lxvi).

See p. 81, where the spelling is *compleat*.

Brief as are the limits of Professor Gayley's Introduction, he is not content with a simple, clear exposition of principles, he seeks to make a psychological analysis of the processes by which certain effects are obtained. The average school boy, however, does not care to analyze the logical effect of an hyperbole, but he does need to know

[1] See Gummere, *Handbook of Poetics*, p. 93; Newcomer, *Elements of Rhetoric*, p. 249.

[2] See Schmidt's *Shakespeare Lexicon*, 2, Appendix 1; Schipper, *Grundriss der eng. Metrik*, p. 174.

the figure when he sees it. Hyperbole, Professor Gayley tells us, is a figure of logical artifice, based upon logical fallacy or mock logic. "Now, it is an interesting fact," he continues, "not hitherto noticed, so far as I know, that most, if not all, of these figures depend for their characteristic, not upon the use of poetic images, but upon their appeal to the reasoning faculty of the hearer. The reader, by an instinctive logic, knows that the hyperbole does not reason fairly, but he knows also that the author credits him with too much common sense to be deceived. The reader is consequently flattered by the appeal to his intelligence, and the author gains his point, which was not to maintain all that the hyperbole affirmed, but to carry the reader *part way* toward the violent and impossible conclusion. In the lines,

'Will all great Neptune's ocean wash this blood
Clean from my hand? No; this my hand will rather
The multitudinous sea incarnadine,
Making the green one red.'

Macbeth argues from the fact that a certain amount of water used in washing a bloody hand will itself turn red to the conclusion that his hand would turn any amount of water, even the ocean itself, 'one red.' The reader, instinctively detecting the strained logic, accepts, however, the implication that the hand is steeped in blood beyond the common" (p. xlviii).

Is the student to be taught the beauty of one of the most imaginative passages in Shakespeare by any such painful process of logic as this?

Chaucer, too, Professor Gayley would have us believe, was given to this same mock logic, and made the same "flattering appeal to our intelligence" in his inimitable line on the monk,

"He was not pale as a forpyned goost"

"Similarly the innuendo insinuated by the statement that a monk is not pale as a forpined ghost depends for its success upon the probability that the reader will jocosely leap to the conclusion that the monk is the exact opposite, all that he was not said to be, a wine-bibber and purple-nosed. But both Chaucer and the reader are aware of many alternatives of complexion for jovial men, between the pallid and the purple" (p. xlix). If the successful appreciation of Chaucer's roguish humor is dependent only upon such a "jocose leap," many a reader will doubtless find Chaucer dull and uninteresting.

This same fondness for over-minute analysis is apparent in the treatment of vowel sequence in poetry: "The third [kind of vowel sequence], depending upon a *pivotal vowel*, is much affected by Milton. Sometimes for five or ten lines together the ascent to, and descent from, a central vowel sound, seems to be the guiding principle of quality or tone. In the following from *Il Penseroso*, such a vowel obtains about the middle of each verse; it stands forth unique in sound and importance:

And let some strange mysterious dream,
Wave at his wings in airy stream
Of lively portraiture displayed.

I should call this the *jewelled* line. The note struck by the central vowel is not repeated on either side. The next line of the passage, however, reverts to the sequence of alternation; one sequence overdone would lose its savor" (p. lxxiv). And even the simple, unadorned poetry of Wordsworth is said to "gleam with lines *jewelled* in sound and sense." It is unfortunate that the tone of the Introduction should be weakened by any such sentimental preciosity. In many ways this Introduction fails of the purpose for which it was intended, namely, to serve as a simple, useful guide for high school students preparing for college.

The main body of the volume,—the texts, historical and biographical sketches, and the notes,—has been done with better success, and with a clearer sense of the demands both of the subject and of the reader. The style is simple, clear, and natural, free from idle adornment, and well adapted to the student. The texts are well edited, and the notes numerous, helpful, and suggestive. The characteristics of each period of literature are clearly summed up in a brief introductory chapter, and to the selections from each author are prefixed an excellent biographical sketch of the man, and an estimate of his work and character.

In the texts, attention might be called to the following points:

p. 9, l. 49.

"As wel in Cristendom as in hethenesse."

The editors read this line with slurring of the *-en* in *Cristendom*, reducing it to a disyllable. But such an accentuation of *Cristendom* would be metrically impossible in Middle English. The syllable *-dom* would require at least a secondary accent.[3] Hence we should read

As wél in Crístendóm as in héthenésse,

reducing to one metrical syllable the two words *as in* [*as'n*].[4] Or read with Skeat *as hethenesse*, on the authority of the Hn. and Hl. MSS.

p. 10, l. 73,

"His hors were gode, but he ne was not gay."

Here the editors mark the *e* in *gode* as silent. But since in the strong form of the predicate adjective, the *e* is usually sounded,[5] it would seem better to consider this as an epic cæsura, and read *góde | but hé*, giving full syllabic value to the *e*.

p. 10, l. 76,

"Al bismotered with his habergeoun."

p. 12, l. 131,

"That no drope ne fille upon her brest."

It is difficult to see how the editors mean these lines to be read, without any indication of the so-called trochaic beginning, *Ál bismótered*, *Thát no drópe*. The accent has been properly marked in ll. 170, 294, *Gínglen*, *Twénty bókes*.

There is no note on the metrically difficult line, *Prol.*, l. 320 (p. 17),

"His purchasing mighte not been infect."

Skeat says "the word *might-e* occupies the fourth [third ?] foot in the line." The only possible reading then would be *mighté*, an altogether impossible accentuation. Mather makes no suggestion as to how it should be read. The only solution seems to be that there is a medial pause at the cæsura, so that we read,

His púrchasíng || míghte not beén inféct.[6]

Skeat's example has been followed in altering certain passages and lines in Chaucer that might offend modern taste, and in indicating the substituted words by inclosing them in brackets.

l. 504,

"A [dirty] shepherde and a clene shepe."

l. 625,

"[And quyk] he was and [chirped] as a sparwe."

ll. 649–50,

"He wolde suffre for a quart of wyn,
A good felawe to [have his wikked syn]."

l. 689,

"No berd hadde he, ne never sholde have,
As smothe it was as it were late y-shave;
I trowe [his cheke and eek his chin were bare]."

In such cases it would seem better to omit the lines altogether, rather than to substitute such weak dilutions of the original.

There is little criticism to make of the notes, except that for greater convenience reference might have been made to the pages as well as to the lines of the text, and that occasionally the editors, in their laudable desire to make the student work out questions for himself, have left unsettled problems too difficult for him to solve. As, for example, the following: *Comus*, l. 380 (p. 484), "*all to ruffl'd*, one of the most difficult expressions of the poem. Though Milton uses no hyphen, editors have explained that one may have been intended, thus fixing the meaning as either *all-to* (altogether, or exceedingly) *ruffled*, or *all to-ruffled* ('to' being an intensive prefix common in Old and Middle English). Still another interpretation is made by regarding 'to' as the adverb 'too.' Which seems the most probable interpretation?" (p. 484).

Again, *Comus*, l. 553 (p. 487), "*drowsie frighted*, these epithets are curiously used. 'Drowsy' is the normal characteristic of the steeds, since they draw the litter of sleep; while 'frighted' is their temporary condition from hearing the noise of Comus's rout. Some of the editions have *drowsy-flighted* (flying drowsily), and still others *drowsy-freighted* (weighed down with sleep). The student should decide among these three possible readings." Upon what is he to base his decision? Is he prepared to make such judgments? See also p. 551, ll. 161–164.

P. 516, note to l. 185 of *Tam O'Shanter*,

[3] See Morsbach, *Mittelenglische Grammatik*, § 46, 1.

[4] See Mather's edition of the *Prologue*, Riv. Lit. Series, p. 139.

[5] ten Brink, *Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst*, § 234; Schipper, *Englische Metrik*, I, 476.

[6] See Alden's *English Verse*, p. 20 f.; Schipper, *Eng. Metrik*, I, 460–461, II, 36 f.

"Even Satan glowered and fidged fu' fain." "Fu' fain" is explained as "very moist"!

With the exception of these few minor details, the work of editing and annotating has been admirably done, and, in spite of the weak points in the Introduction, the volume should prove a useful and excellent text-book for high schools and for the lower classes in college.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

Rafael Salillas: Un Gran Inspirador de Cervantes: El Doctor Juan Huarte y su *Examen de Ingenios.* Madrid: 1905.

This little book, by a distinguished member of the Madrid medical fraternity, ranks high among the publications incident to the tri-centennial of *Don Quixote.* It deserves to be called to the attention of *cervantistas* the world over. As a medical man, Don Rafael Salillas seeks to explain the evolution of Cervantes' literary genius from the time of the *Galatea* to the *Persiles y Segismunda.* The graft of the critical and picaresque upon the romantic, chivalric and metrical character of Cervantes strikes every reader of *Don Quixote.* It is this blending of two spirits in *Don Quixote,* this dual point of view in Cervantes, that Dr. Salillas has penetrated with all the scientific skill which he brings to the problem from his profession. More important, he claims to have found in the *Examen de Ingenios* of Dr. Juan Huarte a hitherto neglected source of definite inspiration utilized by Cervantes.

The mature philosophy of Cervantes in his masterpiece was gained by experience, by an unequalled faculty of observation, and by insatiable thirst for information through reading. His critical faculties once developed through experience and study, we may suppose Cervantes to have renounced those forms of fiction and the drama which he once admired and zealously cultivated,—albeit with relatively little success. But, as Dr. Salillas remarks, "the primitive literary personality of Cervantes is not lost; if it had been lost, he would not have written his immortal work" (p. 148). The mature fruit of his spirit is explained by the *ingerto picaresco* upon an imperishable trunk of extravagant and seductive romanticism. As Valera has said, "Cervantes se muestra siempre enamorado de lo novelesco y lo trágico" (*Disertaciones y juicios literarios,* Madrid, 1890, p. 68). The mature fruit of this graft has become the highest expression of the Spanish national character. But Dr. Salillas supposes that, had Cervantes simply brought the critical, practical spirit of the contemporary *pícaro* to bear upon the wild imaginings of the *caballero andante,* he would have produced either an *Hidalgo apicarado* or a *Pícaro caballero* (p. 154). But, as we know, the fusion is not casual or superficial; it is deep and intimate. Now, our critic is a man of science, and he uses throughout forcible scientific terms: the *elemento fusionador,* required in this chemical process, must be found. "This fusion could not take place without the powerful intervention of the *Examen de Ingenios* (published in 1575) with a psychological formula which limits the jurisdiction of the understanding and of the imagination, together with the disturbances which each may feel, thus giving not only the definition of a type of madman and of a form of madness, but also the primordial pattern of an entire work with its two constituent elements" (p. 154).

That Cervantes makes no mention of his debt to Huarte is not held by Dr. Salillas to disprove his theory. We know the book to have attracted widespread attention both in and out of Spain. Indeed, Cervantes deliberately states in his *Prólogo* that his work is to have none of the accompaniments of a scholarly document,—no references, no quotations, no footnotes. His whole literary career, however, we know to have been occupied with the gathering of facts and the digesting of important ideas. Our critic, then, seriously contemplates "la reconstitución de las lecturas de Cervantes," in so far as the celebrated *Examen de Ingenios* of Dr. Juan Huarte is concerned. He hopes that other investigations will throw more light upon the subject.

As will be seen in the following *rêsumé* of his conclusions, Dr. Salillas finds unmistakable traces

of the definite influence of Huarte's treatise, not only in *Don Quixote*, but also in the minor works, early as well as late:

1. The epithet *Ingenioso Hidalgo* is adopted from the *Examen de Ingenios*.

2. The fashion of Don Quixote's mental disturbance is derived from certain passages in this same work.

3. The same is true of *El Licenciado Vidriera*, one of the *Novelas Exemplares*.

4. Cervantes himself is the author of an actual *Examen de Ingenios* in *Galatea*.

5. Cervantes changes a psycho-physiological doctrine of Huarte into a dramatic symbolism in *Persiles y Segismunda*.

We have space only to briefly summarize the arguments under these five headings.

1 and 2. Dr. Salillas draws attention to the prominence of the adjective *ingenioso* applied to the *Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha* in the title of the work, and in chapters 2, 6 and 16 of Part 1. Don Quixote's mental disturbance is a constant trait, with limitations set at the outset. Save along one line, he is perfectly sane. The reading of books of chivalry alone distinguished him from any other worthy *hidalgo*. "La locura de Don Quixote, la transformación del hidalgo, es cosa de ingenio, es reflejo de determinadas manifestaciones del ingenio, es debida á la ingeniosa literatura de los libros de caballería que se la ingiere en el cerebro, lo destempla y le hace proceder con arreglo á las determinantes de la imaginativa" (p. 56). With more reason than had Ariosto in his *Orlando Furioso*, Cervantes had to include the madness of his hero in his very expressive title. Yet to call Don Quixote *loco* or *furioso* would have been highly inappropriate. He hit upon the remarkable adjective *ingenioso* in the work of Huarte, used in precisely the dignified significance which he wished to convey regarding the warped *ingenio* of his hero. In the psycho-physiological doctrine of Huarte, "las artes y ciencias que aprenden los hombres son unas imágenes y figuras que los ingenios engendraron dentro de la memoria," because the word *ingenio* "desciende del verbo *ingenero*, que quiere decir engendrar dentro de sí una figura entera y verdadera que representa al vivo la naturaleza del sujeto cuya es la ciencia que se aprende" (p. 62). Huarte further compares the extravagant products of the mind of an *ingenioso* to the birth of abortions in the physical world.

But where Cervantes is found most strikingly in accord with the sixteenth century Doctor is in the pathological explanation of Don Quixote's madness. In Huarte's eyes, we are all mad, in varying degrees and along different lines. From circumstances of environment, from intemperance in our practices,—we all suffer from divers distempers, some of them physical, some mental. Each has his particular form of distemper. "Si el hombre cae en alguna enfermedad, por la cual el cerebro de repente muda su temperatura (como es la manía, melancolía y frenesía), en un momento acontece perder (si es prudente) cuanto sabe, y dice mil disparates; y si es necio, adquiere más ingenio y habilidad que antes tenía." Note, further, that in Huarte's doctrine "la locura es siempre un modo de ingenio," and that "manía es una destemplanza caliente y seca del cerebro." When we remember that Cervantes says of his hero: "del poco dormir y del mucho leer, se le secó el cerebro, de manera que vino á perder el juicio," we see the interest of Dr. Salillas' pathological explanation of Don Quixote's madness. "La definición de las causas de la locura de Don Quixote está hecha con arreglo á la doctrina de las destemplanzas, y que con arreglo á la misma doctrina aparece la forma de locura del *Ingenioso Hidalgo*, que lo que tiene es particular lesión en una de las potencias racionales, en la imaginativa, no en el entendimiento" (p. 77).

Not only did Cervantes find in the *Examen de Ingenios* a scientific study of just that mania of the imagination from which his hero was suffering, but he even found a parallel case quoted "in little" in Huarte's treatise, which Salillas cites entire (pp. 78, 79). Finally, then, Cervantes gets from Huarte his use of *ingenioso* in the sense of a man whose imagination has warped his judgment.

3. Just as in Cervantes' masterpiece his imagination leads Don Quixote to believe he is a *caballero andante*, so in *El Licenciado Vidriera* Tomás Rodaja is persuaded that he is made of glass. The cases are exactly parallel. By a con-

vincing juxtaposition of texts from Huarte's story of a certain precocious page and from Cervantes' parallel account of the *ingenio sutil* of Tomás, Dr. Salillas claims that the former inspired not only the story of *El Licenciado Vidriera*, but also its symbolism. "En el caso que nos ocupa, Cervantes convierte en representación plástica una teoría científica" (p. 92).

4. In the *Galatea*, Cervantes' early pastoral in which the romantic and tragic notes predominate, Dr. Salillas draws attention to two notable *variaciones de estilo*. The former is found in the sensible discussion of the shepherds Lenio and Tirsi relative to the amount of knowledge our souls bring with them into the world at birth, and the subsequent additions to this knowledge. The two theories herein expounded are found in the seventh chapter of Huarte's treatise. The second *variación* is in the fourth book of the *Galatea*, where Caliope in verse passes in review the *diferencia de ingenio* exhibited by the great men of Spain. This whole idea, together with the technical phraseology employed, seems undoubtedly to have been suggested by the process only casually employed by Huarte in his investigation of certain *ingenios* in his twelfth chapter.

5. Finally, in *Persiles y Segismunda*, Dr. Salillas again finds put into dramatic symbolism a theory of Huarte : that of the sudden passion of wrath being due to the effect upon the heart produced by the sight of some object. The parallel here is established between the sixth chapter of the *Examen de Ingenios* and the tragic episode introduced in the narrative of the journey of Periandro and Auristela to Rome. The details of the explanation of the phenomenon of wrath are here almost exactly identical in the two authors.

This mere outline of the scientific conclusions of Dr. Salillas' critical method can give no idea of the accumulative proof he advances in their support. As he says himself of the path of investigation which he has opened : "Esto no es más que el comienzo." One cannot but feel in laying down this work that a flood of light has been let in upon the deeper and hidden workings of Cervantes' mind, and that Dr. Juan Huarte de San Juan, the medical philosopher of the sixteenth century, was "el gran inspirador de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra."

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BRIEF MENTION.

German Literature.

Die Briefe Der Frau Rath Goethe, gesammelt und herausgegeben von Albert Köster. Leipzig, Carl Ernst Poeschel, 1904.

These letters of Goethe's mother, covering the period from 1774 to 1808, are both valuable to the student of Goethe and interesting to the casual reader. Her circle of correspondents was a wide one and included some of the people who played very important parts in the life of her son. With Lavater, the Duchess Anna Amalia of Weimar, Wieland and Christiane Vulpius, for example, she carried on a spirited correspondence extending over a considerable period of time. By far the greater part of the letters, however, are those written to her distinguished son himself. And these contain not only a wealth of interesting biographical allusion, but also the fullest testimony of her comprehension of him, his aims and desires, at the times when he was generally misunderstood by his associates.

Aside from their purely biographical import the letters are well worth reading. The Frau Rath's style is vivid and easy. The tone of the letters intuitively suits itself to the correspondent, and after perusing them one is in a better position than ever before to appreciate the extent to which Goethe was indebted to his mother for his literary talents.

This is the first complete edition of the Frau Rath's letters, Professor Köster having included everything of established authenticity. The two volumes are provided with explanatory notes, an index and a register of names.

S. G. Capen.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOL. XXI. BALTIMORE, FEBRUARY, 1906. No. 2.

A ROLA VIUVA NA POESIA POPULAR PORTUGUESA.

Tomando por base um artigo de Jacob Grimm, publicado em 1816 no t. III dos *Altdeutsche Wälder*, estuda o Sr. Philip S. Allen nos *Modern Language Notes*, t. XIX (1904), p. 175 ss., o thema tradicional, que já provém da antiguidade, e que tambem teve voga na idade-media, segundo o qual a rola, a quem morre o companheiro, é considerada symbolo da viuva inconsolavel, que nem sossega em verde ramo, nem mata a sêde em limpida fonte.

O Sr. Allen, a este proposito, transcreve uma antiga canção popular allemã e outra dinamarquesa, e cita uns versos de W. Müller († 1827), baseados numa poesia grega, e outros de Eichendorff († 1857), imitados de um romance hespanhol[1]. Em nota accrescenta amostras de poesias populares de Italia e de França, em que o referido thema se encontra.

Pela minha parte indicarei uma cantiga popular que ouvi a uma mulher no concelho de Baião, e que pertence á mesma classe :

Eu sou como a triste rola
Quando os seus amores perde :
Anda de ramo em ramo,
Nem agoa clara[2] bebe !

Existe bastante analogia entre ella e a traducção que dá J. Grimm da canção grega que serviu de modêlo a W. Müller,—reproduzida igualmente pelo Sr. Allen :

Nein, auf keinem grünem Aste
Werd' ich niemals ruhn, ich trinke
Nimmer aus dem Bache Labung ;
Gleich der treuen Turteltaube,
Wann verstorben ihr Gemahl.

A ideia de uma ave *andar de ramo em ramo* repete-se noutra cantiga de Baião :

Ó menina, dá-me o sim,
Ou me dá o desengano,
Que eu não sou passaro novo
Que ande de ramo em ramo . . .

O mesmo digo com relação á ideia de *beber agoa turva :*

A agoa do rio vai turva,
Eu não fui que a turvei :
Agora, por meus peccados,
Agoa turva beberei.

Do thema da viuvez da rola, tal como fica exposto a cima, ha certamente um eco, mais ou menos claro, nesta cantiga da provincia do Minho[3] :

Namorei-me,—foi meu gôsto ;
Olhar,—foi o meu regalo.
Não quero ser como a rola,
Que morreu ao desamparo[4].

Á proporção que se estudam as tradições populares, colligindo-se elementos de comparação em diversos paises, nota-se, como agora, que o que ás veses se tem por typico do caracter ou da litteratura de um povo é patrimonio de muitos.

J. LEITE DE VASCONCELLOS.

Bibliotheca Nacional, Lisboa.

[1] Vem, por ex., em Duran, *Romancero*, t. II, p. 448, nº. 1446.

[2] Deve pronunciar-se *kelara.*

[3] *Cantos pop. portug.* de A. Thomás Pires, t. II, Elvas, 1905, p. 228, nº. 3917.

[4] Talvez se deva ao mesmo tempo estabelecer comparação entre outra cantiga portuguesa e alguns versos do romance hespanhol que ha pouco mencionei. Neste romance diz-se da rola :

Que está viuda y con dolor.

Depois o rouxinol apresenta-se perante ella como seu servidor. A rola responde-lhe :

Vete de ahi, enemigo,
. . . . . .
Que no quiero haber marido !

A cantiga portuguese soa assim :

Rouxinol da penna verde,
Não cantes agora aqui ;
Bem sabes que ando de luto
Por um amor que perdi !

Em verdade a nossa cantiga é de significação um tanto vaga ; ella porém póde ter feito parte de um diálogo mais extenso em que figurasse claramente a rola como interlocutora do rouxinol : em tal caso a equivalencia entre os versos hespanhoes e os portugueses seria completa.

SOURCES OF THE LAY OF THE *Two Lovers.*

The substance of this lay is as follows[1]: At Pistre in Normandy there lived a king who, after the death of his wife, bestowed all of his affection on his daughter. So great was his love for her that he would neither permit her to marry, nor would he allow her to be separated from him. When his subjects began to complain and criticise his treatment of his daughter, he finally announced that he would give his consent to her marriage on condition that her lover should carry her in his arms, without resting, to the top of the mountain in front of the village. Many undertook to fulfill this condition, but failed. Some were able to carry the maiden only a fourth of the distance up the mountain, while others went considerably farther before falling beneath their precious burden. Among the suitors of the king's daughter was the son of a count, a brave and handsome youth of that land. Recognizing the impossibility of fulfilling the condition imposed by the king, the young man first proposed to his fair love to flee with him. She refused to grant his request, however, because she feared lest her flight might grieve her father and drive him to despair. On the contrary, she advised him to go to Salerno to see her aunt, who was thoroughly acquainted with the medicinal properties of plants and roots, assuring him that she would be able to give him a drink or potion that would drive away all fatigue and so increase his strength that he could easily carry her to the summit of the mountain. The youth went to Salerno and, after securing the potion, returned to ask the king for his daughter. In the meantime, the maiden did everything that she could to render less difficult the task of her lover. She fasted in order to reduce her weight and, on the day fixed for the trial, she wore nothing but a chemise. Finally, in the presence of a large crowd that had assembled in a meadow on the Seine, the young man began the ascent of the mountain, with his love in his arms. At first he walked very rapidly, but the king's daughter soon observed that he was growing weaker and slackening his pace, whereupon she begged him to take his potion. He refused the drink, however, because he feared lest the shouts of the multitude might disturb him. The youth fell dead at the moment he reached the top of the mountain and his love full of despair threw herself upon him and died immediately afterwards. The king and his people mourned their death and after three days buried them on the summit of the mountain which was afterwards called the Mountain of the Two Lovers.

An examination of the various versions of this legend shows that Marie's lay is derived from two closely related groups of stories.

1. The death of the queen and the king's love for his daughter.

This *motif* is an altered form of the well-known theme, according to which a father, after having lost his wife, desires to marry his own daughter.

There is a Gaelic[2] legend in which a king, after the death of his wife, declared that he would marry only the one whom her clothes would fit, and after finding that the dead queen's garments would fit his own daughter, he at once expressed a desire to marry her. As soon as the father's intention was made known to the daughter, she asked for some costly dresses, a golden and a silver shoe, and a chest. After receiving the articles desired she got into the chest and put out to sea. The chest bore her to a land where she became a kitchen-maid of the king of the realm, and, during her stay in the royal palace, she went secretly to church, on different Sundays, wearing a different dress on each occasion. The king's son finally fell in love with her and had her watched as she went from the church. In her flight she lost her golden shoe and the king's son finding it announced that he would marry only the one whom the lost shoe would fit. It was finally discovered that the golden shoe belonged to the kitchen-maid and he was accordingly married to her.[3]

A similar story is found in Grimm's *Household Fairy Tales.*[4] According to this legend, there was

[1] See *Die Lais der Marie de France*, herausgegeben von Karl Warnke, Halle, 1900, pp. 113–122.

[2] *Orient und Occident*, herausgegeben von Theodor Benfey, vol. II, pp. 294–295.

[3] For another version of this legend, compare *Orient und Occident*, vol. II, p. 295.

[4] See translation by Ella Bodley, New York, 1890, pp. 268–272.

once a king whose wife had golden hair and her beauty was such that her equal was not to be found on earth. Before her death she made the king promise that he would marry no one who was not as beautiful as she was, or who did not have golden hair like hers. When the king had mourned a long time for his dead wife, his councillors persuaded him to marry again. To this end messengers were sent out to look for a bride as beautiful as the dead queen, but they returned from their search without having found any one so fair. The king had a daughter, however, who was as beautiful as her mother, and who also had her golden hair. So he announced his intention to marry her. The announcement shocked his daughter, who after trying in vain to turn her father from his wicked project, ran away and was finally married to the king of another land.

The story of the king who, after the death of his wife, desired to marry his own daughter is also found in modern Greek tradition.[5] Here also the daughter was forced to leave home in order to avoid the marriage. She went to another kingdom and the son of the king of that country found her wrapped in an animal's skin. At his request she followed him and tended the geese. Sometime after her arrival in that realm the king prepared three feasts and on each of these three occasions the maiden took off the animal skin that she wore, and, putting on a golden dress, attended the ball and danced. At the close of the third feast she lost one of her shoes and it was found by the king's son, who at once sought to find its owner. He finally discovered that it belonged to the maid who tended the geese and he was then married to her.[6]

In the Russian version[7] of this legend the queen dies and the king does not wish to marry any one who is not as beautiful as his daughter. Messengers are therefore sent to every land in search of the beautiful bride, but return without having found her. Thereupon the king decides to marry his own daughter, and, when his decision is made known to her, she is so troubled that she shuts herself up in her room where she cuts her beautiful hair and scratches her face until it is covered with blood. Finally, she crosses the sea and is married to the king of Greece.[8]

Suffice it to say that the theme of the father who, after the death of his wife, desires to marry his own daughter is widely diffused in the folklore and tradition of different countries. That this tale was also used by the author of the lay of the *Two Lovers* is shown by the striking resemblance that it bears to the first part of the lay. In both cases the mother dies leaving an only daughter. The desire of the king to marry his own daughter is not mentioned by Marie, because, as we shall see later, her lay is composed of two stories, and such a desire would not be in harmony with the *motifs* of the legend of the father who gives his consent to the marriage of his daughter on condition that her lover perform some difficult task, the tale from which the second part of the lay is derived. The following account of the king's conduct toward his daughter leads one to believe, however, that the author of the lay knew the tale of the father who wanted to marry his own daughter.[9]

> Li reis n'aveit altre retur :
> Pres de li esteit nuit e jur ;
> Cumfortez fu par la meschine,
> Puis que perdue ot la reïne.
> Plusur a mal li aturnerent ;
> Li suen meïsme l'en blasmerent.

With reference to the great affection of the king for his daughter Bédier says[10] : "Marie de France n'insiste pas sur le caractère incestueux de cette affection. Mais il est évident, à lire son conte, qu'elle connaissait des données plus violentes, qu'elle a adoucies.[11]

II. The king consents to the marriage of his

[5] See *Griechische und albänische Märchen*, gesammelt, übersetzt und erläutert von J. G. V. Hahn. Erster Theil. Leipzig, 1864, no. 27.

[6] For variants of this Greek tale, compare J. G. V. Hahn, *op. cit.*, pp. 224–227.

[7] See *Gesammtabenteuer*, herausgegeben von Friedrich Heinrich von der Hagen, vol. II, pp. 590–613.

[8] For other versions of this tale, compare *Der Griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer*, von Erwin Rhode, Leipzig, 1876, p. 420, note. Compare also *Orient und Occident*, II, 296.

[9] See *Les Douz Amanz*, ll. 29–34.

[10] See *Les Fabliaux*[2], Paris, 1895, p. 116, note 3.

[11] In the lay of the *Two Lovers* the youth proposes to his lover to flee with him. This incident may also have been suggested by the flight of the daughter in order to avoid marrying her father.

daughter on condition that her suitor carry her in his arms, without resting, to the top of the mountain in front of the village.

The theme, according to which a father announces that he will permit his daughter to marry on condition that her lover perform some difficult task designated by him, is found in Oriental and Classical literature and in the folk-lore of many countries.

1. Marriage conditioned on the suitor's ability to run a certain distance within a given time.

There is a Persian [12] legend, according to which Shah Abbâs promised his daughter to a runner on condition that he should run from Asterâbâd to Sâri within a day. However, the Shah following him allowed his horse-whip to fall on purpose, and the runner stooping to pick it up fell dead before reaching the end of his journey and a tomb was erected to him on the spot where he died.

2. Marriage conditioned on the suitor's success in a chariot-race.

The author of the article on Pelops in Anthon's *Classical Dictionary* gives the following abstract of the legend of Oenomaüs and his daughter Hippodamia [13]: "When Pelops had attained to manhood, he resolved to seek in marriage Hippodamia, the daughter of Oenomaüs, king of Pisa. An oracle having told this prince that he would lose his life through his son-in-law, or, as others say, being unwilling, on account of her surpassing beauty, to part with her, he proclaimed that he would give his daughter only to the one who should conquer him in the chariot-race. The race was from the banks of the Cladius in Elis to the altar of Neptune at the Isthmus of Corinth, and it was run in the following manner. Oenomaüs, placing his daughter in the chariot with the suitor, gave him the start; he himself followed with a spear in his hand, and, if he overtook the unhappy lover, he ran him through. Thirteen had already lost their lives when Pelops came. In the dead of night, says Pindar, Pelops went down to the margin of the sea, and invoked the god who rules it. On a sudden Neptune stood at his feet, and Pelops conjured him, by the memory of his former affection, to grant him the means of obtaining the lovely daughter of Oenomaüs. Neptune heard his prayer, and bestowed upon him a golden chariot, and horses of winged speed. Pelops then went to Pisa to contend for the prize. He bribed Myrtilus, son of Mercury the charioteer of Oenomaüs, to leave out the linchpins of the wheels of his chariot, or, as others say, to put in waxen ones instead of iron. In the race, therefore, the chariot of Oenomaüs broke down, and he fell out and was killed and thus Hippodamia became the bride of Pelops." [14]

3. Marriage conditioned on the suitor's ability to guess a riddle.

A good example of this group of stories is the legend of *The Fair One of the Castle*, the fourth in the Persian poem of *The Seven Figures* (or *Beauties*), by Nisami [15] of Gendsch. "A Russian princess is shut up in a castle made inaccessible by a talisman, and every suitor must satisfy four conditions: he must be a man of honor, vanquish the enchanted guards, take away the talisman, and obtain the consent of her father. Many had essayed their fortune, and their heads were now arrayed on the pinnacles of the castle. A young prince had fulfilled the first three conditions, but the father would not approve his suit until he had solved the princess' riddles. These are expressed symbolically, and answered in the same way. The

[12] See *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, XVI, 527; Felix Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, Heilbronn, 1879, pp. 108–109.

[13] For further bibliography on this legend, compare Erwin Rhode, *op. cit.*, p. 420, note, and Anthon's *Classical Dictionary* (article on Pelops), p. 998.

[14] With reference to other Greek versions of this legend, Bédier (*op. cit.*, p. 117) says: "Sithon, épris de sa fille Palléné (comme le père de la *Manekine*, le père de *Crescentia*, etc. . . .), a fait proclamer que celui-là seul l'obtiendrait qui triompherait de lui en combat singulier. Bien des prétendants ont tenté cette épreuve et ont péri. Enfin, comme les forces de Sithon ont décru et qu'il ne peut plus entrer lui-même en lice, il impose à deux prétendants rivaux, Dryas et Clitos, de lutter l'un contre l'autre. Comme Palléné aime Clitos, son père nourricier achète le cocher de Dryas, et obtient qu'il enlève les chevilles qui fixent les roues de son char de combat. Dryas tombe et Clitos le tue. Le père apprend l'amour et la ruse de sa fille et fait dresser un bûcher pour les deux amants. Mais une pluie miraculeuse éteint les flammes qui les environnent, et Sithon renonce enfin à son cruel amour."

[15] The abstract that follows is taken from *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, edited by Francis James Child, Boston, 1884. Part II, 46.

princess sends the prince two pearls from her earring: he at once takes her meaning,—life is like two drops of water,—and returns the pearls with three diamonds, to signify that joy—faith, hope, and love—can prolong life. The princess now sends him three jewels in a box, with sugar. The prince seizes the idea,—life is blended with sensuous desire,—and pours milk on the sugar, to intimate that as milk dissolves sugar, so sensuous desire is quenched by true love. After four such interchanges, the princess seals her consent with a device not less elegant than the others.'' [16]

4. Marriage conditioned on the ability of the suitor to carry his lover in his arms to the top of a mountain.

In an Italian [17] story translated into German by Woldemar Kadens [18] the mother gives her consent to the marriage of her daughter on condition that her lover carry her in his arms, without resting, over twelve high mountains. Regarding this condition the suitor expresses himself as follows.[19]

Die Kraft würd' ich haben, dich zu tragen,
O Seele mein, bis hin nach Rom,
Zu wandern, ohne die Augen zu schliessen,
Einen Monat lang und länger.
Und fiele der hungrige Wolf mich an,
Ich würd' ihm sagen: Gevatter Wolf,
Zerreiss mich nur immer nach deinem Gefallen,
Den sieh', ich werde, dich abzuwehren,
Die süsse Last nicht einen Augenblick vom Arme lassen.

A similar incident occurs also in a German [20] legend. According to this tale Louis the Bearded prepared a great feast in the Thuringian Forest, near Friedrichroda, and among those present on that occasion were a nobleman and his daughter and a young knight. The youth had wooed the nobleman's daughter, but the father had refused to give his consent to the marriage. Louis knowing the great strength of the young man succeeded, however, in persuading the father to agree to the marriage of his daughter on condition that her lover should carry her in his arms to the top of the mountain lying opposite the place where the feast was held. The young knight undertook to fulfill the condition imposed by the father, but died from exhaustion the moment he reached the summit of the mountain.[21]

This German story probably represents a form of the legend similar to that used by the author of the lay of the *Two Lovers*. The resemblance between the German tale and the portion of the lay beginning with the task to be performed by the suitor is sufficiently striking to justify one in supposing that the two versions have an ultimate common source. The existence of an independent tale corresponding to the portion of the lay just mentioned also furnishes additional proof of the fact that the lay is composed of two stories as already suggested. It will be observed that the death of the mother is not mentioned in any of the versions of the story of the father who agrees to the marriage of his daughter on condition that her lover perform some difficult task proposed by him. As already stated, however, this *motif* is contained in the legend of the father who, after the death of his wife, tries to marry his own daughter, and it is from this legend that the first part of the lay is derived.

One difference between the German account of our legend and Marie's lay requires special mention. It will be remembered that in the lay both of the lovers die on the top of the mountain, while

[16] For other versions of this widely diffused theme, compare Francis James Child, *op. cit.*, Part 2, 46; Erwin Rhode, *op. cit.*, p. 420, note; Pfeiffer's *Germania*, vol. XIV, pp. 269–271; *Persian and Turkish Tales*, from the French of M. Petis de La Croix, vol. I, 190–240.

[17] See Vincenzo Padula, *Prose giornalistiche*, 2ª ediz., Napoli, 1878, p. 264.

[18] See *Sommerfahrt. Eine Reise durch die südlichsten Landschaften Italiens.* Berlin, 1880, p. 348 f.

[19] See Karl Warnke, *op. cit.*, pp. cxxi–cxxii.

[20] See *Spielmannsbuch.* Novellen in Versen aus dem zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhundert, übertragen von Wilhelm Hertz. Dritte Auflage. Stuttgart und Berlin, 1905, pp. 306–307.

[21] The task to be performed by the suitor varies in different stories. In a story from the folk-lore of Brittany (see Aldrich and Foster's *French Reader*, Boston, 1904, pp. 38–40) the father promises his daughter to any one who can succeed in relating something sufficiently incredible to cause her to tell him that he has told an untruth. A farm-boy called John relates one impossible adventure after another until she finally tells him that he has told a falsehood. In fulfillment of his promise the father then gives his consent to the marriage. In the legend of Phokos the suitors are put off by means of feasts, until the father is slain by his daughter's wooers (see Erwin Rhode, *op. cit.*, p. 420, note). For the story of the young woman who endeavors to get rid of her suitors by imposing on them tasks that were supposed to be impossible, compare the lay of *Doon* (see *Romania*, VIII, pp. 61–64); *Storia della Poesia Persiana*, by Prof. Italo Pizzi, Torino, 1894, Vol. II, pp. 428–429; *Romania*, VIII, pp. 59–60.

in the German version only the knight dies. The tragic ending of the two lovers in the lay is due to the influence of the tradition, according to which the priory of the Two Lovers early established on the Norman mountain bearing the same name was regarded as the burial place of two lovers well known in religious literature. The tradition of these two lovers gave the name both to the convent on the mountain and to Marie's lay, and, in order to preserve this tradition in the lay, it was necessary for both of the lovers to die and be buried on the top of the mountain.[22]

[22] With reference to the priory of the Two Lovers and the legend connected therewith, Wilhelm Hertz (*op. cit.*, pp. 397–398) says: "Auf dem Gipfel stand noch im vorigen Jahrhundert die Priorei der beiden Liebenden (le prieuré des deux Amants), welche von den Herrn von Mallemains im 12. Jahrhundert gegründet worden sein soll. Im Jahr 1206 war dort ein Chorherrnstift. Abbildungen von Berg und Kloster finden sich bei Millin in seinen Antiquités nationales (Paris, 1791, II, N. xvii). Da es auch anderwärts, z. B. in Lyon, ein Kloster "der beiden Liebenden" gab (Roquefort, *Marie de France*, I, 253), so muss dieser Beiname mit einer Kirchlichen Tradition zusammenhängen. Wirklich kennen wir ein heiliges Ehepaar, das vom Volke "die beiden Liebenden" schlechthin genannt wurde. Sie hiessen Injuriosus und Scholastika und gehörten zur hohen Aristokratie der Auvergne. Auf den Wunsch ihrer Familien vermählt, lebten sie in asketischer Josephsehe und starben schliesslich als Mönch und Nonne. Nach der frommen Sage wurden sie in einer Basilika beigesetzt, das eine an der Nordwand, das andere an der Südwand; am Morgen darauf fand man aber die Gräber zusammengerückt, einer an des andern Seite. So erzählt die auvergnatische Legende, welche schon Gregor von Tours († 594) in seinem *Liber de gloria confessorum* (c. 32, s. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, LXXI, 852) und später in seiner *Historia Francorum* (L. I. C. 41 s. Migne, *ib.*, 183) als von alters her überliefert mit rhetorischer Ausschmückung behandelt hat. Die beiden Liebenden gehören also unter die Zahl jener conjuges virgines wie Valerius und Cäcilia, Eadward der Bekenner und Eadgythe, Kaiser Heinrich II. und Kunigunde, Emmerich von Ungarn und seine Gattin. In einem Traktat über die Kirchen und Klöster von Clermont von einem unbekannten Verfasser um 1450 werden unter den heiligen Leibern auch die von Injuriosus et Scholastica, quos vulgus Duos Amantes vocat, aufgezählt. Ihr Tag ist der 25. Mai (s. *Acta Sanctorum Maii*, VI, 38). . . . .

Das Heiligtum auf dem normannischen Berge war offenbar diesem asketischen Liebespaar geweiht. Im Laufe der Jahrhunderte wurde die Legende vergessen; aber der Name blieb. Man hielt die Kirche für die Begräbnisstätte zweier Liebenden."

In connection with the potion that increases the strength of those who take it, Hertz[23] cites several parallels. Fimasena, a hero of the Mahabharata,[24] drinks a potion made of gentian, which at once doubles his strength. The Danish hero Svend Felding or Fälling[25] also takes a drink from a horn that renders him as strong as twelve men. Gervase, or Gervaise, of Tilbury,[26] speaks of the wonderful water of a moor that strengthens those who drink it, and also mentions some plants[27] by means of which a weasel renews his strength during a combat with a serpent.

Neither of the two legends used in the composition of the lay of the *Two Lovers* shows any special evidences of Celtic origin.[28] The tale of the father who desires to marry his own daughter is found in an Italian[29] version of the sixteenth century and in the folk-lore of several countries,[29] but none of these versions furnish any material that would aid us in finding their ultimate common source. On the other hand, the fact that the legend of the father, who endeavors to get rid of his daughter's suitors by imposing on them a task that is supposed to be impossible, is found already in Pindar[30] and occurs also in Persian tradition, leads one to believe that it may be of Classical or Oriental origin. In the light of the present study, therefore, there seems to be no special reason for supposing that the lay of the *Two Lovers* contains any Celtic material.[31]

The work of combining the two tales found in our lay should doubtless be attributed to the story-tellers who preceded Marie. Her method of work has been well expressed by William Henry Scho-

[23] See *op. cit.*, pp. 399–400.

[24] See Holtzmann, *Indische Sagen*. 2. Aufl., Stuttgart, 1854, I, 125.

[25] See Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*. 4. Aufl., p. 308, N. 3.

[26] See Hertz, *op. cit.*, p. 399.

[27] The ginseng is still considered highly strengthening in Japan and China (see Mitford, *Geschichten aus Alt-Japan*, übersetzt von Kohl, Leipzig, 1875, II, 101).

[28] See *Les Facétieuses Nuits de Straparole*, traduites par Jean Louveau et Pierre de Larivey, Paris, 1857, Vol. I, Fable IV (La I Nuit).

[29] See Erwin Rhode, *op. cit.*, p. 420, note.

[30] See *Schol. ad Pind., Ol.*, I, 114.

[31] See Lucien Foulet, 'Marie de France et les Lais Bretons' (*Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, (XXIX, 308).

field, who says:[32] "Marie makes no claim to invention or originality. She does not seem to have done more than recount what she has heard or read. If then her lays show traces, as they unquestionably do, of the combination of unconnected themes, this should probably be attributed to her predecessors, to the minstrels, or story-tellers, whose tales she was content to put into pleasing rhyme."

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ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

1. Goth. *aibr* 'Opfergabe' is generally supposed to be miswritten for **tibr*, which would make it identical with OHG. *zebar* 'Opfer, Opfertier,' etc. The word is used but once, Mat. 5, 23, where it translates δῶρον. In v. 24 the translator uses *giba* for the same Greek word. For *aibr* we may therefore assume the meaning 'gift' or 'valuable article,' which may be compared with Skt. *ibhya-s* 'reich.'

2. ON. *arfr* 'ox,' OE. *ierfe, orf* 'cattle' were regarded by Sievers, *PBB.* 12, 176 f., as indicating that *Erbschaft* meant primarily 'Vieh.' Others take 'cattle' as a specialized signification of 'inheritance, property.' So Falk og Torp, *Et. Ordb.*, I, 25. This is certainly the correct explanation of the change of meaning if ON. *arfr* 'Erbe' and *arfr* 'Ochse' are the same word. For parallels to this see *Mod. Phil.*, II, 472 f. But ON. *arfr* 'ox' may perhaps be rather connected with Skt. *arpáyati* 'steckt hinein, befestigt' from the base *ar-* 'join together,' whence ON. *iǫrmune* 'Rind, Pferd,' Lat. *armentum* 'Grossvieh.'

3. OHG. *arg* 'nichtswürdig, feige, geizig,' ON. *argr, ragr* 'feige, weibisch,' OE. *earg* 'inert; cowardly; bad, depraved' may be compared with Av. *ərəγant-* 'arg,' Skt. *ṛ́hán* 'schwach, klein, gering,' and also with OHG. *ringi* 'leicht; wertlos, gering.'

4. If Goth. *arms* 'arm, elend' is from **arbma-*, it may better be compared with Skt. *árbha-s* 'klein, schwach, jung, kindisch' than with Goth. *arbaiþs* or Gk. ὀρφανός. It is possible, however, that the latter word is related to Skt. *árbhas*. So Walde, *Lat. Et. Wb.* 436.

5. Goth. *dails* 'Anteil,' OHG. *teil*, etc., are supposed to be related to ChSl. *dělŭ* 'Teil,' which may be for **dhoilo-s*. But it may also be from **dēlo-s*. Compare ChSl. *dola* 'Teil,' Skt. *dala-m* 'Stück, Teil,' *dálati* 'berstet,' Gk. δηλέομαι 'zerstöre, beschädige,' OHG. *zālēn* 'wegreissen, rauben,' Skt. *dānā́-m* 'Verteilung, Teil,' *dāti, dyáti* 'schneidet ab, teilt,' etc. (cf. author, *IE.* $a^x : a^x i : a^x u$, p. 67). But whether we admit ChSl. *dělŭ* or not, we may connect Goth. *dails* with OHG. *tīlōn, tīligōn*, OS. *far-dīligon*, OE. *ā-dīlgian* 'vertilgen.'

6. OE. *fūht*, OHG. *fūht(i)* 'feucht,' MLG. *vūcht* 'feucht, nass,' etc., have been referred to a Germ. **fu(n)ht-* and compared with Skt. *paṅka-* 'Schlamm, Kot,' (cf. Lidén, *BB.* 21, 93). Though this is phonetically possible, another connection is more obvious, and better fits the meaning of *feucht*. This probably denoted originally moisture in the atmosphere, driven or blown as in MLG. *vūcht(e)* 'Feuchtigkeit, Wasserdunst, Nebel,' *vūchten* 'anfeuchten, bewässern, begiessen.' So we may better derive *feucht* from the Germ. base *feuk-* in Norw. dial *fuka* 'Meernebel,' *fuke* 'Staubregen,' ON. *fok* 'spray, snow-drift,' *fúk* 'snow-storm,' *fúka* 'drift, stieben,' Dan. *fog* 'Gestöber,' whence Eng. *fog* 'Nebel.' For other related words see Falk og Torp, *Et. Ordbog*, I, 204 f.

7. Goth. *ga-leiks* 'ähnlich,' as I have pointed out (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVIII, 15), can not be explained as 'dieselbe Gestalt habend' if it is related to Lith. *lýgus* 'gleich, eben.' This Uhlenbeck admits (*PBB.* XXX, 280), but in order to cling to the old explanation denies the relation between Lith. *lýgus* and Goth. *galeiks*. The correspondences between the Baltic and the Germ. word are too close to permit of dissociating them: Goth. *galeiks*, ON. *(g)līkr* 'gleich,' MLG. *līk* 'gleich, eben, gerade; ähnlich; gerecht, billig,' etc. : Lith. *lýgus* 'gleich, eben'; Goth. *galeikōn* 'gleich stellen, gleich machen, nachahmen,' MLG. *līken, līkenen* 'gleich machen, vergleichen, versöhnen, schlichten,' *līk, līke* 'Gleich-

[32] See 'The Lays of Graelent and Lanval, and the Story of Wayland' (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XV, 175). In this connection compare also Bédier, *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1891, p. 857.

heit, Gleichnis, Billigkeit, Ausgleichung, Sühne': Lith. *lýginu* 'mache gleich, vergleiche,' *susilýginti* 'sich mit jem. vergleichen; ausgleichen; sich aussöhnen,' *lygus* 'Landgericht,' Pruss. *līgan* 'Urteil, Gericht,' *līgint* 'richten'; OHG. *līchōn* 'polire, glätten': Lith. *lygis* 'Platte, Tonsur der Priester.'

We have a right to assume, therefore, that the prefix *ga-* in *galeiks* only added to the force of Germ. *līka-*, which of itself must have meant 'gleich.' Compare Lat. *con-similis*. Moreover, from the adj. without the prefix, were derived verbs meaning 'gleich, passend sein, angenehm sein, gefallen': Goth. *leikan* 'gefallen,' ON. *líka* 'gefallen, behagen,' OE. *līcian*, OS. *līkon*, 'gefallen,' OFries. *līkja*, OHG. *līchēn* 'gleich, ähnlich sein, gefallen,' MLFr. *līken* 'scheinen.' These verbs can not be explained on any hypothesis that assumes that *galeiks* is a derivative of the noun *leik* 'Leib, Fleisch, Leichnam.'

8. Goth. *leik* 'Leib, etc.' may indecd be related to *galeiks*. But if so, the noun is rather the substantivized use of the adj. In that case the primary meaning of the noun was 'likeness, simulacrum, Ebenbild,' whence 'form, body, flesh, corpse.' Compare especially Goth. *galeiki* 'Ähnlichkeit,' MLG. *līk* 'Gleichheit, Gleichnis, etc.,' NE. *likeness*, MLFr. *līken* 'scheinen,' Lith. *lygmů* 'Ebenbild,' Skt. *liṅga-m* 'Kennzeichen, Merkmal' with ON. *líke* 'Gestalt; Körper,' *lík* 'Leiche,' Goth. *leik*, etc. Compare Gk. *ἔοικα* 'gleiche, scheine, gezieme': *εἰκών* 'Bild.'

9. Goth. *ga-maiþs* 'τεθρανσμένος, ἀνάπηρος, zerschlagen, verkrüppelt, bruised, maimed,' is plainly related to ON. *meiðа* 'verletzen, beschädigen, verstümmeln,' but certainly not to Goth. *maidjan* 'verändern, verfälschen,' Lat. *mūtāre*, etc. Compare rather Gk. *μίτυλος* 'verstümmelt, ohne Hörner,' *μιστύλλω* 'zerstückele,' Skt. *mīta-s* gemindert, geschädigt,' *minā́ti* 'schädigt, mindert, verletzt,' etc., and the words given by Zupitza, *BB.* 25, 99. To the same base belong Goth. *maitan* 'hauen, schneiden;' OWelsh *mail* 'mutilum,' Ir. *mael* 'kahl, ohne Hörner,' MHG. *meilen* 'verletzen, verwunden; beflecken, beschmutzen,' *meile* 'befleckt, schlecht,' OHG. *meil* 'Fleck,' etc.; ON. *meinn* 'schädlich,' *mein* 'Schade, Beschädigung, Unglück,' OHG. *mein* 'falsch,' etc. (cf. author, *Color-Names* 74).

10. OE. *gemād* 'foolish, mad,' OS. *gemēd* 'stultus, vanus,' OHG. *gimeit* 'töricht, eitel,' MHG. *gemeit* 'lebensfroh, freudig, froh, vergnügt; keck, wacker, tüchtig; dessen man sich freut, lieblich, schön, stattlich; lieb, angenehm' are usually combined with Goth. *gamaiþs*, with which they do not correspond in meaning. They agree much better with Lat. *mītis* 'mild, gelind,' Ir. *móith*, *moeth* 'zart, weich,' Welsh *mwydo*, Lett. *atmīkt* 'erweichen,' base *meit-*, *moit-* from *mēi-*, *moi-* in Skt. *máyas* 'Labsal, Freude, Lust,' Ir. *mín* 'sanft, glatt, fein, klein,' ChS. *milŭ* 'mild-tätig,' Lith. *mẽlas* 'lieb,' *mẽilė* 'Liebe,' etc. The meaning 'foolish' in OE. *gemād* comes from 'soft, weichlich.' Compare Goth. *malan* 'mahlen,' Lat. *molo*, etc., Skt. *mūrnā́-s* 'zermalmt, zerbrochen,' Gk. *μαλακός* 'weich, sanft,' *βλάξ* 'schlaff, träge, weichlich, töricht'; Goth. *gamalwjam* 'zermalmen,' ME. *melwe* 'mellow, soft,' Skt. *malvā́-s* 'töricht, unbesonnen.' These comparisons show the relation between Goth *gamaiþs* 'zerschlagen': Lat. *mītis* 'mild': OHG. *gimeit* 'töricht.'

For the base *mēi-* we may therefore assume the following development in meaning: 'rub, crush; injure, wear away, diminish; rubbed, crushed, soft, stupid, foolish; soft, tender, mild, pleasing; be tender, love, etc.'

11. OE. *mīdl*, *mīþl* '(horse's) bit; oar-thong,' *mīdlian* 'bridle; muzzle (dog); restrain' are probably related to Gk. *μίτος* 'Einschlagfaden,' *μιτόω* 'spanne Fäden auf,' *μίτρα* 'Binde, Gürtel, Hauptbinde der Frauen,' Skt. *mitrá-s* 'Freund,' *mitrá-m* 'Freundschaft, Freund,' Av. *miθrō* 'Freund; Vertrag; Name eines Gottes,' OPers. *Miθra*. The connection between the OE. and the Gk. words is self-explanatory. The primary meaning of the Indo-Iran. words is 'Verbündeter; Bund.' Compare Skt. *badhnā́ti* 'bindet': *bándhus* 'Zusammenhang, Verbindung, Verwantschaft; Verwanter, Angehöriger, Freund, Gatte.'

12. Goth. *marzjan* 'ärgern, Anstoss geben,' OE. *mierran* 'hinder, be stumbling-block to; squander, waste; err,' *mearrian* 'go astray, err,' *gemearr* 'hindrance; heresy, wrong-doing,' OHG. *merren* 'aufhalten, behindern; stören,' OS. *merrian* 'ärgern; stören, hindern,' MLG. *merren*, *marren* 'aufhalten, hindern; zögern, säumen,

sich auf halten,' etc., are connected doubtfully by Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* 218, *Et. Wb.* s. v. *marzjan*, with Skt. *marṣáyati* 'duldet, verzeiht,' *mr̥̄syatē* 'vergisst, vernachlässigt, duldet, verzeiht,' Lith. *mir̃szti* 'vergessen,' etc. And yet some of the meanings correspond very closely. Compare Skt. *mr̥̄sā* 'umsonst, vergebens; irrig, unrichtig, unwahr' with OE. *mearrian* 'go astray, err,' *gemearr* 'hindrance; heresy, wrong-doing.'

It is more difficult to combine the various meanings of Germ. *marz-* than it is to combine some of those meanings with those of the Skt. words. The most natural way, it seems to me, is to derive the various significations from a base *mers-* 'crush, crumble; fall away, droop, etc.' The meaning 'crush, zerreiben' is implied in OE. *mierran* 'squander, waste,' *ā-mierran* 'disable, injure, corrupt, destroy; hinder,' NE. *mar*. Intransitively used the base would mean 'nachlassen,' whence 'vernachlässigen, vergessen' and 'träge sein, träge machen, hindern.'

That this is a natural change in meaning can be shown by comparing the synonymous base *mel:* Goth. *malan* 'mahlen,' Skt. *mlāyati* 'welkt, erschlafft, wird schwach,' Gk. *βλᾶξ* 'schlaff, träge, etc.', *ἀμαλδύνω* 'schwäche, zerstöre,' *μάλθακος* 'weich, zart, mild,' Skt. *márdhati* 'lässt nach, vernachlässigt, vergisst, etc.' Here we have almost exactly the same development as in *mers-*.

13. OHG. *morsāri* 'Mörser,' MHG. *zermürsen* 'zerdrücken,' Swiss *mürsen, morsen* 'zermalmen, klein stossen,' Du. *morzelen* 'zerreiben, zerstükkeln,' contain the base *mers-* 'crush, etc.' of the above. They sustain the same relation to Skt. *mr̥̄syatē* 'vernachlässigt, vergisst' that the base *meldh-* 'zerreiben, zermalmen' does to Skt. *márdhati* 'vernachlässigt, vergisst.' The base *mers-* is evidently from *mer-*: Skt. *mr̥̄ṇā́ti* 'zermalmt, zerschlägt,' Gk. *μάρναμαι* 'kämpfe,' *μαραίνω* 'reibe auf,' OHG. *maro, marawi, murwi* 'zart, mürbe.'

Arranging the words belonging to the base *mer-s-* so as to show the development in meaning, we have the following: Skt. *mr̥̄ṇā́ti* 'zermalmt,' Gk. *μαραίνω* 'crush out, waste away,' pass. 'waste away, wither,' MHG. *zermürsen* 'zerdrücken,' NHG. *morsch*, OE. *ā-mierran* 'disable, injure, corrupt, destroy; hinder,' Skt. *mr̥̄syatē* 'vernachlässigt, vergisst, duldet, verzeiht,' i. e., 'wird weich, mild, lässt nach,' MHG. *marren* 'zögern, sich auf halten,' i. e., 'träge, langsam sein,' OHG *merren* 'retardare, behindern.'

14. MHG. *merwen* 'anbinden, anschirren; verbinden, vereinigen (*zuo*); verschwägern' is confused with *merren*, but is a different word. It represents a Germ. **mar(g)wjō*, which may be compared with Gk. *μάρπτω* 'greife, fasse, packe,' *βράψαι, βράξαι· συλλαβεῖν.*

15. OE. *pōl*, OHG. *pfuol* 'Pfuhl' have been compared with Lith. *balà*, ChSl. *blato* 'Sumpf,' and also doubtfully by Uhlenbeck, *Ai. Wb.* 97, with Skt. *jam-bāla-s* 'Sumpf, Schlamm.' The primary meaning of *pool* was perhaps 'hollow, Niederung.' In that case compare Skt. *-bāra-s* 'Öffnung,' *bíla-m* 'Höhle, Loch, Öffnung' from **bəlo-m.*

16. Goth. *saljan* 'Herberge haben, wohnen, bleiben' has its counterpart in OE. *be-sellan, ymb-sellan* 'surround,' OHG. *umbi-sellen* 'circumdare.' We can hardly regard this as a servile translation of Lat. *circumdare*, since OHG. *sellen* 'tradere, übergeben, überantworten, verraten; überliefern' would not be suggested by Lat. *dare*. OHG. *umbisellen* is equivalent to *umbisizzen* 'umgeben, umzingeln, belagern, obsidere,' and seems to have been generally misunderstood on account of the similarity between *circumdare* and *umgeben.*

17. Goth. *sarwa* 'Waffen, Rüstung,' ON. *sǫrue* 'Halsband aus aufgereihten Perlen oder Steinen,' OE. *searo* 'device, contrivance; cunning, treachery; machine, armor, arms,' etc., were long ago referred to Lat. *sero* 'knüpfe,' etc. Here belong, besides the words usually given, Gk. *ἅρμα* 'Gespann, Wagen,' *ἁρμός* 'Fuge, Gelenk, Schulter.' These words have been incorrectly referred to Gk. *ἀραρίσκω* 'füge.'

18. OE. *teart* 'severe' (pain, discipline), NE. *tart* 'acrid, sharp, severe' has long been referred to OE. *teran* 'tear,' Goth. *ga-tairan*, etc. (cf. Skeat, *Et. Dict.*, s. v. *tear*). It goes back to pre-Germ. **dor-do-*, and may be compared with NPers. *derd* 'Schmerz,' which Horn, *Np. Et.*, p. 122, refers to Skt. *dar-* 'spalten.' Though *derd* may come from **dorto-* rather than **dordo-*, it shows the same development of meaning.

19. OHG. *tenni* 'Tenne' from Germ. **danja-* may have meant primarily 'granary.' In that

case compare Skt. *dhānyà-m* 'Getreide,' *dhānās* fem. pl. 'Getreidekörner,' etc., which may be referred to a base *dhē-* in Lat. *fēnus* 'Ertrag, Zinsen, Wucher,' *fēlix* 'fruchtbar; glücklich,' *fēcundus* 'fruchtbar,' etc. For other cognates see Walde, *Lat. Et. Wb.* s. v.

20. ON. *þuerra* 'austrocknen, abnehmen,' OS. *thorron* 'vergehen,' *thior* 'trocken' (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xx, 42) may be compared with Gk. σειρόω 'leere aus' if this is from **tu̯eri̯oi̯ō*. These would imply a base *tu̯er-*, which probably came to mean 'fall away, dry up; empty' from the primary meaning 'rush, hasten.' Compare also Gk. σῦρω 'draw or trail along, drag by force; sweep or wash down (of rivers); sweep away (of war); pass, flow or run down,' συρτός 'swept or washed down by a river' (of gold dust), συρμός 'anything that draws, drags, or tears along with violence; trail; vomiting,' σύρμα 'trail; flowing tresses; sweepings; place where the skin is torn off,' σύρδην 'rushing furiously; long-drawn out,' σαίρω 'sweep, clean, sweep away,' σάρος 'broom; sweepings.'

These certainly need not be separated from Skt. *tváratē* 'eilt,' OHG. *dweran* 'drehen, rühren,' etc. Compare the similar combination of meanings in OHG. *sweifan* 'in drehende Bewegung setzen, schwingen,' OE. *swāpan* 'rush, dash; brandish; sweep (with broom).'

21. NHG. *verschmitzt* "eigl. 'verschlagen'" (Kluge, *Et. Wb.* s. v. schmitzen), "Part. zu einem untergegangenen Verb. verschmitzen, wohl zu schmitzen im Sinne von 'schlagen'" (Paul, *Wb.* 510). And yet in explaining *verschlagen*, Kluge says: "eigl. Partizip zu mhd. *verslahen*, das auch 'betrügen' meint," and Paul derives the meaning 'schlau, listig' from 'versteckt.' *Verschmitzt* may indeed be parallel with *verschlagen* if the latter means 'versteckt.' For *verschmitzt* is the part. of a lost *verschmitzen* in the sense of 'geduckt, schleichend.' Compare MHG. *smitzen* 'eilig gehen, laufen,' and especially Sw. *smita* 'schleichen, sich drücken, sich davon machen,' Norw. dial. *smīta* 'kleben,' refl. 'wegschleichen.'

22. Goth. *witōþ* 'Gesetz,' OHG. *wizzōd* 'Gesetz; altes, neues Testament; Sacrament; heil. Abendmahl,' OFries. *witat* 'Hostie,' OLG. *witat* 'Gesetz' are not directly related to Goth. *witan* 'wissen.' The primary meaning is not 'knowledge, Wissenschaft' but 'arrangement, something established.' The words correspond very closely in form and in meaning to Skt. *vidátha-m* 'Anordnung, Einrichtung; Versammlung, Opfergenossenschaft, Gemeinde, Feier.' Though this word did not mean 'Kunst, Wissenschaft' as some have thought, it certainly may be referred to Skt. *vindáti* 'finden, erreichen; bewirken, erwerben; jemd. etw. verschaffen, verleihen; gewinnen, etc.' The causative of this, *vēdayati*, corresponds exactly to OSw. *vēta* 'leisten,' ON. *veita* 'ausführen, verrichten, machen; einem etwas einräumen, gewähren, geben; bewirten, etc.'

23. OE. *worþ* 'enclosure adjoining house, courtyard, farm, street,' OS. *wurd* 'Boden' are phonetically like Skt. *vr̥ti-ṣ* 'Einzäunung, Zaun, Hecke' from *vr̥ṇṓti* 'verhüllt, bedeckt, umschliesst, umringt, etc.', which contains a base *u̯er-* (as well as *u̯el-*) also in ChSl. *vĭrą* 'schliesse,' Lith. *veriu* 'mache auf und zu,' Goth. *warjan* 'wehren,' etc.

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PRETERITE-FORMS, ETC., IN THE LANGUAGE OF ENGLISH-SPEAKING CHILDREN.

The present note deals with the preterite-forms, etc., observed in the language of the author's daughter (born Aug. 3, 1901). Her mother is of Puritan ancestry, her father born in England but resident in America since infancy. The data here recorded are offered as a contribution to the study of the preterite in English from the field of child-language, where so much is to be found that may throw light upon some of the problems of English philology. It may be added, that her parents have permitted her the greatest linguistic freedom and not sought to bind her early with the fetters of grammar.

The list following contains the principal examples of preterites, etc., in her language, which differ from the customary forms of adult speech. Where such is in the original record, the sentence in which the word occurs is given here, otherwise the word itself only. For purposes of comparison

the month of the child's life to which the observation belongs is indicated.

1. **Be.** That's where we *was are* (29th month).

2. **Beat.** After you *beated* the rug (43d month).

3. **Bite.** *Bited* (37th month).

4. **Blow.** *Blewed* (33d month). When you want it *blew* out, I blow it (49th month). I guess it must have *blewn* out the window (44th month). I shutted the damper, it *blowed* on there (39th month).

5. **Buy.** *Buyed* (still occasionally used in her 52d month).

6. **Come.** The ice-man hasn't *came* since yet (48th month). In the spring of 1904 she used *tomed.*

7. **Creep.** I guess it *creeped* in (47th month).

8. **Do.** *Doed* (33d month). He must have *did* like this (45th month).

9. **Drink.** *Drinkt* (37th month) = drank.

10. **Eat.** Have you *ate* 'em all? (48th month). You havn't *aten* it all up (42d month.) I want to sit up till I get my plum *aten* (48th month). During the summer of 1904 (the exact date was not recorded) she used occasionally the form *eated.*

11. **Feed.** I want to be *feeden* (44th month).

12. **Feel.** *Feeled* (34th month) = felt.

13. **Fly.** I guess he must have *flied* (51st month). It (bird) *flied* away (46th month).

14. **Full.** *Fullded* (39th month). The usual preterite of the verb "to full" (seemingly coined by herself) was *fulled* (1904–1905).

15. **Get.** *Detted* (32d month). Later *getted.*

16. **Give.** *Div'd* (Spring of 1904). I've got 'em all *gaven* to him (50th month).

17. **Go.** When I *goed* out (53d month). In the spring of 1904 she used *doed.* Where did you *went* to see it? (44th month).

18. **Hide.** We *hided* up in the curtains (45th month). I *hided* 'em in the deep grass (48th month). One night, when grandpa came, I *hod* behind the couch (51st month).

19. **Hold.** *Holded* (37th month). *Helded* (37th month). *Holden* was in common use by her in 1904–1905.

20. **Lay.** If you just *lied* 'em in, it would fit it (44th month). Her word for *lay* was here *lie.*

21. **Let.** I want my hands *letten* go of (43d month).

22. **Light.** Did you *lit* the fire? (53d month). I want my Christmas tree *litten.* (42d month). On August 5, 1905 (49th month) she remarked, as she passed through the lighted streets: "It's a great deal lighter when the *lits* are *lighted* in the houses."

23. **Lose.** My handkerchief was *loseded* out of my pocket (51st month).

24. **Make.** *Maked* (41st month).

25. **Put.** My new coat is going to be *putten* on to-day (44th month).

26. **Ride.** *Rided* (36th month) = rode.

27. **Row.** Last summer when we *rewed* in the boat (44th month).

28. **Run.** While L. was here it (her nose) *runned* quite a bit (51st month).

29. **See.** Have you *sawn* it, father? (52d month). I wonder what else they have we havn't *sawn* (53d month). In the spring of 1904 she used *teed,* and soon after, *seed* for some time.

30. **Sell.** This is all *selled* (43d month). I *selled* a pretty calendar for you (44th month). We *selled* those all out (44th month).

34. **Shake.** *Shaked* (summer of 1904).

35. **Shut.** I *shutted* the damper (39th month).

36. **Slide.** I didn't feel it when I *slided* down (47th month). I nearly *sled* into your trunk (50th month).

37. **Speech.** I have to go and get *speeched* (48th month). The verb "to speech" is of her own make.

38. **Spread.** I *spreaded* it all out (45th month).

39. **Stand.** When you *standed* up (45th month). He got up and *standed* up (41st month). If they all *standed* in a row (43d month).

40. **Stick.** I just *stickt* it half-way in my mouth (46th month).

41. **Sting.** When you get *stinged* by a bumble bee (48th month).

42. **Sweep.** Mrs. H. *sweeped* it all away (46th month).

43. **Swim.** *Twimmed* (summer of 1904) = swam.

44. **Swing.** *Twinged* (37th month) = swang.

45. **Take.** *Tookt* (30th month). It (kitten) was *tooken* away from its mother (40th month). Having their picture *tooken* (42d month). I don't want to be *tooken* up (45th month). I don't want to have my baby dolly *tooken* away (47th month).

46. **Teach.** I *teached* it to myself (48th month). Yes, I got to be *teached* (48th month).

47. **Tell.** I want some more stories *tolden* to my dolls (42d month). I want to be *tolden* that (43d month). What do you want to be *tolden?* (47th month).

48. **Think.** Do you *thought* we were shut up? (42d month).

49. **Wake.** We aint half *waken* up (33d month).

50. **Wear.** He never *weared* two of glasses, he only *weared* one (44th month).

51. **Wet.** I want the brush *wetten* (51st month).

52. **Wind.** *Winded* (36th month) = wound.

53. **Wig.** Mittens (cat) *wug* his tail (47th month). This verb "to wig" is a creation of her own, based probably on "wiggle."

54. **Wipe.** It hasn't been *wope* yet. (53d month).

55. **Write.** Have you *wroten* down trazazo? (47th month). How is C be *writen* (raitn)? How does C be *writen?* (49th month).

These verb-forms fall naturally into several groups.

1. Beated, bited, blowed, buyed, creeped, doed, eated, feeled, flied, fulled, getted, gived (div'd), goed, hided, holded, lied, maked, rided, runned, seed, selled, shaked, shutted, slided, speeched, spreaded, standed, stinged, sweeped, swimmed, swinged, teached, weared, winded.

2. Fullded, loseded.

3. Blewed, helded, rewed.

4. Drinkt, tookt, stickt.

5. Blewn, aten, gaven, litten, sawn, tooken, tolden, wroten.

6. Feeden, letten, waken, wetten, writen (*raitn* not *rĭtn*).

7. Blew, ate.

8. Came, hod, sled.

The forms in group 1 are constructed after the way of ordinary "weak" verbs in *-ed* and *-d*. Those of group 2 are "weak" with double suffix. Those of group 3 are derived by the "weak" suffix from a "strong" preterite form. Those in group 4 are "weak" preterites, etc., in *-t*, except *tookt*, where the *-t* is suffixed to a "strong" preterite form. Those in group 5 are formed according to "strong" analogies,—based on "strong" preterites. Those of group 6 are made by suffixing *-en* to the present form of the verb and not to the preterite. The *was are* = "were" is *sui generis;* also *is be* (no. 53). And *hod* deserves to stand apart with *wug*. Such forms, in particular, as *fullded, loseded, blewed, helded, rewed, tookt, litten, tolden, feeden, letten, wetten,* etc., are of special interest. The author desires, at present, to record, rather than discuss these verb-forms and leaves, therefore, detailed consideration for some other occasion. Wright's *English Dialect Grammar* (Cambr., 1905), which he has just examined, records from various English dialects nearly all the forms listed in this note. The common speech of the unlettered adult and that of the young child are here, as in many other cases, parallel.

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A DISSERTATION UPON NORTHERN LIGHTS.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—Wordsworth's outspoken claim that Byron had traded freely in Wordsworthian sentiment and diction when he wrote Canto the Third of *Childe Harold* may or may not be dismissed by all as an exhibition of "wounded vanity" in a "narrow mind which felt itself eclipsed" (Brandes, *Main Currents*, iv, 43, 44). Possibly the claim of a man so much in the habit of weighing his statements as Wordsworth deserves a more painstaking examination than the brilliant Danish critic found time to accord it. Such an examination as might now be based partly upon the material in Dr. Oeftering's thesis, *Wordsworth's und Byron's Natur-Dichtung*, would tend to show that not merely in *Childe Harold*, where Brandes after all sees "striking and vivid" reminiscences of the Wordsworthian manner, but elsewhere, and frequently, in the later work of Byron unconscious gleanings from the "narrow" field of his "eclipsed" predecessor are more or less apparent. The following coincidence in imagery between one of Wordsworth's earlier tales and one of Byron's later, unnoticed, so far as I can discover, by Dr.

Oeftering, looks like a case in point. It has not escaped the eye of Byron's editor, Mr. E. H. Coleridge.

In stanza XI of *Mazeppa*, near the beginning, Bryon in an abrupt, confused figure alludes to the northern lights as giving out a sound of "crackling":

> We sped like meteors through the sky,
> When with its crackling sound the night
> Is chequer'd with the northern light.

Now Wordsworth had already employed this same remarkable conceit of an audible aurora, in his *Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman*. Indeed, but for some commentary like this prior use and Wordsworth's note upon it, we might thoughtlessly misconstrue Bryon's loosely written lines, on the supposition that the night, rather than the light, made the "crackling." Wordsworth is explicit. He does not, it is true, personally vouch for the reality of a phenomenon which he could not test with his own eyes and ears, and whose actual occurrence is still among meteorologists subject to dispute. Rather, pursuing a method similar to that of Coleridge in *The Ancient Mariner*, he puts the report of this supposed freak of nature in the mouth of a deranged dreamer. In his note, however, he refers his allusion to an authority that he seems to respect. The first eight lines of *The Complaint*, which we are to imagine as chanted by a deserted squaw, now run thus:

> Before I see another day,
> Oh let my body die away!
> In sleep I heard the northern gleams;
> The stars, they were among my dreams;
> In rustling conflict through the skies,
> I heard, I saw the flashes drive,
> And yet they are upon my eyes,
> And yet I am alive;
> . . . . . .

In earlier versions, lines 5, 6 were printed:

> In sleep did I behold the skies,
> I saw the crackling flashes drive.

For the local coloring in these lines Wordsworth was dependent upon Samuel Hearne's *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay, to the Northern Ocean*, a book which both Coleridge and he must have read about the same time (1797), and which he may have borrowed from Coleridge. A copy (Dublin, 1796) used by the latter is said to be in the possession of Dr. James B. Clemens, of New York City; the "marginalia on the fly-leaf" mentioned by Dr. Haney (*Bibliography of Coleridge*, p. 115) might furnish a clue to its private history.[1] In connection with his "Ballad-tale," *The Three Graves*, (*Poetical Works*, ed. Campbell, p. 590), Coleridge speaks of "Hearne's deeply interesting anecdotes of the Copper Indians," with a recommendation that the reader consult the original. In his note to *The Complaint* Wordsworth cites "that very interesting work, Hearne's Journey," as follows;

"In the high northern latitudes, as the same writer informs us, when the northern lights vary their position in the air, they make a rustling and a crackling noise." . . .

He evidently has in mind a passage in Hearne which I quote from the London edition of 1795 (p. 224):

"I do not remember to have met with any travellers into high northern latitudes, who remarked their having heard the Northern Lights make any noise in the air as they vary their colours or position; which may probably be owing to the want of perfect silence at the time they made their observations on those meteors. I can positively affirm, that in still nights I have frequently heard them make a rustling and crackling noise, like the waving of a large flag[2] in a fresh gale of wind."

Not to burden the pages of *Mod. Lang. Notes* with too much physical science, I may yet for the sake of comparison transcribe a few sentences from a standard work, Angot's *Aurora Borealis* (New York, 1897, pp. 46, 47), showing recent opinion about this alleged occurrence, and offering further commentary on Wordsworth and Byron:

[1] I observe later that Wordsworth's library in 1850 contained a copy of Herne in the edition of 1795; and for other reasons I am now inclined to think that Coleridge may have learned of the book through Wordsworth.

[2] Compare (?) Coleridge, *Ancient Mariner*, lines 313-317:

> The upper air burst into life!
> And a hundred fire-flags sheen,
> To and fro, they were hurried about!
> And to and fro, and in and out,
> The wan stars danced between.

"*Sound of the aurora.*—Another physical phenomenon about which there is considerable disagreement is the sound which, according to some observers, sometimes accompanies the aurora borealis.

It is a very general belief in certain countries—for instance, in the Orkneys, in Finmark, and among the Indians of the territories round Hudson Bay—that the aurora is accompanied by a particular sound, somewhat resembling the rustling of silk. The Lapps, who also believe in the existence of this sound, compare it to the 'cracking' which may be heard in the joints of the reindeer when in movement. A great number of trustworthy observers maintain that they have distinctly heard this sound during very vivid auroras. Others, on the contrary, have never remarked any sound which in their opinion could reasonably be attributed to the aurora; we must note, however, that purely negative results cannot be set against a single positive and certain fact."

The observations which M. Angot seems to heed in this connection are subsequent to the account in Hearne. It is not impossible, of course, that Byron drew his information from some other, earlier source, as it is not impossible that he had read Hearne,[3] for he was both a traveler and a reader of travels. Is it not more likely that he involuntarily hit off the cadence of Wordsworth's *Complaint*? There is a certain similarity in his jingle.

A flitting note like the present may at least conclude where it began, with a suggestion about Wordsworth's mental caliber. This may be gaged more accurately by the measure of a serious record like *The Prelude*, which the author of *Main Currents* has hardly consulted enough for a proper understanding of his man, as by undue attention to the small talk of Moore and Emerson. However limited Wordsworth's horizon may have appeared to Emerson in 1833, or to an admirer of Nietzsche and Byron many years later, his conception thirty years earlier of what a poet ought to see and do was not restricted. Witness *The Prelude* toward the end of Book Fifth (lines 523 ff.); in spite of a grammatical hitch the mental sweep of the passage is untrammeled:

> Ye dreamers, then,
> Forgers of daring tales! we bless you . . .
> . . . . . .
> . . . we feel
> With what, and how great might ye are in league,
> Who make our wish, our power, our thought a deed,
> An empire, a possession,—ye whom time
> And seasons serve; all Faculties to whom
> Earth crouches, the elements are potter's clay,
> Space like a heaven filled up with northern lights
> Here, nowhere, there, and everywhere at once.

[3] He might have known about Hearne through Edward Ellice, who was connected with the Hudson's Bay Company.

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THE PROLOGUE OF *Sir Orfeo*.

Sir Orfeo,[1] one of the most charming among the middle English romances, has received a good deal of attention at the hands of scholars: it has been conclusively shown that it is a translation from a now lost French original, and its points of contact with varied Celtic legends have been made the subject of careful study.[2] Its opening lines, however, which do not constitute a part of the tale itself, have been generally left out of account, except in so far as their probable source has been—with every reason—sought in the lais of Marie de France.[3] Their purpose is to give us an account of the origin of the so-called Breton lays. It may repay us to examine them a little more closely.

In the first place, are we right in ascribing them to *Sir Orfeo*? As far as I know, this point is still undecided. These lines are found in only two out of three manuscripts, in which *Sir Orfeo* has come down to us, and, on the other hand, they are almost identical with the beginning of the *Lay le Freine*[4] (which is, as is well known, a translation of one of Marie's Lais). To which of the two poems did they originally belong? The evidence of the manuscripts is quite inconclusive, as the Auchinleck manuscript in which these lines are wanting, is by no means in a perfect state of

[1] *Sir Orfeo*, ein englisches Feenmärchen aus dem Mittelalter, hgg. von Dr. Oscar Zielke, Breslau, 1880.

[2] See especially Kittredge, *Am. Journ. of Philology*, VII, 176 ff.

[3] Zupitza, *Engl. Stud.*, X, p. 42.

[4] Published by Varnhagen, *Anglia*, III, 415 ff.

preservation.[5] The question must be settled otherwise. An examination of the contents of these opening verses soon points to the fact that *Sir Orfeo* is the poem where they belong by right. Let us suppose, for argument's sake, that they were written by the author of the *Lay le Freine*. How did he happen upon them? Clearly he could not have taken them from his original, where the tale is preceded only by two verses of rather vague import.[6] On the other hand, the information they give us was borrowed—as was long ago shown by Zupitza—from the prologues or conclusions of several of Marie's lays. How are we to understand this? Did Zupitza mean that the English poet got his hints himself out of Marie? In that case, we should picture him to ourselves as a presumably faithful translator in the tale proper but as a somewhat laborious compiler in the introduction to the tale. The supposition is of course possible, but not very probable. Or are we not rather to admit that the work of compilation, such as it was, was done by a French poet and that the author of *Sir Orfeo* translated his preface as well as his tale? We must take into account that the prologue of *Sir Orfeo*—by the nature and the extent of the information it gives—stands alone[7] in middle English literature. But French literature of the thirteenth century provides us with quite a number of parallels. It is enough here to mention the prologues of *Doon, Tydorel*, and the whole *lai du Lecheor*. It is therefore most likely that their English counterpart at the beginning of *Sir Orfeo* was itself a pretty literal translation from the French; as Marie's *Le Fraisne* contains nothing of the sort, it must have opened the French *lai d' Orphée*. It must be noted that the closing lines of *Sir Orfeo*—presumably translated from the French like the rest—are quite in keeping with the prologue.[8]

Provided with that introduction which we are thus led to assign to it, the French *lai d' Orphée* appears in a rather new light. It reveals itself to us at once as one of the younger lais, belonging to the second or the third generation.[9] It was of course only after Marie's work was done that later poets could turn to her for information; and we shall see a little further on that it was not even till the collection of the French lays, such as we know it, was nearly complete that the prologue of *Orphée* could have been written. It was then composed at a time when there was a good deal of talk about, but very little knowledge of, the old Bretons; most of the writers of lais confined themselves to rehandling themes already treated by Marie.[10] Between an introduction and a conclusion closely modeled on her prologues and epilogues, clever but unimaginative *jongleurs* would insert a story that sometimes was also taken from Marie, sometimes borrowed from quite a different source. So in *Doon* a tale of Eastern origin was fused with a legend which on examination proves to be nothing else but that of *Milun;* the result of that most artificial fusion was called by its proud author a lai. The author of *Havelock* took bodily out of Gaimar's chronicle a rather lengthy passage narrating a fine old legend; he slightly modified it, and, adorning it with a prologue and a conclusion in the style and at times the phraseology of Marie, he forthwith launched into the world, at the beginning of the thirteenth century, a new Breton lai, as genuine as many others of the same time. Just in the same manner, we may suppose, the author of *Orphée* rehandled a Classic myth and worked it over into a lai. But for ingenuity and knowledge of the technique of his trade, he was certainly far above

[5] Cf. Kittredge, p. 176, n. 2, and Zielke, p. 22.

[6] Le lai del Fraisne vus dirai | sulunc le cunte que jeo sai.

[7] With the exception of the *Franklin's Tale*. But it is not absurd to suppose that Chaucer had the opening lines of *Sir Orfeo* in mind when he wrote his own prologue to the *Franklin's Tale*. I hope to come back to this point in a subsequent paper.

[8] Ll. 595–600: "Harpours in Bretaine after þan | Herd, hou þis mervaile bigan, | And made herof a lay of gode likeing | And nempned it after þe king: þat lay Orfeo is yhote, | Gode is þe lay, swete is þe note." Cf. *Guigemar*, 883–886; *Graelent*, 3–4. Cf. G. Paris, *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXIX, 500–501.

[9] I agree with Prof. Kittredge (see pp. 180–182) that the passages often cited from the *Lai de l'Espine* (ll. 180–185) and *Floire et Blanceflor* (ed. Du Méril, p. 231), have nothing to do with the French original of *Sir Orfeo*, although I cannot think that they refer us to a genuine Breton lay.

[10] For all that concerns the so-called anonymous Lais and their attitude towards Marie, see *Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, XXIX, 19 ff.

the usual run of the thirteenth century lay-writers; his adaptation is so clever that, had he not retained the Classical names, it might have been difficult to prove his acquaintance with the Classic tale.[11] There is little doubt that the adaptation was his own work; he wrote at too late a day for us to be able to assume that he drew on a Breton original. Was he nevertheless influenced, in his work of rehandling, by Celtic legends more or less similar to the Classic myth, which were known to him in a French form now lost?[12] Or did he simply turn for the colouring and the new matter he wanted to the Arthurian romances or the *romans d'aventure* of his own time, and thus apply to the tale itself very much the same method as to the introduction?[13] I feel rather inclined to adopt the second solution, but in the absence of quite conclusive evidence one way or the other, it is perhaps wiser to leave the question undecided.

In returning to the Prologue, we tread upon safer ground, for in this case we have both the copy (in its English translation) and the original (Marie). Let us not look here for genuine and accurate information on the Breton Lais; in the thirteenth century the Bretons had for a long time ceased to be very distinct figures, and the memory of them grew every day dimmer. In so far as they were represented as makers of Lays, that memory was mainly kept up by a literary tradition which went back to Marie; the chief interest of the introductions to the thirteenth century Lays lies in that they allow us to form an idea as to how that tradition developed or in other terms how readers of that time understood Marie and the somewhat obscure indications of her prologues. The text of our prologue is rather uncertain; the three manuscripts, H, O and F[14] have different readings for almost every line, and although the variations are mostly very slight they are not always so. For ll. 1–4 it is obvious that H and F present the best reading; O modified rather clumsily the original text, without, it is true, greatly altering the meaning. Ll. 5–12: here the three manuscripts are in almost complete agreement. In the following lines, variations are more significant; let us, for instance, compare H and F:

	H.	*F.*
13	In Brytain þis layes arne ywryte, Furst yfounde and forþe ygete, Of aventures þat fillen by dayes Wherof Brytouns made her layes,	13 In Breteyne bi hold time This layes were wrought, so seith this rime. When kinges might our yhere Of ani mervailes that ther were,
17	When þey myght owher heryn Of aventures þat þer weryn, þey toke her harpys wiþ game, Maden layes and ȝaf it name.	17 Thai token an harp in gle and game, And maked a lay and gaf it name.

Which of the two gives the best reading? To be sure, one might contend that although the two texts are somewhat different the meaning is substantially the same. It is possible that by the lays which are 'written' in Brittany, H simply means the songs that were composed on the occasion of the 'adventures' and to which another reference is made and—awkwardly enough—a third one in lines 19 and 20. In that case then,

[11] Cp. Zielke, p. 4.

[12] Prof. Kittredge admits the existence of a Breton lay which the French translator probably rendered without much change. But his main thesis—namely, that we have to do here with an adaptation of the Ovidian story to Celtic beliefs and traditions—is not absolutely bound up, it seems to me, with the assertion that there ever existed such a lay. Even Marie, in my opinion, can hardly be shown to have had access to 'Breton lays.' And yet some of her stories which she got from French written sources or by word of mouth from French *jongleurs*, undoubtedly go back to Celtic traditions. The case might be the same with the author of *Orphée*.

[13] Cf. Zielke, *Sir Orfeo*, p. 137: Vieles von dem beiwerke, mit dem der dichter seine romanze geschmückt hat, kehrt in der weltliteratur jener zeit wieder. So erinnert uns die scene der thronentsagung an Guillaume d'Angleterre: das traurige Leben, welches Orfeo im walde führt, an Iwein und Parthenopeus; die ausstattung des feenschlosses an Beves und Flandrijs; die aufforderung des feenkönigs an Orfeo, sich den lohn für seine kunst selbst zu bestimmen, an Tristan, [Cf. Kittredge, p. 188]; das wechseln der kleider an Horn, William of Palerne und Beves.

[14] H (Harleian MS.), O (Bodleian MS.), F (Lay le Freine preserved only in the Auchinleck MS.). The Auchinleck MS. of *Sir Orfeo* lacks the introduction. Cf. Zielke, 22 ff., and Varnhagen, *Anglia*, III, 415.

there would seem to be almost a contradiction between lines 13–14 and lines 19–20. The process of composition denoted by lines 19–20 hardly implies a writing down of the songs, in fact, seems to exclude the idea of it. But it is far more likely that the scribe of H got here a little confused; having in his mind the tale of Orfeo which he was making ready to copy he imagined—in a probably obscure and rather unconscious manner—the Breton lays to be at once and at the same time, songs sung to the harp and narrative poems written for the enjoyment of a reading public. But was this the idea of the English author of our prologue? That does not seem probable in this passage at least. He does not say that he is going to tell us a lay, but only to relate one of those 'adventures' in memory of which the Bretons used to make lays.

21 Of aventures, þat han befalle,
Y can sum telle, but nought all.
Herken, lordyngs, þat ben trewe,
And y wol ȝou telle of Sir Orphewe.

Cf. F:

Now of this aventours that weren yfalle
Y can tel sum, ac nought alle. (ll. 18–20).[15]

In the same manner, while in the closing verses of the romance, he mentions a lay, he by no means says that that Breton lai—a musical piece made to be sung to a tune—is identical with the story he has just told us; in fact, his words imply the reverse.

595 Harpours in Bretaine afterþan
Herd, hou þis mervaile bigan,
And made herof a lay of gode likeing
And nempned it after þe king:
599 þat lay Orfeo is yhote,
Gode is þe lay, swete is þe note.[16]

The author of *Sir Orfeo* makes here the same careful distinction between the tale ('conte' or 'aventure') and the Breton lai that Marie had made in *Guigemar*[17] and others of her lays (although not in all of them). For the passage under discussion the text of F seems therefore to give the best reading.[18]

We are now in a better position to notice and discuss another confusion for which this time the scribes are not responsible, for it must have taken place already in the French original.[19] The author of *Orphée* had certainly distinguished between the 'aventure' and the 'lai': this distinction, together with sundry information on the old Bretons, he had of course borrowed from Marie. The consequence is that, wherever in his prologue we catch, as it were, an echo of Marie, we notice that 'lay' means *song* and nothing else (ll. 1–4: H, O, F; ll. 13–20 F, cf. ll. 15–24 H).[20] But in ll. 5–12 (substantially the same in the three manuscripts), which do not come from the *Lais*, we meet with a rather different conception. Here the author wanted to give his readers an idea of the subjects which the harpers of old sang in their lays; no easy task, we may believe, for a man of the thirteenth century; one had scarcely then an opportunity to listen to a genuine Breton lay. The best way out of the difficulty was perhaps to turn for information to the rather numerous so-called (French) lays which claimed to tell, with more or less fidelity, the adventures out of which the Bretons had made their lays. And there can be little doubt that in lines 5–12 our author refers us, not to the original Breton lays, but to the works of Marie, Renaut and to the anonymous lays:

5 Sum ben of wele und sum of wo,
And sum of joy and merþe also,
Sum of trechery and sum of gyle,
And sum of happes, þat fallen by whyle,
9 Sum of bourdys and sum of rybaudry,
And sum þer ben of þe feyre.

[15] The next two lines in F: "Ac herkneth lordinges sothe to sain | Ichil you telle Lay le Frain" are obviously a translation of the opening lines of Marie's lai: "Le lai del Fraisne vus dirai | sulunc le cunte que jeo sai."

[16] These lines are lacking in H, but are found both in A and O. Cf. Kittredge, p. 177, n. 2.

[17] *Guigemar*, ll. 19–21: Les *contes* que jo sai verais, | dunt li Bretun unt fait les *lais*, | vos conterai assez briefment. Cf. ll. 883–884: De cest *cunte* qu'oï avez | fu Guigemar li *lais* trovez.

[18] An examination of the first lines of O for this passage confirms our interpretation. But towards the end of it the scribe falls into the same blunder as the copyist of H: þat in þe leys ben *iwrouȝht* | Fyrst fond and forþe *brouȝht* | of aventours þat fell some deys | þe Bretonys þerof made þer leys | Off kynges þat before us were, | When þey myȝt any woundres here | þey lete þem *wryte* as it were do, | And þer among is sir Orfewo (ll. 13–20). The end is obviously shortened.

[19] At the same time it sufficiently accounts for the blunder of the scribe of H.

[20] See the passages of Marie made use of by the author of *Orphée* in the article of Zupitza already quoted.

Off alle þing þat men may se,
Moost o lowe forsoþe þey be.

To be sure, one cannot sum up in more felicitous terms the contents of the *French* lays.[21] But it is obvious that we are getting rather far from the Bretons; nobody at the time of Marie would have dreamed of ascribing to them songs of 'bourdys' and 'rybaudry'; surely the poetess would have denied the charge most indignantly. We must wait many years before we can find in the authors of *Ignaure*, *Lecheor* and *Nabaret* men ready to agree on this point with our ingenious *trouvère*. Of course, by thus going for his examples of Breton lays to collections of French tales, he ran the risk of mixing up quite different things; he was almost inevitably led to assign to the latter a name which by right belonged only to the former:

3 *þe layes þat ben of harpyng*
Ben yfounde of frely thing.
Sum ben of wele and sum of wo . . .
9 *Sum of bourdys and sum of rybaudry.*

It must be said at once, that this confusion is not peculiar to our author; it was made in his own time by more than one lay-writer. As a matter of fact, it can be traced back to Marie herself. While in the oldest of her tales, *Guigemar*, and in some others, she kept carefully apart the two notions of 'tale' written for readers and 'lai' sung to a tune, there is no doubt but that in several others she inclined to call her own tale a *lai* as well as the real or pretended original Breton song. Contradictions and hesitations such as these rather puzzled her imitators in the following age. Some consistently maintained the distinction between 'tale' and 'lay' to the end; others, more or less consciously or willingly, failed to perceive or keep up that distinction, and thereby contributed to assign to the word 'lai,' the only sense of which, up to Marie's time, had been song, a new meaning, that of short narrative poem on a subject connected with the 'matière de Bretagne.'[22] The lost *lai d' Orphée*, we may now conclude, had certainly its share in that most curious development, and in any study of the evolution of the lai (the word and the thing) must be mentioned and discussed by the side of *Doon*, *Lechcor* and *Tyolet*. English literature, too, as we know, welcomed, for a time, that novel use of an old word, and it is not absurd to suppose that the English translation of *Orphée*, our *Sir Orfeo*, had a good deal to do with that departure from tradition.

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[21] It is, therefore, quite fitting that W. Hertz should have opened his collection of lays in his *Spielmanns Buch* by a rendering of *Sir Orfeo*. But whether our prologue was actually meant by its author to be the introduction to a large collection of lays, as Mr. Brugger suggests in *Zts. f. fr. Spr. u. Litt.*, xx, 154, n. 103, is doubtful.

[22] On this point, see *Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, xxix, 299 ff.

Shakespeare, *Tempest* 2. 2. 28.

Malone, on *R. and J.* 1. 1. 37, defined 'Poor John' as 'hake, dried, and salted,' and is followed by all the editions and dictionaries that I have examined. The definition is inaccurate in two respects: 'Poor John' was not hake, and it was not salted. The proof is furnished by Captain John Smith, especially in his *Description of New England*. In the edition of 1624 (Arber, *English Scholar's Library* 16. 709) he says: 'How many thousands this fiftie or sixty yeeres [1564–1614 *or* 1624] haue beene maintained by *New found land*, where they take nothing but small Cod, whereof the greatest they make Cor-fish, and the rest is hard dried, which we call Poore-Iohn, would amaze a man with wonder.'

To this corresponds, in the edition of 1616 (Arber, p. 195): '*New found Land*, doth yearely fraught neere 800 sayle of Ships with a sillie leane skinny Poore-Iohn, and Corfish; which at least yearely amounts to 3 or 400000 pound.'

That it was dried, and not salted, is shown by various considerations. (1) It is said to be 'hard dried' (see above). (2) In a list of fish (Arber, pp. 239, 255, 745) we have: 'Herring, Salt-fish, poore Iohn,' etc.; and (pp. 238, 254, 743): 'Salt-fish, poore Iohn, Salmons,' etc. (3) Smith says (p. 198; cf. p. 713): 'In the end of August, September, October, and Nouember, you haue Cod againe, to make Cor fish, or Poore Iohn: and each hundred [fish] is as good as two or three hundred in the *Newfound Land*: so that halfe the labour in hooking, splitting, and turning

is saued' ; he says nothing about salting. To the same effect (p. 199 ; cf. p. 713) : 'Now, young boyes and girles, Saluages or any other, be they neuer such idlers, may turne, carry, and return fish.' And again (p. 199 ; cf. p. 714) : 'One third part of that companie are onely but proper to serue a stage, carry a barrow, and turne Poor Iohn.'

Poor John seems to have been much used at sea as food for the sailors. Thus in the *Observations of Captain Richard Whitbourne* relative to sending out ships to Newfoundland (Arber, pp. 777 ff.), we find '2000 of poore Iohn to spend [*i. e.*, in eating] in going,' at a cost of £6 10s., out of a total expense of £420 11s. In Smith's *Accidence for Young Sea-men* (Arber, p. 804), after advising the commander to see that he has a competent proportion of delicacies for his own use, and the entertainment of strangers, but also for the occasional needs of his men, he adds : 'I say the want of those necessaries, occasions the losse of more men, then in any English fleet hath bin slaine in any fight since [15]88 : for when a man is ill sicke, or at the poynt of death, I would know whether a dish of buttered Rice, with a little Cinnamon and Sugar, a little minced meate, or roast beefe, a few stewed Prunes, a race of greene-ginger, a flap Iacke, a can of fresh water brued with a little Cinnamon, Ginger, and Sugar, be not better than a little poore *Iohn*, or salt fish, with oyle and mustard,' etc.

As early as 1585, however, there is evidence that Poor John was welcomed by English sailors, expecially when captured from an enemy. Cates, *A Summarie and True Discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage*, A. D. 1585 (Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, Glasgow, 1904, 10. 99, 100) affords this illustration : 'We happened to meet with some other French ships, full laden with Newland fish, being upon their returne homeward from the said Newfoundland : whom the Generall after some speech had with them (and seeing plainly that they were Frenchmen) dismissed, without once suffering any man to go aboord of them. The day following . . . we discried another tall ship of twelve score tunnes or thereaboutes ; . . . and the Tygar having caused the said strange ship to strike her sailes, kept her there without suffering anybody to go aboord untill the Admirall was come up : who forthwith sending for the Master, and divers others of their principall men, and causing them to be severally examined, found the ship and goods to be belonging to the inhabitants of S. Sebastian in Spaine, but the mariners to bee for the most part belonging to S. John de Luz, and the Passage. In this ship was great store of dry Newland fish, commonly called with us Poore John, whereof afterwards (being thus found a lawfull prize) there was distribution made into all the ships of the fleet, the same being so new and good, as it did very greatly bestead us in the whole course of our voyage.' This quotation may also serve to illustrate Smith's statement (Arber, p. 711 : 'And whereas it is said . . . *New found land* [serves] the most part of the chiefe Southerne Ports in *Europe*, with a thin Poore-Iohn,' etc. ; where p. 197 has : '[serves] all Europe with,' etc.

Other occurrences of the term 'Poor John' are : Beaumont and Fletcher, *Scornful Lady* 2. 3 ; Massinger, *Renegado* 1. 1 ; Shirley, *Maid's Revenge* 3. 2.

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AN ENGLISH PARALLEL TO KLOPSTOCK'S *Hermannsschlacht.*

Ten years before Klopstock published his *Hermannsschlacht*, there appeared in London a drama by William Mason, entitled *Caractacus. Written on the Model of the Ancient Greek Tragedy*, (1759). The drama represents an episode in the long conflict between the Celtic Britons and the Romans and is largely based upon Tacitus' account in the *Annals* (XII, 33 ff.). The old King Caractacus after fighting the Romans for ten years seeks refuge with the Druids on the island of Mona. The Roman general Aulus Didius attacks the island. He is repulsed, at first, but the treachery of a young Briton enables him to send an army through the pass leading to the abode of the Druids. After a brave struggle the Britons are vanquished ; Caractacus, his daughter Evelina and her lover Elidurus are captured ; Arviragus, the son of Caractacus, succumbs to his wounds.

The drama seems to have met with considerable success as a reading drama, the third edition appearing in 1762; in 1764 it was reprinted in a collection of Mason's poems (*Poems* by William Mason, M. A., London, 1764). It was not put on the stage until 1776 (cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, v. 36, p. 440). We have, then, four English editions of the play previous to the appearance of Klopstock's *Hermannsschlacht* in 1769.

Though the outcome of the conflict in *Caractacus* is just about the reverse of that in Klopstock's play, there are certain striking resemblances between the two dramas that deserve closer inspection. As the title indicates, Mason wished to write a play on the model of the Greek tragedy. To do that he needed a chorus. In a previous play, *Elfrida* (1752), he had introduced a chorus of virgins, in *Caractacus* he introduces a chorus of druids and bards. Among the persons of the drama, no druid or bard is mentioned by name; the speeches and songs of the druids and bards are simply headed "Chorus," though often only a single person is speaking, as may be seen from the connection. In a foot-note, Mason explains how the heading "Chorus" is to be interpreted (*Poems*, 1764, p. 172): "The Dramatic part of the Chorus is supposed to be chiefly spoken by the Principal Druid; the Lyrical part sung by the Bards." There is no division into acts or scenes; the unities of time and place are strictly observed. As is to be expected in a drama on the Classical model, the battle does not take place on the stage, but behind the scene. Intense patriotism pervades the play (cf. also Mason's dedication to Hurd, first edition, 1759, p. 4). To explain the numerous allusions to the customs of the ancient bards and druids, Mason deemed it advisable to add to his play a few pages of "illustrations," notes and quotations from Classical writers like Cæsar, Tacitus, Pliny, Strabo, Ammianus Marcellinus and others.

The general structure of the *Hermannsschlacht* is the same. First of all, we have the druids and bards, Klopstock's most striking dramatic innovation, which has always been considered original with him. The place of Mason's principal druid is taken by Brenno, the *Oberdruide*. The bards form one chorus or several choruses, sometimes only one or two are chanting. In *Caractacus*, the chorus is sometimes divided into two semi-choruses after the Classical model, sometimes the chief bard seems to chant alone contrary to Mason's own explanation (*Poems*, 1764, pp. 209, 263). The unities of time and place are strictly observed in Klopstock's play; there is no division into acts, but we have fourteen loosely connected scenes. There is less unity of action than in *Caractacus*. The battle takes place behind the scene. Like Mason, Klopstock considered it advisable to add explanatory notes, with quotations from Classical authors, often the same authors as are cited in Mason's "illustrations."

Besides the general structure, there are other points common to the two dramas. A certain similarity in the actions of the druids and bards is to be expected, as the poets used largely the same sources. In both plays the bards give the sign of onset and encourage the warriors with their songs (*Poems*, 1764, pp. 262, 268; *Hermannsschlacht*, ed. Hamel, pp. 62, 72, and elsewhere). In *Caractacus* the druids blow the sacred trumpet (*Poems*, pp. 262, 269, etc.), in Klopstock's play the bards blow the horns (ed. Hamel, pp. 69, 78 and often). The druids cast the lot over the prisoners (*Poems*, p. 224; *Herm.*, pp. 70, 122 f.); they are asked to furnish medicinal herbs for the wounded (*Poems*, p. 276; *Heilungskräuter*, *Herm.*, pp. 126, 128); the captives are to be sacrificed (*Poems*, p. 271, *Herm.*, pp. 70, 122); the horse is used as an oracle (*Poems*, p. 205, *Herm.*, p. 122 f.). The scenery in the two plays is, in some respects, similar; there is an altar on the stage near which the druids and bards are stationed; rocks and oaks are all about.

The characters and scenes, too, present certain parallels more or less striking. In *Caractacus* the two brothers Vellinus and Elidurus fight on opposite sides, the elder, Vellinus, having turned traitor to his country. In the *Hermannsschlacht* Hermann's elder brother, Flavius, fights on the Roman side, an incident which is Klopstock's own invention, as no ancient author states that Flavius fought in the army of Varus. In J. E. Schlegel's *Hermann*, Flavius is constantly wavering between his own people and Rome and does not take part in the battle on either side. Old Siegmar's over-

confidence in his own powers (sc. 1), his eagerness for battle, his belief that he will turn the fortune of the battle (*Hermannsschlacht*, ed. Hamel, p. 61) may be compared with Caractacus' exclamation (*Poems*, 1764, p. 259): "Old as I am, I trust with half our powers I could drive back these Romans to their ships."—The sixth scene of the *Hermannsschlacht*, where Siegmund, Thusnelda's brother, asks for permission to fight against the Romans, may well be compared with the scene in *Caractacus* (pp. 242 ff.), where Elidurus makes a similar request. The flight of the brother Vellinus to the Romans seems to prove beyond a doubt that Elidurus, too, is a traitor. The druids pronounce the death penalty upon him. Elidurus' only request is that he may be allowed to die speedily. His greatest grief is that he must die "before my thirsty sword drinks one rich drop of vengeance." Previously (p. 244) he had asked the druids to send him against the Romans, but they had refused his request, as he was suspected. Elidurus declares that he is ready to die, but wishes to offer a prayer for the protection of Evelina. At this moment Evelina, the daughter of Caractacus, intercedes for him with the druid, she is willing to offer up her life provided Elidurus is allowed to take up arms against the Romans. The druid, moved by the virgin's prayer and the sincerity of the youth, pardons Elidurus and bids him to approach "yonder altar, where our bards shall arm thee duly both with helm and sword for warlike enterprize" (p. 256). When Siegmund first appears, Brenno, the chief druid, looks upon him as a traitor. Siegmund asks for arms that he may fight against the Romans, he is willing to suffer the death penalty after the battle, in case he should survive. Thusnelda pleads for him and when Brenno refuses his request, Siegmund asks to be killed at once (p. 92). Again Thusnelda intercedes, but Brenno orders Siegmund to be led to the place of execution. At the last moment, however, when Brenno sees the sincere joy of Siegmund at the thought of expiating his former treason with death, he receives him as one of the warriors and calls on Thusnelda and the bards to arm him. "Gebt ihm den Blumenschild!" When Siegmund is armed, he approaches the altar and then hastens to the battle (p. 93). Muncker thinks (*Klopstock's Leben und Schriften*, p. 391) that the character of Siegmund was modeled to some extent after Flavius in J. E. Schlegel's *Hermann*, but the resemblance of the Siegmund scene to the Elidurus scene in *Caractacus* is far more striking.

In the seventh scene Siegmar, mortally wounded, is carried to the altar, where he wishes to die; similarly the wounded Arviragus desires to die near the altar (*Poems*, p. 275). The bards chant a death song for Siegmar as a token of gratitude (pp. 106, 139), while the bards around Arviragus call upon one another to chant "that grateful dirge your dying champion claims" (p. 280).

The name of the chief druid in Klopstock's play is Brenno. Muncker assumes that Klopstock took the name from the Gallic chieftain that attacked Rome. In *Caractacus* Brennus is the name of a druid (*Poems*, p. 186), who seems to be the leader of one of the semi-choruses.

In the *Hermannsschlacht* there is considerable discussion about the justice of the war (especially in the eleventh scene); similar expressions are also found in *Caractacus*, *e. g.* (p. 283): "The Romans fight not to enslave but humanize the world."

The songs of the bards are very different in the two plays both as to form and contents. There is one striking exception, however, the reference to the chariot of Death. In one of the odes chanted by the chief bard (*Poems*, p. 264), Death is represented as calling out to the Britons:

> I come: Yon car
> That cleaves the air,
> Descends to throne my state:
> I mount your Champion and your God.
> My proud steeds neigh beneath the thong:
> Hark to my wheels of brass, that rattle loud!

Klopstock's bards sing (p. 79):

> Dumpf tönt durch das Grauen der Nacht der Wagen des Todes!
> Vor ihm geht Varus! Der Wagen rasselt Walhalla vorbey.

The evidence advanced makes it highly probable that Klopstock knew Mason's *Caractacus*. It is, however, only internal evidence. I do not find that Klopstock ever mentions Mason in his letters or elsewhere. But we know that Klopstock was a close student of English literature;

he corresponded with English writers like Richardson, Young, MacPherson ; he was interested in everything pertaining to the druids and bards. It is, therefore, not at all unlikely that he was acquainted with an English play representing bards and druids of which the fourth edition had appeared in 1764. We would then have another link connecting Klopstock's poetry with English literature.

If Klopstock did not know Mason's play—and our evidence, it must be admitted, cannot establish his knowledge of the play beyond the shadow of a doubt—we have another instance of two men working independently of each other and arriving at the same or similar results. Mason had originally intended to introduce in his *Caractacus* certain novel features which Klopstock later actually used without knowing anything of Mason's original plan. What this plan was may be seen from a letter of Thomas Gray addressed to Mason, who had sent Gray the manuscript of *Caractacus* for criticism. The letter, though familiar to students of English Romanticism, must be quoted at length. (Cf. Gosse, *The Works of Thomas Gray*, London, 1884, II, 350 f. ; cf. also G. L. Kittredge in Phelps's edition of Gray, Boston, 1894, p. xlv ; F. E. Farley, *Scandinavian Influences in the Romantic Movement*, Boston, 1903, p. 45, n.) Gray writes (January 13, 1758) : "I have never read Keysler's book (*i. e.*, *Antiquitates selectæ Septentrionales et Celticæ*, Hannover, 1720 ; cf. G. L. Kittredge, *l. c.*, p. xlvi) nor you neither, I believe ; if you had taken that pains, I am persuaded you would have seen that his Celtic and his septentrional antiquities are two things entirely distinct. There are, indeed, some learned persons who have taken pains to confound what Cæsar and Tacitus have taken pains to separate, the old Druidical or Celtic belief, and that of the old Germans, but nobody has been so learned as to mix the Celtic religion with that of the Goths. Woden himself is supposed not to have been older than Julius Cæsar ; but let him have lived when he pleases, it is certain that neither he nor his Valhalla were heard of till many years after. This is the doctrine of the Scalds, not of the Bards ; these are the songs of Hengist and Horsa, a modern new-fangled belief in comparison of that which you ought to possess. After all, I shall be sorry to have so many good verses and good chimæras thrown away. Might we not be permitted (in that scarcity of Celtic ideas we labour under) to adopt some of these foreign whimsies, dropping however all mention of Woden and his Valkhyrian virgins, etc.?" In a letter dated Good Friday, 1758 (Gosse, *l. c.*, p. 363) Gray writes : "I told you before that, in a time of dearth, I would venture to borrow from the Edda without entering too minutely on particulars ; but, if I did so, I would make each image so clear, that it might be fully understood by itself, for in this obscure mythology we must not hint at things, as we do with the Greek fables, that everybody is supposssd to know at school. However, on second thoughts, I think it would be still better to graft any wild picturesque fable, absolutely of one's own invention, upon the Druid stock ; I mean upon those half-dozen of old fancies that are known to have made their system."

We see Mason's original sketch had contained more or less numerous references and allusions to Scandinavian mythology, but his friend Gray objecting to them on historic and æsthetic grounds, he was wise enough to cut them out (the allusion to the sword Trifingus (p. 257) was allowed to stand). In the *Hermannsschlacht* Klopstock unites Druids, Bards, Woten and Walhalla and the songs of the bards as well as many of his odes are often obscure, just because he failed to present clear images in borrowing from an unfamiliar mythology. We know that the confusion of Celts and Germans was a common though by no means universal error of Klopstock's time, but the use of hazy and obscure mythological figures is due to a serious defect in Klopstock's poetic power, the lack of sensuousness, which made him overlook the danger that Gray so clearly saw. Walpole severely criticised Mason's play. His criticism with only few modifications may be applied to the *Hermannsschlacht*, at least by the modern reader : "Mr. Mason has published another drama called *Caractacus*. There are some incantations poetical enough, and odes so Greek as to have very little meaning. But the whole is labored, uninteresting, and no more resembling the manners of Britons than of the Japanese" (Gosse, *Gray's Works*, II, 332, n.).

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SOME RECENT WORKS ON FRENCH VERSIFICATION.

1. La Versification française et ses Nouveaux Théoriciens, par Charles Aubertin. Paris, Belin Frères, 1898. Pp. 328.
2. Le Vers Français et les Prosodies Modernes, par Jules Guillaume. Paris, Fontemoing, 1898. Pp. 226.
3. A History of French Versification, by L. E. Kastner. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1903. Pp. 312.
4. Études sur la rime dans "Cyrano de Bergerac" de M. Rostand, von A. Schenk. Diss. Kiel, 1900. Pp. 111.
5. Studien über den Reim bei Théodore de Banville, von Dr. Heinrich Grein. Diss. Kiel, Cordes, 1903. Pp. 72.
6. Der Versbau A. de Lamartines, von H. Gerhard. Diss. Leipzig, Schmidt, 1902. Pp. 83.
7. Zum Versbau Mistrals, von A. Buchenau. Diss. Marburg, 1901. Pp. 135.
8. Zum Reim- und Strophenbau bei Mistral nebst einer übersicht über seine Rhythmik, von J. F. Rack. Diss. Marburg, 1902. Pp. 63.
9. Esthétique de la Langue Française, par Remy de Gourmont. Paris, Mercure de France, 1899. Pp. 323.
10. De la Rime Française, par P. V. Delaporte. Paris, Soc. de Saint-Augustin, Desclée, de Brouwer et Cie, 1898. Pp. 233.
11. Essai de Prosodie Française (vers sans rimes), par P. Jean-Dupré. Paris, Plange, 1904. Pp. 58.
12. La Rythmicité de l'Alexandrin Français, par Fredrik Wulff. Lund, 1900, Universitets Årsskrift, XXXVI, 1. No. 6. Pp. 79.

Within the last decade there has been a marked activity in the field of French versification—studies of special authors' verse technique and histories of the entire field. The works here reviewed have been chosen as representative of two types—histories with original contributions, and histories reviewing the work already done; studies or theses showing originality and the true research spirit, and studies for which little can be said as to their value.

In a history of French versification we would naturally expect to find an account of the historical development of all the principles of verse technique, with their gradual changes and the reasons therefor. In the three histories under review, we find this account in the first only. Aubertin remains to-day the most satisfactory, the most concise and clearest (although not the most scholarly, for this honor belongs to Stengel) treatise written within the last ten years. It is a book that may be read with profit by the student and specialist.

The second book by Guillaume would hardly leave a clear view of what French verse is; too technical and theoretical, lacking clearness and precision. We find a lengthy discussion of the various schools. The chapter discussing rhythm, accent and hemistich, reviewing the theories of Scoppa, Ackermann, Ténint, and Van Hasselt, of whom he is a follower, is the most satisfactory. Most Belgians that have written on French verse have shown a false conception of what French versification really is; at least, false according to the French and leading German verse theorists. This work can hardly be called a contribution to actual verse study, but an ingenious application of a theory of verse principles applied to a verse system that will not answer to it. It is worth reading, however.

The last work by Kastner is distinctly a contribution, presenting original investigation, showing extraordinary work, but scarcely a trace of ability to interpret results. It is most unfortunate that with all his splendid work he has been able to do nothing but note facts, page after page, with no meaning or interpretation. It remains a reference book of exceptional value to the student.

Numerous studies on individual authors have been published, and these may be grouped: 1. as studies on one especial feature, such as rhyme; 2. as studies of the verse technique of an author. Of the former, there are two works that are almost epoch making for minute details, accuracy, and delicate ingenuity in fine, hair-splitting distinctions in rhyme.

Two serious criticisms must be made on studies of French verse almost without exception: 1. If the list of works in the bibliography of these various studies shows the extent of the reading of these authors, then statements such as the following must be taken with many grains of salt: "Die über französische Verslehre vorhandene Litteratur habe ich nach bestem Wissen und möglichst vollständig benutzt." (Cf. Grein, p. 5). There are twenty-five works mentioned. This criticism applies to every study that has come under the hands of the reviewer (Stengel excepted). Kastner even fails to mention 2, 4, 5–12 of the works mentioned in this review; not

even Stengel's great work is mentioned, but quoted.

2. The works of the authors treated are never treated chronologically, and seldom in their complete form.

Grein has found over two hundred different rhymes and grouped these under about seventy-five headings. There is a minute tabulation of rich rhymes, of the consonne d'appui, the frequency of its occurrence, the quality of rhyme vowels, as well as statistics on diphthongs and dissyllables: *bien, lien,* etc. Many points of interest are brought to light; thus, considering all of Banville's innovations outside of rhyme, we naturally would expect much variety and freedom in the use of the final consonants of rhyme; but such is not the case. Even assonance and alliteration are studied with their effects upon rhyme. The variety of possibilities, mentioned in the work, to strengthen rhyme is most astonishing. The tendency to the belief that there is no art or science in the marshalling of words for rhyme effect must certainly find a check in such minute observations and results, as presented in these two studies. The real value of these facts remains yet to be interpreted; they are still mere dry facts. This kind of work shows most conclusively, even to one who cannot appreciate French verse in all its technique, what a powerful instrument the mere sound and arrangement of words according to sound values is in French verse. From this point of view these studies are of the utmost value. A most striking and curious phenomenon is that 60 per cent. of Banville's rhymes have same grammatical form; *e. g.*, adjective + adjective. In Rostand we find but 29 per cent. This grammatical division of rhymes is most ingenious. The noun + noun category has eight divisions. I quote examples: 1. fanatisme–romantisme; 2. Camoëns–Rubens; 3. douceur–penseur; 4. Bismark–Danemark; 5. arbres–marbres; 6. charmilles–filles; 7. Troie–proie; 8. canicule–Hercule. The logic of the divisions becomes at once apparent.

The study of Gerhard would have been valuable had he examined Lamartine's complete works in chronological order and thus shown how his earliest writings differed from those written during his happiest and most successful period of life and those he produced in the period of financial stress. As it is, there is nothing in the thesis that was not known before. Such rhymes as: ciel–soleil, découvre–trouve, hymnes–cimes, etc. (cf. p. 54), are striking; as isolated cases they mean little, but studied with regard to the development of his technique, interesting results might be obtained. The work as a whole shows little originality and much less knowledge of the general subject and literature of versification.

The work by Buchenau shows much care, but deals mainly with the variants in Mistral's editions, with the language and spelling—vowel combinations in the interior of words, hiatus, elision, etc. A last chapter deals with a comparison of Modern Provençal with Old Provençal and Old and Modern French. The thesis is of more value and interest to a student of Provençal than to French versification.

Rack is simply a continuation of the preceding, dealing with the question of rhyme and strophe structure. His conclusion is that in general Provençal verse follows technically and structurally the same laws as the French, with some slight variations due to the peculiarity of the language. Provençal rhyme is for the ear exclusively and not for the eye, and there is more rigor and consistency in vowel sounds, points in which Modern French verse is sadly in need of reform.

One of the best treatments, if not the best, of the technical or mechanical aims of the new schools of poetry and what they have accomplished is to be found in the book of de Gourmont. There are chapters on the origin and value of words, on "Le vers libre" and "Le vers populaire." For those interested in the doings of the later schools of poetry the book is to be recommended especially.

De la rime française, by Delaporte, is not one of the most scholarly works, but it shows much originality, a wide reading, and above all intelligent thinking, which makes it an extremely suggestive and helpful work. The development of rhyme is discussed from its origin to the present day. Delaporte believes, with many others, rhyme to be a purely physiological or pleasurable product. The whole verse form with rhyme developed from Popular Latin. Whether the Alexandrine came from the Asclepiad, Alcæic or

Sapphic makes no difference; it probably never came from any, but was a general gradual formation from the breaking up of the Latin. He quotes examples of every variety of modern rhyme to be found in the Twelfth Century. The great difference between the rhyme of the Seventeenth and that of the Nineteenth Century is this: in the Seventeenth "la pensée entraîne la rime," in the Nineteenth rhyme suggests thought in most cases. Formerly the idea came first and excited the author to express his thoughts in verse and rhyme; he had the idea and sought the rhyme; in modern verse the poets have the rhymes and seek the thought.

The modern men have the gift and imagination of rhyme. The classics have the gift and imagination of thought. Throughout his book Delaporte throws out most suggestive thoughts while at the same time giving the history of rhyme in all its phases—origin, history, nature, laws, caprices. On the whole, an admirable, helpful, and suggestive work.

Jean-Dupré has invented or worked out a system of French metrics and applied it to verse. It is very simple. The French language is especially made up of and well adapted to the anapæstic rhythm (∪∪–), and with its substitutions he writes verses of from two to five feet—epic, lyric and dramatic poetry without rhyme. Cæsura is obligatory in all verses of four feet or over. The work hardly deserves notice except as a curiosity and to warn the public.

Considering the reputation as a scholar and metrician the work of Wulff deserves more attention. In general it may be said that Wulff belongs to the school that is opposed to all the innovations of the modern poets, but would like to see some poet use the French system of versification and enlarge it with the Classical Greek and Roman systems. He laments the fact that the French are so far behind other nations in adopting reforms in versification. A poet, according to him, bold and wise, sure and acute in his handling of sounds and rhythm could do now for verse what Victor Hugo did for prose almost a hundred years ago. Wulff considers Rostand's versification and rhythm exceedingly poor and wretched. He believes in the equalization of all syllables as much as possible and in preserving the melodic accentuation of each syllable. He who listens to hear the rhythm will be satisfied by the dynamic equalization; he who listens to hear the sense will be satisfied by the natural tones. The French language is perfectly capable and as capable as any modern language to satisfy any rhythmic scheme. Shorts and longs are possible, but such a scheme of mechanics is not cherished by the French. If the French object to a system that involves stresses such as are found in other systems, is that not proof enough that the nature of the language does not lend itself to such a system! So many of the Dutch, Belgian and German scholars still adhere to this theory. For them every verse scheme necessarily rhythmical is made up of feet of two, three, four, five, or six syllables, constituting a measure or foot or metrical unit, each unit must vary in the accentuation; no two, three, four, five, or six syllables can form a unit without carrying with them some definite quantity or accent—this applied to French leads to the fundamental difference between the two principal schools of theorists. Based on this scheme, felt and understood in this way, a type of verse such as Rostand and Verlaine wrote must seem highly unrhythmical. A discussion of this theory, however, would carry us too far. According to Wulff, for example, *aimez* = ∪ –; *aimez-vous* = – ∪ –; *n'aimez-vous pas* = ∪ – ∪ –; *n'aimez-vous pas mieux* = – ∪ – ∪ –, from which is seen that the language lends itself naturally to the mechanical system of stress and accent, which is strongly opposed to the sudden and abrupt changes of rhythm in Rostand's verse. This argument or conception of French versification forms the basis of Wulff's contention against the verse of Rostand, to which his work is a protest. To follow Wulff in his schemes of *rythmicité* would be of little value, and lead to no plausible results. We believe that his fundamental conception of French versification is wrong; but his work none the less merits a close study.

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CHAUCER.

JOHN C. FRENCH: *The Problem of the Two Prologues to Chaucer's Legend of Good Women.* A Dissertation presented to the Board of University Studies of the Johns Hopkins University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1905. Baltimore: J. H. Furst Company. 100 pp.

The question of priority between the two forms of the prologue to the Legend has been until lately one of the greatest puzzles of Chaucer scholarship; the most curious thing of all is the mere fact that it should have been so difficult to decide which is the earlier of two versions of a poem that has been elaborately recast. Yet without external evidence the question would perhaps never have been settled. Dr. French, at the outset of his study (whatever he may do later) fully recognizes the difficulty of the problem. He thinks that such evidence has not yet been found; that the important parallels found by Professor J. L. Lowes[1] between version F ("B"), especially, and certain French poems do not prove the priority of that version. This article appeared, no doubt, when Dr. French was in the midst of his dissertation, and can hardly have been otherwise than disconcerting. After some general deliberations, he tries to settle the problem on aesthetic grounds by an elaborate comparison of the two versions in detail. His treatment of the subject shows method, pains,[2] and ingenuity. But it can hardly be disputed that he does scant justice to the other side.

His first discussion (pp. 11–21) is of Chaucer's reason for revising the prologue, and he rejects all explanations except that G ("A") was transformed to F ("B") in order to introduce an allegorical compliment to the queen which had not been originally intended. Lowes (pp. 670–1) explains the fervent and personal language of F as simply taken over from the *Filostrato* and certain poems by Machault, Froissart and Deschamps, and applied by Chaucer only to his ideal mistress Alcestis, as by his predecessors to living ladies. The reviewer is strongly of the opinion that the truth lies between the two, that real personal compliments to the queen were removed when F was revised. Lowes proves that the devotion need not be to a living woman, not that it is not. Some of French's arguments are rather extravagant, but he seems justified in believing it difficult to attribute the warm and insistent character of F 40–299 to the application of the language of French love poetry to a mythical Greek lady, however worthy of devotion. If he had more carefully examined the poems which Lowes adduces he would have found the further argument that such fervent and humble language applied to a flower is paralleled only in Machault's *Dit* and Froissart's *Dittié*, both gushing lyrics; Chaucer goes far beyond the narrative poems, which otherwise most influenced him, and even beyond the ballads. This view also makes more intelligible, as will appear later, the contrast in warmth of feeling between F and G. Elsewhere in this chapter, however, Dr. French seems less judicious. His opinion (p. 15) that Chaucer would not have temporarily interrupted the *Canterbury Tales* for the sake of the Legend is opposed by strong evidence that at one time he intended to do so; evidence which French vainly tries to make light of.[3] Any identification of Love with Richard II. is absolutely groundless, as is shown by Lowes (667–8, 674–5), yet French repeatedly assumes it without attempting proof.[4]

He next (22–8, and cf. 35) discusses the Ballad (G, 203–223; F, 249–269), and its connections. He rightly rejects certain nebulous arguments which ten Brink bases on it for the priority of F; but he makes important oversights and puts forth arguments just as nebulous. He quotes Love's accusation (F, 537–40) that Chaucer has committed "a ful gret negligence" in omitting to mention Alcestis in his ballad, but does not notice the corresponding passage in G (525–8), where Love declares it to

[1] For his able article see *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XIX, 593–683. In this new light it seems curious that any one should have made Chaucer's "English period" begin with what proves to be one of the most French of his poems.

[2] Very careless proof-reading somewhat mars this impression.

[3] P. 31. See *Man of Law's Prol.*, B 60–76; so even Skeat holds (*Oxford Chaucer*, III, 405–6).

[4] *E. g.*, pp. 50–1, 61. This is one of the most glaring cases where French disregards or makes light of the work of his predecessor.

be "a ful gret negligence" "to write unstedfastnesse of women"; *negligence* is as clearly the right word in F as it is the wrong word in G, preserved for the sake of the rhyme. He disregards the unquestionable superiority of the way in which the ballad is introduced in G, where it is sung by the ladies in a dance instead of being recited by the poet in a manner unintelligible artistically.[5] The former method, "a very simple convention," according to Dr. French, Chaucer "abandons," and "boldly adopts the lyrical form himself" (p. 23). This seems anything but a fair and judicious representation of the conditions. I cannot find the least justification for calling the former method a convention; the only parallel I find, which is at all close, is in Froissart's *Paradys d'Amours*, 842 ff.,[6] where at the request of two ladies the poet composes a rondel, which the three then sing. There are dozens of cases in Froissart, on the other hand, where a lyric is composed and presented by the poet alone; an extremely close parallel to Chaucer's method in F, closer than that mentioned by Lowes, will be found in *Le joli mois de May*, 313 ff.[7] Therefore, if any "convention" is employed (a word which Dr. French uses frequently and still more loosely), it is in F, not G, and whatever "boldness" there may be is in G. Even Lowes hardly dwells sufficiently on the frequency with which the ballad in F is paralleled in Chaucer's predecessors, not merely in the manner of its introduction, but in the anonymity of its lady.[8] Dr. French believes (p. 26) that he finds evidence that the ballad was not written for its place in F. He points out that it dwells chiefly on the lady's goodness, though he admits that her beauty is also celebrated (especially, be it remarked, in the first stanza); yet that it is introduced by lines, 244–8, which give her beauty as the ground for celebrating her. He ignores the fact that the preceding line records three of her virtues. As regards consistency, therefore, the ballad is not in the least "out of harmony with its context." Whatever clumsiness in other respects there may be is better explained as due to a too close following of precedent than as due to a wresting "from its former connection to serve a new purpose." What new purpose, since in both versions it celebrates Alcestis, once by name and once as "my lady?" Why is it "necessary to assume that it was first written in the version which frankly names Alcestis?" "In G," as Dr. French says, it "is perfectly in place"; what then was Chaucer's motive for spoiling things? French suggests none in the least adequate. In an essay which constantly uses superiority as a proof of revision, it is well to be cautious about using inferiority for the same purpose. Therefore, since the ballad-part in F is nearer Chaucer's models than in G, and since we cannot account for its inferiority in F on the theory of revision, it makes strongly against Dr. French's view.

In his fifth section he proceeds to criticize (p. 32) Lowes' parallels between F and certain French poems. He hardly does justice to the evidence for the priority of F in the general resemblance of lines 1–196 to Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise*, for it is striking that, besides the numerous close parallels common to F and G, there is no dream in the *Lay* or in F 1–196, while in G the dream begins much earlier and the description of the May scene is relegated to it. The scheme of G seems to the reviewer preferable (the contrary to Dr. French, pp. 33–4) since it gives the poem better proportion, carries us sooner into the main current, and makes the entrance of Love and his procession less abrupt and more imposing than in F. It is significant that long introductions form one of Chaucer's tendencies in his earlier poetry.[9] To disregard, then, the question of literary merit, since F resembles Chaucer's earlier poetry, and also a French poem

[5] Cf. Lowes, 655–7. At first it hardly seems as if it were recited by the poet as a character in the story, yet later it appears that it was (539, 555).

[6] Ed. by Aug. Scheler, I, 25–6.

[7] II, 204–5. (It is true that this poem is not a narrative, but we know that Chaucer quoted it elsewhere.)

"Son bel maintien, sa douce vois . . .
Me semont fort à ceste fois
Que une balade je die
En l'ounour ma dame jolie."

"So womanly, so benigne, and so meke, . . .
Half hir beautee shulde men nat finde, . . .
And therfor may I seyn, as thinketh me,
This song, in preysing of this lady fre." (243–8).

[8] "Ma dame" is the usual phrase; cf. Skeat, III, 298; Froissart's *Joli Mois*, 174, 181; *Paradys*, 1080; *L'Espinette Amoureuse*, 1480 (Scheler, I, 130).

[9] Cf. *Duchess* 1–290, *Parl. of Fowls* 1–119, *House of Fame* 1–479.

which he had undoubtedly used, in a respect in which G differs from both, we have here a respectable argument for the priority of F. With the general parallel between the latter part of F and Froissart's *Paradys d'Amour* the case is much stronger. The small parallel in F 368 (French, p. 34) must be allowed a little force. Again, I have already shown that the ballad and its setting are far closer to the French in F than in G. Finally the original *incognito* of Plaisance in Froissart (Lowes, 645–6,653–5 ; French ignores the point) is certainly closer to the almost complete anonymity of the lady in F, till near the end, than to the plainness with which her name is announced from the first in G.[10] The general parallels adduced by Lowes could hardly be expected to be much clearer in their testimony. French's attempts to discount their force by declaring (pp. 32–3) the division of F at line 196 to be arbitrary, and by dwelling on the fact that some of the parallels to Deschamps are in the second part, seem beside the point and to be deprecated.

His treatment of Dr. Lowes' verbal parallels between the prologue and the *Lay*, the *Paradys* and other poems is peculiarly unsatisfactory,[11] and he does injustice to their cumulative force by dispersing his discussion of them. In three lines, it is true, G parallels the French where F does not, lines 51–2 and 58 (F 61–2, 56 ; see French, 36–8 ; Lowes, 615–8). Against these put F 48, 50, 52, 53 (*she*, cf. *hit* in 52), 56 (corresponds to G 58), 57, 59, 60, 64, 108,[12] 217 (and 220 ; see Lowes, pp. 631–4, 676–8), and 247–8 (see above), four or five times as many cases, and more significant ; that is, practically all the detailed borrowings from the French[13] which are confined to one version are in F, as was true also of the more general resemblances. It is in vain to make light of them, and it is simply fantastic to say (French, 38) that in any sense "the appeal to verbal parallels" "not only does not strengthen the argument, but positively weakens it."

Let us cast a retrospective glance. The great service which Lowes has performed is pointing out a considerable number of resemblances, lacking in G, between F and certain French poems which Chaucer is antecedently likely to have used. Most of them individually are small, but their cumulative weight is irresistible. Of this fact, Dr. French seems to have not the slightest conception, but to think (*e. g.*, middle of p. 65) that he can overcome an army single-handed by going around and knocking the men on the head separately. The inevitable conclusion must be that Chaucer read his French predecessors just before writing F. Now, since their influence on G is also unmistakable, a defender of the priority of G (see *e. g.*, French, 66) must ask us to believe that he went over these poems before each writing, and in F added to his mosaic with almost inconceivable care and ingenuity ; and, besides this, that he abandoned independence in points where such a procedure was equally injurious and unmotived. To the reviewer, at any rate, it seems that a thorough examination of the first of French's two parts makes the lateness of G so certain that his second or detailed comparison is quite useless.

Yet on the first page of it (39, and cf. 75) he says : "Taking advantage of the presumption already established in favor of F, I shall discuss, from the point of view of G as an original," the lines in which, in one way or another, the two versions differ. If this is not begging the question, questions were never begged. In the rest of his book, accordingly, the author constantly mixes argument with mere explanation, and practically never considers the possibility that F may be the earlier version. His usual argument, none too circumspectly applied,[14] is the supposed superiority of F, and, in spite of the number that have been pointed out by ten Brink and others, he finds (I believe) not a single merit peculiar to G.

To consider all the detailed changes which

[10] It is impossible now to discuss the chief puzzle in the poem, the poet's ignorance of her identity, after it has been plainly announced. It exists in both versions, but is so much worse in G that the only possible explanation seems to be the imperfect execution, during revision, of a changed plan. I hope later to discuss this fully.

[11] Pp. 35–8, 65–6. He seems to overlook the corresponding passage in Lowes, 658 ff.

[12] The firste morwe of May" ; cf. Deschamps' *Lay de Franchise*, line 14 (Soc. anc. textes franç., II, 204), "Le premier jour de ce mois de plaisance." In G. 89, May is almost past. Cf. Lowes, 613.

[13] Or Italian (Lowes, 619 ; French, 69, note).

[14] *E. g.*, on p. 48 he disregards the possibility that Chaucer thought best to omit the personal feeling, and with it certain excellent passages.

French treats is obviously impossible without exceeding his book in length. Among passages transposed, however, it must be remarked that he disregards one of the most important of all; F 276–295, containing praise of Alcestis and the coming of the other ladies, and corresponding to G 179–198, comes after the ballad instead of before it. Anyone who looks up the passage will see that the method of G promotes continuity by keeping the praise of Alcestis together and making the procession enter all at once; in F the latter is interrupted by the poet's presentation of the ballad. French fails to suggest the slightest reason for such an unfortunate change. Most of the arguments which he adduces in the last half of his book seem trivial, ambiguous or over-subjective. It is hopeless to try in every case to restore the mental processes of a human personality of five hundred years ago. In many or most of French's cases equally good reasons may easily be suggested for changes from F to G, yet such reasons he never seems to see. Frequently the reviewer must vehemently dissent from the judgment of the author. The lark which in G announces Love's coming French condemns as "an awkward convention" (p. 50; similarly Skeat, III, xxiv); to me it seems original and singularly beautiful. Ten Brink's argument for the lateness of G based on allusions to Chaucer's age French rejects (52–6) on the ground that they are purely jocular, and have a "possible tendency toward coarseness." Jocular they are, of course, but even in joke men do not allude to their age unless there is some point in doing so, and as to coarseness, Dr. French certainly does not justify this extraordinary suggestion. Nor does he do justice to the argument based on the six authors mentioned in the long passage of G (267–312) absent from F, several of whom may be shown to be associated with a late period in Chaucer's life; viz., Vincent (whom French ignores), St. Jerome (see my article in *Modern Philology*, III, 368–370) and (probably) Valerius. In speaking of the supposed changes for metrical improvement (76–83) he is singularly arbitrary and loose in his distinction between agreeable alliteration and harsh repetition, and the danger of excessive subjectivity in dealing with such minutiæ is well shown by his inability in some of his citations to see points of superiority in G. Sometimes what he regards as a fault in G appears as innocent or meritorious in F.[15] The tables probably might be completely turned in a metrical examination of the prologue from the other point of view. And in dealing with very small points it is always necessary to remember that G is in a unique and imperfect MS. which at any point may be corrupt; *e. g.*, the small variations between F and G from F 426 to 495 are most probably due to a scribe (see French, p. 91). Objections similar to those mentioned above also vitiate French's lists of changes for the sake of grammar and sense (pp. 83–92).

In a very few cases of detail the reviewer cannot but agree with Dr. French, in thinking F better than G, though not always for his reasons; *e. g.*, F 143–4 (p. 70; the couplet may be omitted from G by oversight), 321 (p. 52) and some of the small metrical points which French records on pp. 76–83. To offset these there are two or three general and many detailed arguments, based on excellence and other considerations, which the reviewer purposes to discuss on a later occasion, and which seem to him overwhelmingly conclusive. All he has attempted here is to show that Dr. French is hopelessly far from having proved his point or shattered the forces of Lowes.

In one matter, however, the reviewer may sketchily anticipate his fuller treatment of the subject, because it is essential to an even provisionally satisfactory decision. The weightiest argument for the lateness of F is the presence in it, as we have seen, of several warm and emotional passages, absent from G, about the daisy and the lady it typifies; in them will be found almost all the points of superiority in F which strike the reader or the student, and it is largely they, presumably, which lead even Lowes to regard F as "the more delightful version of the two."[16] Their omission, if G is the later, no one has explained.[17] But it seems to me that this can be done quite satisfactorily. One of the most striking omissions

[15] *E. g.*, G 32, p. 77, and F 120, p. 96; 213 and 295, p. 79; 220 and 347, pp. 82–3.

[16] P. 683, note 7. It is notable that about half of the lines peculiar to F are directly concerned with this personal feeling; or, to disregard two long passages, the instructions at the end and the passage about the birds, over three-quarters.

[17] Lowes' attempt is very inadequate (p. 676), and hardly consistent with the admission just quoted.

from G is that of the couplet (F 496–7) in which the poet is instructed to present the finished work to the queen. If G is the later version we can hardly doubt that she was dead when it was produced[18]; this saves Chaucer from the accusation of discourtesy and pettiness, which might otherwise seem to be implied by this omission, still more by that of the other passages, if we give them personal significance. Now when we remember the emotional eccentricity of Richard II, and his destruction of the manor of Shene[19] directly after Anne's death there, is it surprising that Chaucer should have thought best to omit a reference to her as alive, "at Eltham or at Shene?" And does not this strongly suggest that the omission of the warm feeling earlier in the poem, otherwise unmotived, was due to a desire to remove all suggestion of the queen, partly because it was out of place, now that she was dead, and partly in order to spare Richard's feelings? This will account also for the giving up of the suspense as to the identity of the lady in the ballad and elsewhere, one of the chief artistic sacrifices in G; and also, perhaps, for the general reduction in the prominence of the daisy,[20] since its representation of a real person had become usual in this class of poetry. If Chaucer's chief motive for revision was unæsthetic and somewhat recondite, does not this account for the fact that the revised version has been so difficult to distinguish? The fact that the orthodox view as to an identification in some sort of Alcestis and the daisy with Queen Anne so well explains some of the chief cruxes in G will be admitted to be a considerable argument in its favor. And before this explanation, if it shall be thought reasonable, will vanish the lingering feeling that after all F may be the later version.[21]

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[18] She died 7th June, 1394. French utterly ignores this possibility (pp. 13, 15, 21).

[19] See, *e. g.*, *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, XLVIII, p. 150, and I, 422–3; cf. Lowes, 671, n. 4.

[20] *E. g.*, in G 234, 247; see French, pp. 94, 52, 85.

[21] Since the writing of this criticism Professor Lowes himself has published one (*Publ. of the Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XX, 749–751); the two deal with different points, but agree in essence.

CORRESPONDENCE.

CHAUCER'S *Vitremyte*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes:

SIRS:—In the *Monk's Tale* (B, 3560–2) Chaucer says of Zenobia:

> "And she that helmed was in starke stoures,
> And wan by force tounes stronge and toures,
> Shal on hir heed now were a vitremyte."

In the *Troilus* there are two phrases similar to this last (II. 867, v. 469). Skeat, in a long note on the passage in the *Monk's Tale*, tentatively suggests that Chaucer is referring "to a proverb, probably rather English than foreign," in which a glass cap or helmet figures as a symbol of insecurity; but he knows of no such proverb. We may recall our own proverb as to glass houses. But here follows better confirmation of Skeat's suggestion, except as regards the nationality of the saying.

In Boccaccio's *De Genealogia Deorum*, XIV. 18, the writer defends poetry from the charge of being demoralizing; the prophets and pontiffs have not forbidden the study of the poets, and therefore those who do forbid it seem to reflect on themselves. "Verum si hi imbeciles sunt atque tractabiles sibi caveant memores proverbii veteris quo prohibetur hos certamen lapidum non intrare quibus sit galea vitrea."[1] Chaucer may even have derived his phrases by memory from this work, for he seems to have used it in composing his *Legend of Hypermnestra* (Skeat, III. xl.).

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Perhaps the following miscellaneous jottings, if not too trivial, may find a place in the *Notes:*

I.

1. Among the *Grabschriften* of Michael Moscherosch one comes upon:

> Hier lieg ich Hanss Schlickebrod
> Und bitt dich lieber Herre Gott,
> Das ewig Leben wolst geben mir;
> Wie ich wolt haben geben dir,

Wann du wärest Hanss Schlickebrod
Und ich wär lieber Herre Gott,

which is curiously paralleled in the epitaph of the poor Indian, as cited by Lincoln before an Illinois jury :

Here lies poor Johnnie Kongapod,
Have mercy on him, gracious God,
As he would do, if he were God
And you were Johnnie Kongapod !

2. In Frederick the Great's *De la littérature Allemande*, is a passage :

J'en dis autant pour l'exactitude des métaphores, car je me ressouviens dans ma jeunesse d'avoir lû dans une Epitre dédicatoire d'un Professeur Heineccius à une Reine ces belles paroles : "Ihro Majestät glänzen wie ein Karfunkel am Finger der jetzigen Zeit." "Votre Majesté brille comme une Escarboucle au doigt du temps présent."—Peut-on rien de plus mauvais ? Pourquoi une Escarboucle ?—Est-ce que le temps a un doigt ?—

which may possibly suggest an odd genesis for Tennyson's

jewels five words long
That on the stretched forefinger of all Time
Sparkle forever . . . (*Princess*, 2, 355.)

II.

The *Oxford Dictionary* seems open to correction in its treatment of the subjoined words :

1. *Dipartite, dipartition. Dipartite* is etymologized as from *Di-*, L. *dis-*, asunder, + *partitus*, divided. (The L. compound was *dispertitus*, in many MSS. also *dispartitus*) and defined on the basis of two quotations as 'divided into various parts,' with *dipartition* (one quotation), as 'division, parting asunder.' But a closer examination of these quotations renders this unlikely. The first (1825, *New Monthly Magazine*, XIII, 61) is from a would-be humorous article, by an anonymous writer, on the *Cultivation of Women*. The whole sentence, with the part omitted by the *Dictionary* in brackets, reads : ["The head is elevated, the chest thrown forward ; a rich and succulent diet is brought to act *secundum artem* upon the bosom,] whose form is either dipartited, or disposed in conglomerated magnificence . . ." Evidently the reference is to developing the bust into *two* parts, indeed in antithesis to "conglomerated magnificence." The second (1838, G. S. Faber, (*Hist. Vallensis*, III, ix, 399), seems obvious without context : "All men shall pass two ways ; the good, to glory ; the wicked, to torment. But if any one shall not believe this dipartition, let him attend to Scripture from the end to the commencement ;" *i. e.*, he is speaking of a *two*-fold division. The third (Ruskin, *Præterita*, I, iii, 83), is : "Upon which I found my claim to the sensible reader's respect for these dipartite writings," where the preceding page shows that Ruskin refers to his own writings, calling them dipartite, because they manifest throughout on the one hand "love of beauty," and on the other "love of science," *i. e.*, they have a *two*-fold character. The word *dipartite* were then to be etymologized as from *Di-*, Gr. δι-, two, as in *diphyllous, dilemma*, + E. *partite* (first quotation, 1570), in effect, a remodelling of *bipartite* (first quotation, 1574). Compare the 1680 quotation *12- partite*, given under *partite* ; likewise with *dipartition* (*partition*, first quotation, 1507), *bipartition*, (first quotation, 1652). This illustrates the occasional danger of defining in the scriptorium, on the basis of fragmentary quotations sent in from volunteer, and not always discriminating, readers. One other instance occurs to me, namely,

2. *Ductor*, def. 2, which reads "A line which 'leads' in some direction." It is based on one quotation (1658) from Sir Thomas Brown's *Garden of Cyrus* (11, 115) : "The Lozenge figure . . . being most ready to turn every way . . . . . having its ductors . . . at each Angle." But the whole sentence reads (in the 1686 edition, page 31) : "The *Rhombus*, or Lozenge-figure so visible in this order, was also a remarkable form of Battle in the Grecian Cavalry, observed by the *Thessalians* [etc.], as being most ready to turn every way, and best to be commanded, as having its Ductors, or Commanders at each Angle." Sir Thomas was using the word in its familiar Latin sense, as in Cicero's *non modo ductores nostri, sed universi etiam exercitus* (*Tusc.* I, 89).

3. *Deusan.* This obsolete word is explained as a corruption of F. *deux ans*, with supposed reference to the time which this variety of apple was said to keep. This looks like a sophisticated folk-etymology. The quotations show (1570) *dewsants* (pl.), (1609) *dewzins*, (1620) *deusans*, (1635) *deuzin*, and only the last (1741) has *deux ans*. Cotgrave's French-English *Dictionarie* (1611) supplies us with a hint. The word *douce-*

ente, there defined as "a certaine thicke, ruddie, and sappie apple," is probably the original of our word, and means 'a sweet-graft,' that is, a sweet apple, obtained by grafting, from *doux*, sweet, + *ente*, a graft (see *ent*, a graft, in the *Oxford*).[1]

4. *Diffund.* This is etymologized as from ME. *dyffound* < OF. *diffondre*, *diffundre*. Absolute accuracy would separate the ME. from the Mod. E., explaining the latter as from or after L. *diffundere*. The ME. would have yielded, according to the familiar phonetic process which gives us *compound*, etc., a Mod. E. **diffound*.

5. *Esmay.* Under this word the It. *smagare* is given as the etymological equivalent of OF. *esmaier*, while under *dismay* it is given as equivalent to OF. *desmaier*. It. *s-* prefix is often enough < L. *dis-* and sometimes < L. *ex-* (as in *sposizione* < L. *expositio*(*n-*)), but surely not in any one form of a single word. The latter is probably correct; Florio (ed. 1598) at least gives *smagare* and *dismagare* together, evidently considering them both as representing L. *dis-* (F. *des-*).

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An Unpublished Letter by Longfellow.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—Permit me to hand you the enclosed letter from Longfellow to his French translator, X. Marmier. I suppose it will not be without interest for readers of the *Modern Language Notes*, both as giving some details on Longfellow's Italian journey, and as a small manifestation of Franco-American literary relations. The original is bound on front of Longfellow's *Poetical Works*, Boston, 1871, a volume belonging to the Bibliothèque Marmier in his native town, Pontarlier.

* * * * * * * * *

With best transatlantic regards, I beg to remain,

Yours truly,

Fernand Baldensperger.

[1] Since the above was written, an acquaintance has called to my attention the word *doucin* (first quotation, 1589 *duseannes*), defined by the *Oxford Dictionary* as "a sweet variety of wild apple" (<F. *doucin*, lit. 'a sweeting,' defined by Littré as a "Varieté de pommier sauvage, qui sert de sujet pour la greffe," first quotation, 1694, *douçain* in Hatz.-Dam.). Were this, then, identical with *deusan*, and were the first form, *dewsant*(*s*), to be explained as having an excrescent *t*?

Rome, *Dec.* 31, 1868.

My Dear M. Marmier,

We have at last reached the Eternal City, with its eternal bells, eternally ringing, and its eternal rain, eternally raining. We are at a hotel on the slope of the Quirinal; behind us the Gardens of Sallust; in front of us the panorama of the city, crowned by the dome of St. Peter's. So much for our present surroundings.

After leaving you, our first day was to Lyon; our second to Arles, the quaint, delightful old town, where we spent a day with great pleasure. Then to Nice; then to Genoa, which I found as charming as ever, and where we passed a week. Thus far no books; except here and there a volume of poems in *patois*. But at Parma, our next stopping place, walking out in the rain before breakfast, I found some beautiful Bodonis, which I bore off in triumph. At Bologna, rain again, so that the *bouquinizing* spirit was quite washed out of me. At Florence we stayed two or three weeks; right in the heave of the old mediæval town; in pleasant rooms on the Arno, close by the Ponte Vecchio. This part of the town is unmodernized. No Hausman has been there. It is all the heart of man can desire, in that direction. Here, books again! And such books! Among them the beautiful folio editions of Dante, Boccaccio, Pétrarca and the rest, published at Pisa; and other smaller game.

Please say to Madame Mohl that we were at the same hotel as her friend the General and Lowee. A charming family, for whose acquaintance I have to thank her.

And during all this, Dear Mr. Marmier, we have thought much and talked much of you, and of our friendly and delightful intercourse in Paris. I know you have thought of us also, and that the enclosed photograph will not be unwelcome.

The original, and her sisters, send you their kindest regards, in which we all join, and no one more cordially and affectionately than the writer of this empty epistle.[1]

Henry W. Longfellow.

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[1] The letter, a part of which is here quoted, was addressed to me in July, 1901, in the course of some correspondence about the writer's book on Gottfried Keller. It reached me while I was on my way from Cambridge to Berkeley, was mislaid, and has only just been found again. In presenting it now, with its enclosure, I wish to apologize to Mr. Baldensperger and to the readers of the *Modern Language Notes* for the regrettable delay occasioned in the publication of so interesting a document.

Hugo K. Schilling.

University of California.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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PATELIN IN THE OLDEST KNOWN TEXTS.

(*In three parts.*)

I.

GUILLAUME LE ROY, PIERRE LEVET, GERMAIN BENEAUT.

The farce of *Patelin* was popular as early as 1469; but the oldest known text of it can hardly have appeared before 1485. To what do we owe its preservation? There must have existed several manuscripts; for the author's was no doubt soon worn to undecipherable rags, and no one will imagine that one paper quire, or even a copy on parchment, sufficed to preserve this favourite piece for fully sixteen years,—years in which it must have been performed often and in various cities. Not one MS. earlier than 1489 is known; and that can be shown to have been copied from a printed book. What has become of the rest? Is any one of them extant, or are all lost?[1] Each of seven or eight editions of *Patelin* printed before 1505, or thereabouts, seems to be known by a single specimen;[2] so a dozen other editions may have existed; some of them, perhaps, still exist, and may emerge in time from where they lie unheeded or forgotten.

. . . . . .

In 1854, when François Génin had almost finished correcting the proofs of his *Patelin*, he learnt that there had arrived in Paris a foreign bibliophile who prided himself on owning "un exemplaire unique d'une édition inconnue à tous les bibliographes." Génin's words are worth quoting; for his book is not easily accessible, and they are still warm with the joyful excitement of their writer:

"Je courus à l'adresse indiquée solliciter la faveur de voir ce merveilleux *Patelin*. Je trouvai dans M. Coppinger un propriétaire plein d'humanité, qui non seulement me permit sur-le-champ la vue de son trésor, mais poussa la bonne grâce jusqu' à m'offrir de me le confier. On juge si j'acceptai la proposition avec empressement et avec reconnaissance, et à coup sûr ce dernier sentiment sera partagé par tous ceux qui s'intéressent à la résurrection de cet antique chef-d'œuvre et au droit d'aînesse de la Comédie française sur les théâtres du reste de l'Europe."[3]

Thus Génin came upon the only known exemplar of the edition of *Patelin* printed by Guillaume Le Roy, probably the first printed book containing a comedy composed in a modern tongue.

When Coppinger lent his treasure to Génin, he did not tell him that he had caused several lost pages to be replaced by counterfeits; for Génin quotes from the spurious pages as if they were genuine. A while later the fact became known; yet Coppinger's artist had done his job at least deftly enough to prevent the bibliographers from agreeing as to which pages were false. This question demands a convincing answer.

In the summer of 1904, through the kindness of Mr. A. W. Pollard,[4] of the British Museum, of

[1] For reasons why so few MSS. of medieval plays survive, see E. Langlois, *Le jeu de Robin et de Marion*, etc., Paris, 1896, Introduction, pages 25–27. A convincing analogy is found in the fact that the immense majority of pieces performed nowadays exist in no more copies than are needed by the players in learning their parts, and are never printed (principally, however, because few persons would care to read them). When such pieces have had their day, they are forgotten, and the MSS. are either practically or actually lost. *Patelin*, which probably existed in several MSS. at least fifteen years after the rise of printing, was no doubt performed much oftener than the two pieces by Adam de la Hale.

[2] Le Roy, Levet, Beneaut, 2 of the 3 by Trepperel, Le Caron, Malaunoy, Nyverd I (?),—8 in all.

[3] See Génin's edition, pages 353–354. Although Génin profited but little by the few variants, or by what were better called the additional original readings, in this unexpectedly rediscovered text, at any rate, he could record that this ancient and important book had reappeared.

[4] Who wrote to Mr. Claudin, inquiring how I might see two early sixteenth C. editions owned by the late Jas. de Rothschild.

Mr. A. Claudin,[5] author of the great *Histoire de l'Imprimerie en France*,[6] of the well-known bookseller, Mr. E. Rahir,[7] and, finally, of Mr. Albert Rosset, who sent his treasure to Paris, I found, studied, and copied Le Roy's *Patelin*, and am able, therefore, to deal with this ancient book, and to give what seems a simple, yet infallible test, whereby we may know which pages in it are counterfeit. Thanks to its owner's generous enterprise, Le Roy's text is now being reproduced in facsimile, hence no long description is desirable; yet certain features must here be pointed out.

Le Roy's *Patelin* was printed with moveable types belonging to a font described below[8] and illustrated here by facsimiles of two genuine pages, along with a page which shows the skill of Coppinger's counterfeiter. It contains in all 44 leaves, 18.2 centimeters long by 12 broad. The print occupies about 14.4 centimeters from top to bottom, and there are about 26 lines to the page. Folio *a i* (not signed), bears the title, *Maistre Pierre pathelin;* at the top of *a ii* (signed), are the words *Maistre pierre commence*, followed by 24 lines, of which 20 are verses. In Pierre Levet's edition, there is a woodcut[9] over these introductory words; hence five verses suffice to fill the remaining space. It is most unlikely that Le Roy's *Patelin* ever contained cuts, though he had printed an illustrated book in 1485.[10] The binding, done

(1)

Page 14 of Le Roy's *Patelin*.

Verses 216–233 (genuine).

Entor ay ie denier et maille
quoncques ne firent pere ne mere
Le drappier
Dieu en soit loue par saint pere
il ne men desplairoit en piece
Pathelin
Bref ie suis gros de ceste piece
il men conuient auoir
Le drappier
Or bien
Il conuient aduiser combien
Sous en soulez premierement
tout est a vostre commandement
quanque il en ya en la pille
et neussiez vous ne croip ne pille
Pathelin
Je le scay bien vostre mercy
Le drappier
Voulez vous de ce pers clercy
Pathelin
Auant combien me coustera
la premiere aulne. dieu sera
paye des premiers cest raison
Sire dng denier. ne faison
rien qui soit ou dieu ne se nomme
Le drappier

(By courtesy of Mr. Albert Rosset.)

[5] Who, in his reply to Mr. Pollard, remarked that two years before he had examined Le Roy's *Patelin*, then in the possession of Mr. Rahir.

[6] Printed by the Imprimerie Nationale to commemorate the Exhibition of 1900. Vol. I appeared in 1900; Vol. II, in 1901; Vol. III, in 1904. All three deal with the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It need hardly be said that these volumes are indispensable, (1) because they contain hundreds of facsimiles, (2) because they are the fruit of 60 years of study by the greatest living authority on old books. On Le Roy see Vol. III, pp. 29–112; on Levet see Vol. I, pp. 413–454; on Beneaut (fl. 1490) see Vol. II, pp. 303–304. On Beneaut Mr. Claudin says, "*L'amant rendu cordelier*, le *Pathelin* et *Les Croniques de France abrégées*—nous n'avons pas vu ce dernier livre—sont jusqu' à présent tout ce que l'on connaît de cet imprimeur." Mr. Claudin forgets Beneaut's signed and dated *Villon*. See note 26.

[7] To Mr. Rahir, I feel especially grateful; for he not only wrote at once to Mr. Rosset, but gave me a room in which to study, and lent me his valuable exemplar, the only one known, of Le Caron's edition,—to be dealt with in part II of this article.

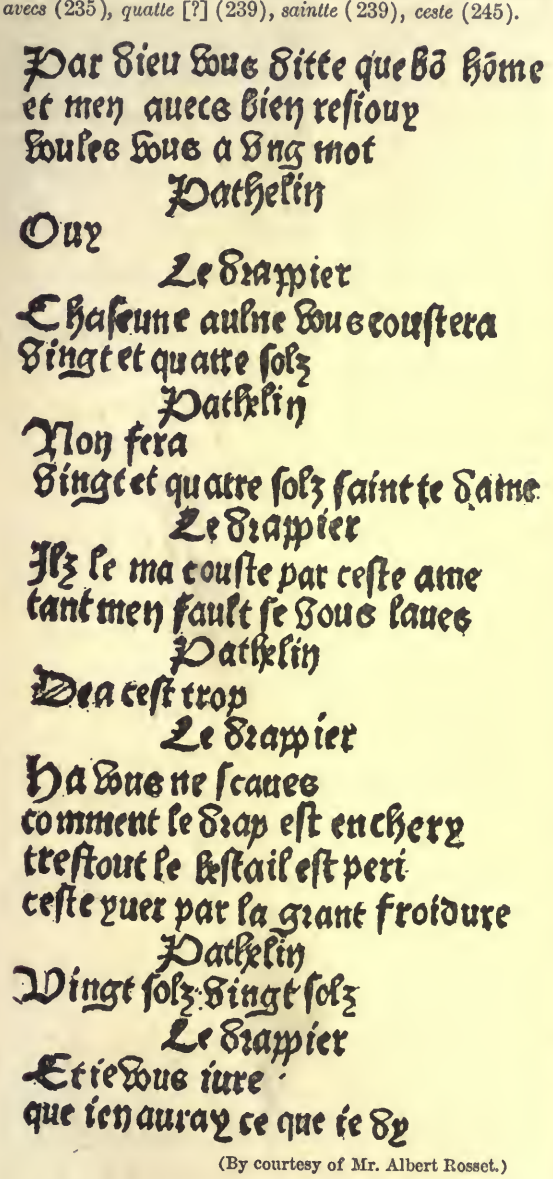
[8] "En 1485," writes Mr. Claudin, "Guillaume Le Roy inaugure une grosse bâtarde gothique à formes anguleuses, qui se distingue par une lettre majuscule A, évasée par le haut, avec un trait recourbé en forme de crochet. [See *Avant* in the facsimile.] Il se sert spécialement de ce caractère pour l'impression de livres français." *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, page 108.—Le Roy had created this type in order to print his edition of the *Destruction de Troye la Grant* (1485), being inspired, no doubt, by the Parisian edition of 1484.

[9] Patelin in parley with Guillemette. See note 33, at end.

[10] The *Destruction de Troye la Grant*.

(2)

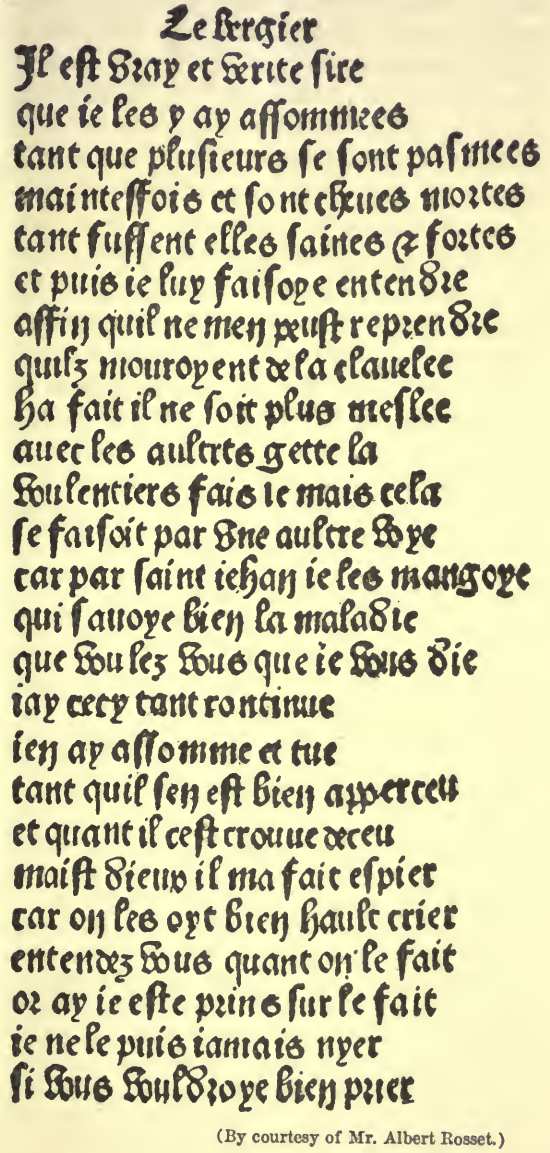
Page 15, done with pen and ink. The text (verses 234–247) was borrowed from Beneaut's edition, as is shown by *bō hōme* (Levet gives *bon homme*); notice *ditte* (234), *avecs* (235), *quatte* [?] (239), *saintte* (239), *ceste* (245).



(By courtesy of Mr. Albert Rosset.)

(3)

Page 59 of Le Roy's *Patelin*.
Verses 1091–1115 (genuine).


Le bergier
Il est dray et verite sire
que ie les y ay assommees
tant que plusieurs se sont pasmees
maintesfois et sont cheues mortes
tant fussent elles saines & fortes
et puis ie luy faisoye entendre
affin quil ne men peust reprendre
quilz mouroyent de la clauelee
ha fait il ne soit plus meslee
auec les aultres gette la
voulentiers fais ie mais cela
se faisoit par vne aultre voye
car par saint iehan ie les mangoye
qui sauoye bien la maladie
que vous vez vous que ie vous die
iay cecy tant continue
ien ay assomme et tue
tant quil sen est bien apperceu
et quant il ceſt trouue decheu
maist dieu il ma fait espier
car on les oyt bien hault crier
entendez vous quant on le fait
or ay ie este prins sur le fait
ie ne le puis iamais nyer
si vous vouldroye bien prier

(By courtesy of Mr. Albert Rosset.)

for Paillet, a recent owner, prevents one from seeing which leaves have been inserted; but the counterfeit pages are betrayed in another fashion.

If you held up to the light every leaf in Le Roy's *Patelin*, nine pages would be found to lack the indentation made on all the genuine pages by Le Roy's press, but absent wherever we have to do with the penwork of Coppinger's counterfeiter. Pages 15–16, 73–74, 81–82, and page 87, are counterfeit, and verses 234–265, 1367–1396, 1502–1539, as well as 1563 (not including *paye tost*) to the end of the farce, must be sought in some other text.[11]

[11] In a letter dated 13 Oct., 1905, Mr. Rosset says, "Je suis tout à fait d'accord avec vous sur les pages contrefaites; j'ai comparé le papier avec celui des autres pages; ce n'est pas le même.—Naturellement, les caractères, ayant

As the last genuine pages are lacking, we are at a loss to know whether or not they contained Le Roy's name, and perhaps even the date of publication. This *Patelin* is warrantably attributed to Le Roy because it shows the same font that we find in his signed editions of the *Destruction de Troye la Grant* (dated 1485),[12] of the *Proprietes des choses* (26 Jan. 1485),[13] of the *Doctrinal de Sapience* (a fortnight later),[14] and of the *Livre des Saincts Anges* (20 May, 1486).[15] No other printer is thought to have borrowed or imitated this font; the five unsigned and undated books known to contain it are, we believe, the work of Le Roy. Le Roy had begun to employ these characters in 1485; in 1486 he inaugurated a deceptively similar, yet somewhat smaller, font which we find in his *Fier-à-Bras*, his *Bertrand du Guesclin*, his *Roman de la Rose*, and other books in French.[16] Le Roy's last signed and dated volume is apparently the *Epistolæ Ornatissimæ*, which came off the press 1 July, 1488.[17] In 1493, Le Roy was still alive; he may have continued printing till 1492; yet it is hard to believe that his activity lasted beyond 1488, or, at the latest, 1489.[18]

Were it possible to gather on one table the four signed and dated books in which Le Roy employed the font used for his *Patelin*, a close scrutiny would probably reveal certain breaks, or evidences of wear, from which we might deduce its approximate date. At present, our only testimony must come from the recognized identity of the font in Le Roy's *Patelin* with that in the four signed and dated books, and from a comparison of Le Roy's text with the text in Levet's edition. The four signed and dated books offer fair evidence that the *Patelin* was printed in 1485 or 1486; what evidence can we derive from a comparison with Levet?

The genuine pages of Le Roy's *Patelin* even to the title, the *Maistre pierre commence*, and the placing of these words, show almost exactly the same text that we find in Levet. Not only is Levet nearer like Le Roy than is any other known text; the two are so similar as to be all but identical.[19] Le Roy resembles Levet as closely

été imités à la main, sont facilement reconnaissables pour être faux. [On this point we differ; but the reader can see for himself.]—De plus, le papier étant un peu plus épais que l'ancien, et le *foulage* ayant manqué, le verso des pages contrefaites ne laisse pas apparaître les caractères imprimés au recto, puisqu'il n'y a pas eu de foulage ou pression sur le papier par la presse de l'imprimeur." As Mr. Emile Picot observes in his preface to the facsimile of Marion Malaunoy's edition (though he does not state which pages are counterfeit), the spurious pages show a text borrowed (with some intentional garbling) from Beneaut's *Patelin*. Although this is a trivial matter, I should like to amend here a blunder overlooked in correcting the proof of the Preface to my translation (*The Farce of Master Pierre Patelin*, Boston and New York, 1905). The statement that "These [the lost pages of Le Roy] are now replaced by pen-and-ink counterfeits, probably derived from Levet," etc., should be: ". . . based on Beneaut," as I had written a year earlier in my note book.

[12] See Claudin, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 62–63.

[13] *Ib.*, p. 63.

[14] *Ib.*, p. 64. For a facs. of the last page, with colophon, see p. 67.

[15] See facsimiles in Claudin, *ib.*, pp. 68–71.

[16] *Ib.*, p. 108.

[17] *Ib.*, p. 76.

[18] "Le dernier livre signé de Guillaume Le Roy est daté du 10 [1er] juillet, 1488. On peut supposer qu'il en a imprimé d'autres postérieurement à cette date, peut-être jusqu'en 1492. Le Roy figure sur les rôles municipaux des *Nommées* de 1493 comme 'imprimeur de livres, inquilin (locataire) de la maison de Messire Philibert Crivella, en la rue tirant de Saint Antoine a Notre Dame de Confort'; mais il ne devait plus exercer à cette époque, car il n'est pas taxé, et on lit, à la suite de la formule, 'extime pour ses meubles et pratiques', la mention *Nichil*, signifiant qu'il n'y avait plus rien à réclamer." *Op. cit.*, p. 112.—It is well to add that Mr. Claudin calls Le Roy "le proto-typographe lyonnais, en la personne duquel nous saluons le premier vulgarisateur de notre vieille littérature française."

[19] Although whoever cares to do so will be able to compare the forthcoming facsimile of Le Roy's *Patelin* with the exemplar of Levet's edition at the Bibliothèque Nationale, it seems desirable to point out here certain tell-tale cases of identity (some of which are naturally in Beneaut's edition):—*Na prins* [for *naprins*], v. 22; *brunette* [for *brucelle*], v. 76; *nombliez* [for *noubliez*], v. 94; *escus. pour* [for *escus pour*], v. 199; *aga que prendre* [for *aga quel prendre*], v. 563; *se ie soye* [for *se ie soy* (=*sais*)], *qui sauroit a dire*—Beneaut omits *a*—, v. 729; *il me sone* [for *il ne me sone*], v. 840; *chanter sa messe* [? for *canter se messe*]—Beneaut has *canter se meesse* (*sic*),—v. 855; *leure sa presse* [for *leure sapresse*], v. 856; *ilz le seront* [for *ilz en seront*], v. 914; *lauez* [for *bauez*], riming with *lauez*, v. 1282; etc., etc. Furthermore, the fact that Le

as Levet resembles Beneaut, and Beneaut copied Levet,—a fact already pointed out,[20] but to be proved presently beyond reasonable doubt. Furthermore Levet, as shall be shown, printed his *Patelin* after 20 Oct., 1489. On purely typographical grounds Le Roy's edition is assumed to have appeared in 1485 or 1486. What evidence bearing out his priority can we find in the text?

(1) At the bottom of page 6 in Le Roy, occur the following verses :—

Pathelin en contant sur ses dois
(80) Pour vous. deux aulnes et demye
et [pour] moy trois voire bien quatre
ce sont.
(Here Le Roy's page ends.)

Levet (like Beneaut) reads :

ce sont : ne sont mie

To introduce these superfluous syllables it seems as if Levet, or his typesetter, had allowed his "copy,"—to wit, Le Roy's text, to open at page 16, where his eye alighted on the following verses :

Pathelin
(260) Trois aulnes pour moy et pour elle
elle est haulte deux et demye
ce sont six aulnes ne sont mie

(These verses must have occurred at the bottom of page 16 (fol. 8[b]), now counterfeit, in Le Roy's edition.)

Having set up *ne sont mie*, he went back to the right place and set up :

Guillemette
(82) Vous comptez sans rabatre

(In Le Roy these words occur at the top of page 7; about the middle of page 7 in Levet.)

(2) Another textual evidence of Le Roy's priority is that he reads :

(51) et sans sens naturel vous estes
tenu lune des chaudes testes
qui soit en toute la paroisse

Levet (also Beneaut) has *saiges testes*. *Chaudes* seems the *lectio difficilior*, less commonplace, at all events, than *saiges*.

(3) In Levet we find two wrong assignments to one in Le Roy.[21]

On the other hand, Le Roy omits two syllables necessary to verse 699 ; thus :

Le drappier
. . . . . .
(698) encor et nauez vous point doye
Guillemette
Cest tresbelle demande

After *oye* Levet has *au feu*, a good reading ; yet not one beyond the imaginative powers of a fairly intelligent typesetter.[22] In various places Levet's text is better than Le Roy's ; yet Levet could easily have made the few essential changes that we find in his text, without appealing to any book besides Le Roy's. Levet's improvements are both simple and obvious. Indeed, every successive

Roy and Levet give absolutely the same text, not varying by so much as a letter, for many verses of the jargons, whereas Beneaut slightly differs from both, should be evidence enough as to the relation of Le Roy and Levet.

[20] My article on "*Maître Patelin* in the Gothic editions by Pierre Levet and Germain Beneaut," in *Modern Philology*, June, 1905, demonstrated the virtual identity of their make-up and text, and pointed out Beneaut's omission of verse 179. It demonstrated, furthermore, that the apparently identical woodcuts of the trial scene, as shown respectively by Levet and Beneaut, could not have been made from the same block because they differ in drawing, because the breaks that they reveal are not even partially identical, and, finally, because the two cuts have different dimensions. In a recent letter Mr. Émile Picot takes issue with me on this third point. "Quant à la dimension des planches, une différence de 2 ou 3 millimètres peut fort bien s'expliquer par la retiration de papiers plus ou moins mouillés, ou de nature différente." Quite true ; but no shrinkage of paper could explain the difference in drawing and the disagreement of what (if they agreed) would be tell-tale breaks. These two essential features are carefully described in the footnote beginning on page 123 and ending on page 124 of the said article. Furthermore, the reader can see for himself by comparing the accurate facsimile of Levet's cut given at page 71 of my translation (see note 11), or that in *Modern Philology*, with the accurate facsimile of Beneaut's cut as given by Mr. Claudin, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, page 304. Beneaut and Levet did *not* use the same block ; therefore this apparently identical illustration is worthless as evidence as to the priority of either edition. With regard to the cut showing the Shepherd calling upon the Draper, see the present article, note 33.

[21] Levet assigns 572, 573 and half 574 to *Pathelin*, (a mistake corrected by Beneaut). Levet also assigns 995–1002 to *Guillemette*, who should have only 1001–1002. Beneaut copied this mistake. Le Roy, on the other hand, wrongly assigns 780, and *alez la* of 781, to *Guillemette*.

[22] Thus, in the Bigot MS. (Bibl. Nat., 15080)—*ca.* 1530 ? — and in the edition by Galiot du Pré (1532), v. 1531, left incomplete by every printer till that time, is well finished with *Or nen croyez rien*.

reprinter of *Patelin* made some alteration for the better, however many new errors he introduced.

If, now, to our all too meagre, yet pretty convincing, textual evidence we add what has already been said about Le Roy's career, few scholars will be inclined to deny that his *Patelin* is older than Levet's, and older, therefore, than any other edition known; but for Mr. Claudin to call Le Roy's book "la première édition de la farce de *Maistre Pierre Pathelin*" [23] is rather too daring; we have no proof, however much we may wish to believe that Mr. Claudin is right. The boldest warrantable statement might be this: Le Roy's edition of *Patelin* is almost unquestionably the oldest known to exist. Furthermore, when Mr. Claudin says, "Le texte de cette comédie [in Le Roy's edition] est infiniment meilleur et plus correct que dans les autres éditions anciennes du XV^e^ et du XVI^e^ siècle," [23] he exaggerates immensely; for whoever compares Levet with Le Roy will find Levet so similar that I doubt if any fifteenth-century printer ever followed his model more faithfully.

Whether Le Roy's *Patelin* existed as early as 1486 or not, Levet's edition appeared after 20 Oct., 1489, and before 20 Dec., 1490,—the date given in the colophon of Beneaut's edition. Disregarding the textual evidence furnished by Le Roy, here, now, is another sort of evidence that Beneaut followed and copied Levet.

(1) Levet's *Patelin* contains the same font as his *Villon*, dated 1489,[24] and the same as his *Blason de faulses amours*, also dated 1489.[25] Beneaut, who was not so eminent as Levet, copied Levet's *Villon* in 1490.[26] It is not unlikely, therefore, that he also copied Levet's *Patelin*.

(2) Beneaut's *Patelin*, though not so well printed, is almost exactly like Levet's, in text as well as in make-up; but, barring one or two easy emendations of obvious mistakes,[27] Beneaut almost invariably offers a more corrupt text.[28]

(3) Beneaut omits verse 179 (*Lung a lautre comme len fait.*)[29] Had Levet copied Beneaut, Levet too would have omitted this verse. Few who are acquainted with the ways of the early printers will suppose that Levet, or his typesetter, took the pains to get the missing line from some other edition. On the contrary, the early printers commonly omitted not merely a verse, or half a verse, but they put pages in wrongly, or even inserted several pages twice,[29] and it seems too modern a point of view to suggest that Levet may have taken the verse lacking in Beneaut from some other text containing it. If Levet was so scrupulous, why did he not look elsewhere for the five syllables needed to complete verse 1531? For the space of at least forty-three years, to judge by the known editions of *Patelin*, all the printers of this text were satisfied to leave this verse unfinished. No, the lack of five syllables, including the rime word, disturbed them as little as it did the scribe to whom we owe the oldest known manuscript.[30]

If we admit the priority of Le Roy over Levet, a comparison of Le Roy, Levet, and Beneaut, proves overwhelmingly that Beneaut was the copyist. Note that the following verses are identical in Le Roy and Levet, whereas they diverge in Beneaut.

(183) Le R and L: Ainsi des laines de mes bestes
Beneaut: et de la laine de mes bestes

(189) Le R and L: qui veult viure et soustenir paine
Beneaut: qui veult viure et endurer paine

(207) Le R and L: tout men ést ung en paiement
Beneaut: tout men est ung or ou paiement (*sic.*)

(273) Le R and L: Nenny de par une longaine
Beneaut: Nenny en sanglante estraine (*sic.*)

(323) Le R and L: quel vin ie boy. vostre feu pere
Beneaut: quel vin buuoit vostre feu pere (*sic.*)

[23] *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 90.

[24] See Longnon's *Villon*, p. xcviii, for colophon.

[25] See ed. of Guil. Alexis, by Piaget and Picot, Vol. I, pp. 165–166. Levet had published a *Blason* in 1486.

[26] See Longnon's ed., p. xcix, for B's imitation of L's colophon. See, also, exemplar of B's *Villon* at Bibl. Nat. (*Inv. Rés Ye 237*).

[27] B. gives the correct Picard forms *canter* and *se*, for *chanter* and *sa* (v. 855); and *bon memoire*, making 8 syllables, instead of the *bonne memoire* in Le R. and L. (v. 687).

[28] His corruptions, though numerous, are insignificant. They consist mainly in the omission of short words. For some examples of Beneaut's alterations, see the citations on pp. 70–71 of this article.

[29] For examples we need go no further than the two Gothic editions of *Patelin* at the British Museum, than *Inv. Rés. Ye 1,292*, and than *Ye 1,291* (Bonfon's edition), at the Bibliothèque Nationale.

[30] *Fr. 4723, nouv. acq.*, Bibl. Nat. See part II of this article.

(335) Le R and L: Non or quil peult estre pendu
Beneaut: or par le col soit il pendu

(423) Le R and L: cecy ne que ung beau mot parlassent
Beneaut: nenny ne que ung beau mot parlassent

(442) Le R: ung fromage au bec la venoit ung renard . . .
L: ung formage au bec la venoit ung renard . . . . .
Beneaut: ung formage que au bec auoit (*sic.*) le renard . . . . .

(1425) Le R: par la char bieu moy las pierre[31]
L: par la char bieu moy. las pierre
Beneaut: par la char bieu ne par sainct pierre

(1459) Le R and L: que vous mistes soubz vous[32] esselles
Beneaut: que vous mistes soubz vostre esselle (*sic.*)

(1489) Le R and L: maist dieu ie los que ie [the Judge] men voise
Beneaut: maist dieu ie loe que il [the Shepherd] sen voise

But it is needless to heap up examples. If Levet had copied Beneaut, as Mr. Picot declares he did,[33] nothing short of a miracle could have caused him to reject Beneaut's readings and give the text precisely as it stands in Le Roy. For those who admit Le Roy's priority there is no

[31] Due, no doubt, to a misunderstanding of a MS. abbreviation of *pech(i)erre*. Beneaut, completely puzzled, changed to *ne par sainct pierre*—a more commonplace oath.

[32] A pronunciation common as late as Marot.

[33] See his preface to the facsimile of the Malaunoy *Patelin*, (in the Société des Anc. Textes series, dated 1904, out in 1905) pp. 4 and 5. Le Roy and Levet have almost exactly the same cut to illustrate the meeting of the Shepherd and the Draper. In Beneaut's cut, inserted twice, the Shepherd is standing at his master's left, and is holding his crook in his right hand; whereas Levet shows him on the other side, with his crook in his left hand. This reversal has led Mr. Picot to affirm that Levet is the copyist. "Ce qui montre bien que *Levet* est le copiste, c'est qu'ici [in Levet] le berger tient sa houlette de la main gauche, et que le drapier porte son aumônière du côté droit." And further: "Cette édition [by Levet] doit être postérieure à celle de Beneaut, puisque l'un des bois est une copie évidente d'une des figures employées par celui-ci [Beneaut]."

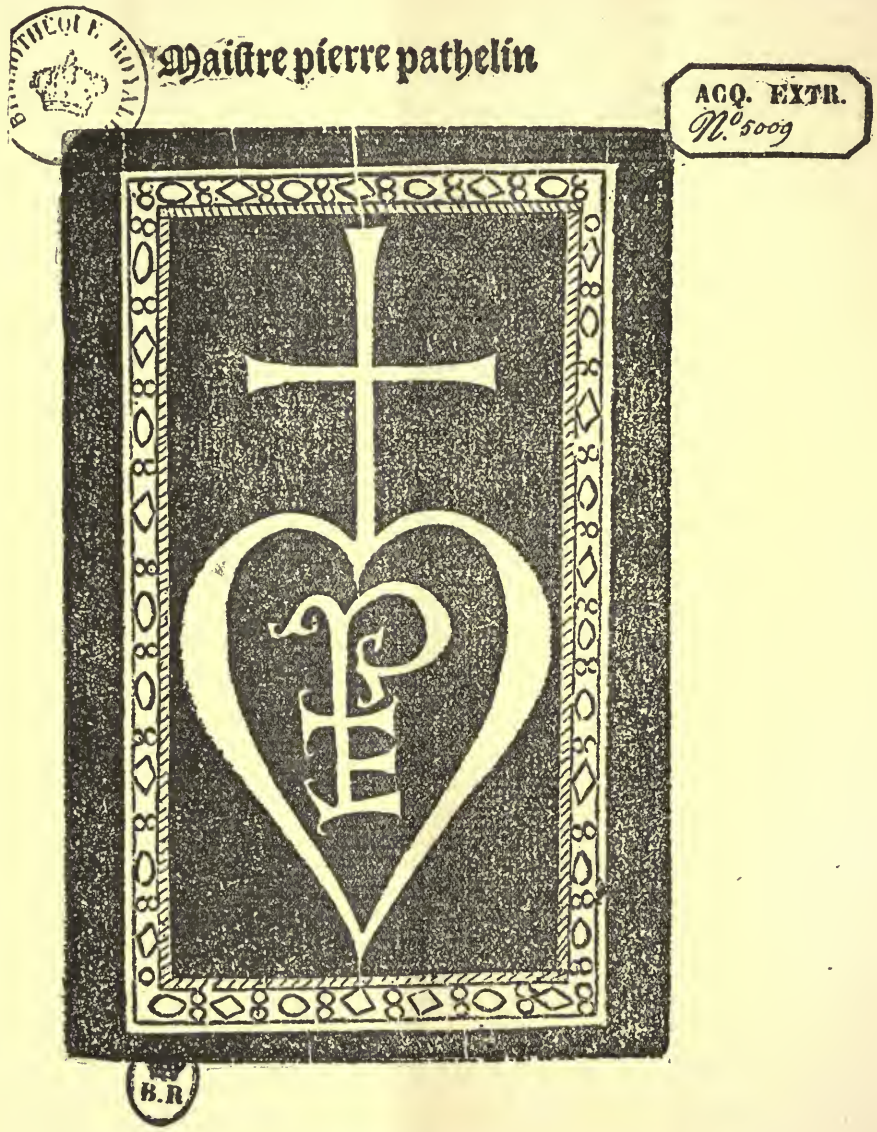
Even if we go the length of declaring that Le Roy is later than Levet, the textual evidence furnished by Beneaut's omission of verse 179, along with certain less striking features already mentioned, shows plainly that the contrary is true, and that what Mr. Picot regards as a left-handed woodcut is in reality, therefore, the original. But let us momentarily suppose there were no textual evidence, and consider Levet's woodcut (reproduced in my *Farce of Master Pierre Patelin*, page 61; also (though not accurately, and probably after a modern edition) in Mantz's *History of Theatrical Art*, English trans., 1904, Vol. II, p. 132).

The Draper's wallet, or alms purse, hangs precisely at the middle of his girdle, just like a wallet in a cut illustrating Le Roy's edition of the *Danse des Aveugles* (*ca.* 1487), wherein the wearer is facing us. But are we to assume that the shepherds of the fifteenth century never held their crooks in their left hand? Were there no left-handed shepherds in those days?—no left-handed, or absent-minded engravers? Can it be that no fifteenth-century engraver ever wittingly portrayed a human being holding an object in his left hand, rather than in his right? Such reversals are in fact an almost every-day occurrence in the history of engraving. If the engraver happen to be distraught his block or plate will be right, but the image on paper will of course be wrong side round, like objects reflected in a looking-glass.

At the Boston Museum of Fine Arts are two reversed engravings by Lucas Vosterman (born about 1580). One is derived from the "Adoration of the Shepherds," by Rubens; the other from Raphael's "Saint George and the Dragon." The Malermi Bible (1498) shows a lute player fingering his lute with his right hand and plucking it with his left; yet in this same illustration is an organ with its great base pipes properly at the left. Another cut in Le Roy's *Danse des Aveugles* (*ca.* 1487) represents Death casting a spear with his left hand; behind him is a left-handed horn blower. A cut of the "Adoration of the Shepherds" in the *Missale Virdunense* (1481) shows a shepherd with his crook in his left hand. Jean de Pré's edition of the *Légende Dorée* (7 Oct., 1489) contains a cut entitled "Legende dudit saint sebastien," in which the saint is the target of a left-handed bowman. In the edition of the *Histoire de le Destruction de Troye la grant* dated 12 May, 1484, is a woodcut which shows two labourers holding their mattocks with the left hand further from the body than the right,—an unnatural position. (For facs. see Claudin, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 183. The other cuts are right. But see also the right-hand lower cut, *ib.* I, 192, wherein both a right-handed and a left-handed labourer are at work.) For another so-called reversed cut (with a legend correctly set into it) see Claudin's facs. of an illustration in Jean du Pré's ed. of the *Legende des trois morts et des trois vifs* (*op. cit.*, I, 257). Surely these cuts are not all copies of cuts in older editions. To come down to modern times, you will find in New York *Life* for 30 Nov., 1905, a full-page drawing by Victor Perard, entitled "Au revoir, Gibson!" On the dock, at the top of a throng of Gibson's characters, who are "seeing him off," is an old gentleman with a guitar. The instrument is wrong side round and, as was the case with our lute

logical conclusion but that Levet preceded Beneaut; for those who, like myself, think that Le Roy's priority is at least open to doubt, the evidence in favour of Levet's priority over Beneaut will still seem strong enough, I think, to be convincing. But what proof have we that Levet's *Patelin* appeared after 20 Oct., 1489?

Levet's *Patelin* is known to be his because of its typography and because it contains his emblem,—a white heart, etc., shown by the accompanying



player, the fingering is being done with the right hand, the plucking with the left. But why shouldn't Levet's Draper have worn his wallet on his right side (though he doesn't), as well as the Shepherd (who does), and why shouldn't our Shepherd have held his crook in his left hand?

The truth is that Levet's cut is the original, wrong side round or not, and Beneaut's cut, differently drawn and coarser, is a copy of it. When the cuts in two editions of a book were not printed from the same blocks or plates (in which case the cuts in the later of the two editions are likely to show tell-tale breaks, or wear) the cuts cannot properly be used to prove the priority of either edition.

As to the cuts of the trial scene, see *Modern Philology*, June, 1905. For facsimiles of all Levet's cuts, see my translation, *The Farce of Master Pierre Patelin*, 1905. Beneaut's cuts of the trial scene and the Shepherd's visit may be examined in Claudin, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 304.

facsimile. Now the very block used to print this emblem in the *Patelin* was used also in the edition of the *Blason de faulses amours*, signed by Levet and dated 20 Oct., 1489. In the *Blason*[34] this emblem shows a small white streak which proves that the block itself was split from the top of the cross to a point four millimeters from the upper edge of the block. In Levet's edition of Villon, dated 1489, and in his *Patelin* this crack reaches clean to the top, and certain other less noticeable breaks appear.[35] It follows that Levet's *Patelin* was printed after 20 Oct., 1489. If, now, we allow Levet a month to distribute his type and to set it up for his *Patelin*, and allow Beneaut a couple of months in which to make sure of Levet's success before venturing a reprint, we may draw the limits closer and conclude that Levet's edition appeared between, say, November, 1489, and mid-October, 1490.[36]

[34] For facsimile see ed. of Guil. Alexis by Piaget and Picot, Vol. I, p. 166. The original cut (in the *Blason*) I have not seen, but I rely on the facsimile because it bears every sign of accuracy. The cut in the *Blason* shows, on the left side of the vertical bar of the monogram a white streak not visible in the *Patelin*; but this streak *runs across the grain* of the wooden block and is no doubt due to some thing else than a split.

[35] Owing to no fault of mine, the facsimile of this emblem, as shown in my *Patelin* (see note 11), like that in Claudin (*op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 439), by which I was led to make an incorrect statement on page 116 of my translation, fails to reveal the tell-tale marks; but the accompanying facsimile does, and I shall see that the facsimile in my book is made right as soon as an opportunity presents itself. The would-be facsimiles in the humbug Baillieu reproduction of Levet's *Patelin*, are as grossly inaccurate as is the Baillieu text. The character of this book should cast suspicion on every volume in the so-called *Bibliothèque Gothique*.

[36] Levet's *Villon* followed his *Blason*, but whether his *Villon* followed his *Patelin* or not is uncertain. Mr. D. C. Stuart, a graduate student of Columbia University temporarily in Paris, has been so kind as to examine for me, side by side, the emblem in Levet's *Patelin* and that in his *Villon*. Mr. Stuart is positive they were printed from the same block. As "the straight lines [in the *Villon* emblem] are more broken than in the print in the *Patelin*," Mr. Stuart believes the *Patelin* came first. If this is true, Levet's *Patelin* must have appeared toward the end of November, 1489, and his *Villon* must have been printed about December, 1489.

Summary of Conclusions.

Le Roy's *Patelin* probably appeared about 1485 or 1486, and is in all likelihood the oldest text of *Patelin* known. Levet's edition appeared approximately between November, 1489, and mid-October, 1490, quite likely about the end of November, 1489. Levet almost certainly copied Le Roy. Levet's text is the oldest complete text known,[37] and differs in no essential respect from its apparent prototype. Levet's edition was reprinted by Beneaut, whose book appeared 20 Dec., 1490. But we shall see that Beneaut was by no means the only person indebted to Levet for the text of *Patelin*.

(*To be continued.*)

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[37] I hope to give Levet's whole book, in facsimile, in the volume containing my critical text of *Patelin*.

A NOTE ON PHONETICS.

In Professor George Hempl's *German Orthography and Phonology*, well-known for its completeness of treatment and its philological 'Akribie,' I have always been puzzled not to find an allusion to a second value of the long *ö*-sound, discussed on pp. 144–5. Since the author enjoyed the coöperation of North Germans, perfectly competent in phonetic questions, it is only after long hesitation that I bring up this point, however small it may be, for discussion. I clearly differentiate between the long *ö* in such words as *höhlen, König, höchst, Öfen, Goethe, Öl, Klöster, Trödler, Vöglein, Bischöfe, Herzöge* on the one hand, and on the other such as *gröhlen, Stör, Plön, hören, Behörde, Börde, Förde*. The long *ö* in these words is distinctly more open than the *ö* in the first series of words, and is in that respect in about the same relation to the *ö* in *König*, as the vowel in *all* is to that in *old*. As seen from the examples given above, this *ö* occurs only before liquids and nasals, and betrays, no doubt, Low German influence. I spent my youth in the old Holsatengau; my German, therefore, bears the North German stamp.

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Revue germanique.

Of magazine, as of bookmaking, there is no end, although most of it, alas, is being done with no other end in view, at least no other attainment to be noticed, but an endless variation, at most, if not an endless repetition of facts and fancies stated over and over again. But, to be sure, the charge of wasteful redundance cannot be preferred against the periodical, which is now about closing the first year of its much-needed existence: the *Revue germanique*, published by the firm of Félix Alcan, Paris, France. Its *raison d'être* lies in the very statement of its purpose, *i. e.*, the philological (in the German sense), the historical-critical study of the Germanic nations inhabiting (we cite the subtitle): 'Allemagne, Angleterre, États-Unis, Pays-Bas, Scandinavie.' The aims of this latest addition to the friendly literary intercourse of nations are more specifically, but most briefly, stated in the announcement behind the title page, they may, therefore, be quoted here:

La *Revue germanique*, publiée sous les auspices des Universités de Lille, Lyon et Nancy, paraît cinq fois par an (janvier, mars, mai, juillet, novembre) en fascicules d'environ 8 feuilles, in-8°, formant un volume d'environ 640 pages.

Chaque numéro contiendra:

1° Des articles originaux sur la littérature, l'histoire, la philologie, le mouvement social, les arts dans les pays de langue germanique et anglo-saxonne;

2° Des notes et documents inédits ou autres;

3° Des revues critiques des principales publications récentes sous les rubriques suivantes: *Littérature, Histoire des idées, Philologie, Histoire, Beaux-Arts;*

4° Une Bibliographie sommaire et Revue des Revues françaises et étrangères.

The editors, at least for the present year, are M. Henri Lichtenberger, professor at the university of Nancy, and M. Joseph Aynard. The first five numbers present, among others, articles and contributions by Ernest Lichtenberger, Albert Schweitzer, E. Spenlé, Gabriel Monod, Henri Lichtenberger, F. Baldensperger, Kaethe Schirrmacher, Charles Andler, A. Ehrhard, A. Tibal, all of them active and well-known workers in the study of the German and English literatures. On the list of contributors we notice, in addition, such names as Bossert, Chuquet, Firmery, Foulet, Haguenin, Rod, Roustan, and many others, giving assurance of a good standard of scholarship and (with French writers this nearly goes without saying) of literary presentation.

Of course, we all regret the discontinuance of the trilingual *Cosmopolis*, as a high-class magazine, if ever there was one. The *Revue germanique*, while not coming into exactly the same category, yet will also coöperate in lowering or pulling down a good deal of the Chinese wall of ignorance about each other, which nations allow to remain. While other countries, Germany in particular, can boast of an unbroken tradition of more than a century in the study of other nations, and not of the neighboring ones only, the French mind only of late years has felt the urgent necessity of a more intensive occupation with foreign literatures and foreign civilizations. Not that attempts of this sort have been lacking heretofore. The history of these, at least as far as French and German relations are concerned, may be conveniently gathered from Th. Süpfle, *Geschichte des deutschen Kultureinflusses auf Frankreich*, 3 volumes, Gotha, 1886–1890. The war of 1870 abruptly closed these efforts on the French side, which are intimately associated with such minds as Madame de Staël, V. Cousin, Michelet, Renan, Taine, Amiel, Sainte-Beuve. In resuming the work of these eminent writers, one striking difference in the attitude taken and the methods applied immediately becomes obvious. While the intent and the point of view and methods of these ante-bellum critics were philosophical and æsthetic, this younger generation, to a good extent trained in German philological methods, attack their problems and tasks from the rock-firm foundation of philological criticism and historical method.

We are promised, by M. G. Pariset, an article on the journal's predecessor, the second of its name though chronologically. 'La Revue germanique de 1858, d'après des documents inédits.' We shall receive some light, then, presumably, on topics similar to the ones alluded to by Matthew Arnold in his exclamation, contained in his essay on Amiel, 'If M. Schérer's introduction to the

Revue germanique could but have been used, if Amiel could but have written the article on Uhland, and followed it up by plenty of articles more!''

The scope of the undertaking, as seen not only from the *avant-propos*, but also from the numbers already issued, conforms with that broader conception of literature to which Friedrich Schlegel has been the first sponsor, who was, also, the first to edit, in Paris, and in 1803, a magazine, in German, which was intended to further the cultural intercourse and relations of the French and the German peoples, the *Europa*.

The editors even have not hesitated, by giving admission to reports on the economic and social movements in the German countries, to continue, as it were, more calmly and more objectively, of course, the topics of the *Deutsch-französische Jahrbücher*, edited in 1843, at Paris, by Karl Marx and Arnold Ruge, containing extremely important documents concerning the influence, on German socialist doctrine, by French Saint-Simonism. It may be mentioned here, parenthetically, that the monographic presentation of the mediatorial activities of Karl Marx, Arnold Ruge, Lorenz Stein, and Karl Hillebrand, to name some of the most prominent, remains a charge on comparative historians of culture and literature.

If any doubt can be had about the inclusion of the last mentioned subjects in a periodical devoted to literature, no sane mind can possibly object to the treatment of subjects of philosophy, of art, and of music. Nobody will understand the 'sousentendus,' of German literature for instance, who does not extend his interest and study to these provinces of culture. This is fully recognized by the appearance of contributions, so far published, on Bach, Nietzsche, Adolph Menzel, Matthias Grünewald, Goethe as a musician; even the woman-question in Germany has been given space for discussion, and most fitly so.

To enter into a review of the articles and reports devoted to literature proper, which form, after all and by right, the bulk of the contents, is impossible here. An entire supplementary number is given to helpful investigations about Schiller, occasioned by the centennial. The reports on publications concerning German Romanticism and Friedrich Hebbel are especially well done.

One contribution, however, by Ernest Lichtenberger, cannot be dismissed by simple quotation, on account of its intrinsic value and paramount suggestiveness. No one can afford not to read and think over 'Le "Faust" de Goethe : Esquisse d'une méthode de critique impersonnelle.' It so happens and, by a coïncidence not so infrequent in scholarly research, that George Witkowski, professor at the University of Leipzig, at this year's meeting *deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner*, proposed a plan of and brought a resolution calling for a committee to prepare, a scientific edition of Goethe's *Faust*. But Professor E. Lichtenberger's essay is yet of a more extended importance in proposing something new in literary-critical methodology. He wants to combine, in a composite picture, as it were, *all* the *Faust*-criticisms, with proper grading of their importance though, of whatever source and in whatever language and form. The proposition already has attracted the widest attention and called forth discussion, mostly approving. M. Lichtenberger proceeds to give, in a condensed form, an instance of this combined criticism of the different generations, races, religions, individuals, with regard to *Das ewig Weibliche*. Strange to say, I fail to discover in this an allusion to the important pregnancy of connotation in the word '*ewig*,' which, for instance, Professor J. Goebel wants to be understood as equal to '*absolut*.' In the convention of *Faust*-critics, the roll of which by the way abounds in misprints, not only Americans must insist on a seat being given to Emerson.

The clear statement of M. Lichtenberger, of course, will dispel the apprehension expressed in *Der Tag* (Berlin), by either Heinrich or Julius Hart, that this sort of critical clearing-house system might give rise to a belief in 'ein restloses Aufgehen' of a great work of art in any critical appreciation, no matter how competent it may be. Heaven save us from that kind of scientificism, so called by Mr. William James.

In America, no doubt, this new enterprise, so successfully and suggestively started, will meet with the kindest appreciation, coupled with a renewed sense of obligation towards the noble aim of making the great nations of the world better understand, perhaps, better love each other.

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LEGACIES OF LUCIAN.

In the leading article of the January (1906) *Modern Language Notes*, Mr. Adams of Cornell University has invited attention to the very obvious likeness between Jonson's *News from the New World discovered in the Moon* and Lucian's *Vera Historia* and *Icaro-Menippus*.

Jonson's many debts to the satirist of Samosata have been loudly proclaimed by critics and commentators. That indefatigable source-hunter, Whalley, long ago traced the "Antimasque" in *Volpone* (I, 1) to the deliciously comic scene between the Pythagorean Cock and Mycillus in the *Gallus*, and certain pungent lines anent the pills of Horace in *Poetaster* (V, 1) to the *Lexiphanes;* and, to cite a yet more notable instance of borrowing, Mr. A. W. Ward, in the wake of Koeppel, pointed out, in his excellent chapter on "Jonson" (*History of English Dramatic Literature*, II, 355, Note), that the lively narrative of Mercury's precocious thefts in *Cynthia's Revels* (I, 1) is taken bodily from *The Dialogues of the Gods*. Moreover, no appreciative reader of Lucian can doubt for a moment that Jonson was recalling *The Dialogues of the Dead* and *The Tyrant* in his *Masque of Lethe* (to accept Gifford's name for *Lovers Made Men*) and in that malodorous "Epigram" (cxxxiii), *The Famous Voyage*.

These borrowings Jonson frequently acknowledged in characteristic fashion. An indirect confession of his indebtedness in *News from the New World* is made by the very mention of the cynic, Menippus, Lucian's favorite character. In that daintiest of masques, *The Hue and Cry after Cupid*, the dramatist points in one of his pompous footnotes to *The Dialogues of Venus and Cupid* as a source. And shortly after that remarkable bit of "lifting" in *Cynthia's Revels* (I, 1), he thus refers to his creditor :

"*Amorphus.* Lucian is absurd, he knew nothing : I will believe mine own travels before all the Lucians of Europe. He doth feed you with fittons, figments and leasings.

Crites. Indeed I think next a traveller, he does pretty well."

All these things are as clear as Lucian's moon even to him that runs and reads. But a little legacy from our Greek to another Elizabethan has never been suspected. Yet I am inclined to believe that it was to a reminiscence of Lucian's words that Marlowe owes his two most famous lines (*Doctor Faustus*, Sc. xiii, 91–92) :—

> "Was this the face that launch'd a thousand ships,
> And burnt the topless towers of Ilium?"

As everyone knows, Marlowe had once before written of the same loveliness (2 *Tamburlaine*, II, 4) : —

> "Helen, whose beauty summoned Greece to arms
> And drew a thousand ships to Tenedos."

Shakspere pays to Marlowe's line the tribute of the copyist, when he, too, would describe Helen (*Troilus and Cressida*, II, ii, 81–82) : —

> "Why, she is a pearl,
> Whose price hath launch'd above a thousand ships."

In the Notes of the Clarendon Press edition of *Doctor Faustus* (1878), Mr. A. W. Ward says aptly enough (p. 86) :—"This beautiful passage, which Marlowe has nowhere equalled, was no doubt originally suggested by the passage in the *Iliad*, III, 156, where the old men of Troy, on seeing Helen appear in her beauty on the walls, say that she was worth the war caused by her." Homer is the fountain-head of Marlowe's inspiration, of course, but may not the university-bred man have remembered the colloquy between Menippus and Mercury in *The Dialogues of the Dead* (as I have not Francklin by me, I cite Collins' Translation, 1874, p. 63) ?

"*Mercury.* This skull is Helen.

Menippus. And it was for this that a thousand ships were manned from all Greece, and so many Greeks and Trojans died in battle, and so many towns were laid waste !

Mercury. Ay, but you never saw the lady alive, Menippus, or you would surely have said with Homer : —

> 'No marvel Trojans and the well-armed Greeks
> For such a woman should long toils endure,
> Like the immortal goddesses is she.'"

In Homer's lines there is, with every suggestion of the thought of the *Faustus*, no similarity of language. Yet the verbal resemblance between the passages of Lucian and Marlowe may be mere coincidence ; in any case, it is striking enough to attract and merit notice.

It is also noteworthy that Lucian, like Lucretius and Omar Khayyám ("I Myself am Heaven and Hell"), anticipates Marlowe (*Doctor Faustus*, III, 77, v, 120) in the potent conception of deepest Hell, not as an abode of material horrors, but as a moral state. Mark the punishment of Megapenthes in *The Tyrant* (Collins, pp. 75–76) :—

"*Cyniscus.* Let this man alone not be permitted to taste Lethe. So shall he suffer the bitterest punishment in the recollection of all that he has been and done and all the power he had while on earth and in the thought of his past pleasures."

An energetic *Quellenjagd* in the regions of Elizabethan drama and satire would doubtless reveal many legacies of Lucian.

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CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF CERTAIN SCENES IN GOETHE'S *Faust*.

The chronology of certain scenes of the Gretchen tragedy in Goethe's *Faust*, especially the 'Walpurgisnacht' scene, is, according to the opinion of many critics, very much confused. As a rule, Faust's visit to the Brocken is thought to take place directly after his leaving Gretchen, and the anachronism of dates—the Walpurgisnacht being the night of the first of May, while the love story must be placed in June—is pointed out. Led by the considerations given below, I should suggest making the Brocken excursion immediately precede the scene 'Dismal Day' and the 'Prison' scene. Since these two scenes are removed from the opening love scenes by almost a year, the 'Walpurgisnacht' scene should be placed on the first of May of the following year. Chronologically it would fit in very well there, ten or eleven months after the beginning of the love story.

But there are other than chronological reasons for changing the date of this scene. If we compare Faust's lofty mood in the scene 'Forest and Cavern,' after he had left Gretchen for the first time, with the humor with which he goes into the orgy on the Brocken, it does not seem possible that he had left Gretchen in her misfortune just the day before. In this scene Gretchen is not in his heart nor in his mind; he follows with a will his guide to pleasure of a kind which would have repulsed him, if he had not had time to forget his love. The 'insipid diversions' with which Mephistopheles has been lulling him to make him forget the wrong done to Gretchen must have been various, and must have filled the whole time from his sudden departure after the murder of Valentin to the returning first of May with its Walpurgisnacht. This night festival is intended by Mephistopheles to be his last and greatest 'diversion'; he wishes by that climax of debauchery to cure Faust forever of all sentimentality. But he has miscalculated. Faust's better self revolts. Just here is the dramatic justification for the whole 'Walpurgisnacht' scene. This whirlwind of lewdness was needed to bring back to Faust's memory the pure and noble emotions of his former love. While he is dancing with the naked witches, he has the vision of Gretchen in her misery. This causes the terrible reaction in his mind which manifests itself in the outbreak of rage in the scene 'Dismal Day' and in his visit to the prison.

There is another reason why these three scenes should be closely connected. There exists a fragment of a scene following the 'Intermezzo' and representing the court of Satan on the Brocken, where Faust learns about Gretchen's plight. Though Goethe omitted that scene as out of harmony with the changed Faust plan, yet he did not wish to leave Faust without means of knowing the fate of Gretchen; and if he considered Faust's vision of his beheaded love sufficient information about a fate upon the whole not hard to imagine, he must have intended that that vision should occur directly before what appears as the result of it and of the information carried by it, the frenzied outbreak against Mephistopheles and the attempted deliverance from prison.

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Samson Agonistes 1665–6.

Here Milton has :

> Not-willingly, but tangled in the fold
> Of dire necessity.

What are we to understand by 'fold?' Since 'dire necessity' is obviously from Horace, *Od.* 3. 24. 6, as noted long ago by Todd, we might think of his *laqueis*, line 8. However, this, while it may have yielded a suggestion, would give 'net,' 'gin,' or 'snare' (all Miltonic words), but hardly 'fold.' These three words are common enough in the Bible, too ; but the turn of phrase here is not Scriptural.

Milton's original is rather Greek, and a comparison of certain passages from the Attic dramatists shows that we may render 'fold' by 'coil,' or, more generally, 'toil(s).'

The first passage we may consider is Sophocles, *Ant.* 343–7 :

> κουφονόων τε φῦλον ὀρνίθων ἀμφιβαλὼν ἄγει
> καὶ θηρῶν ἀγρίων ἔθνη, πόντου τ' εἰναλίαν φύσιν
> σπείραισι δικτυοκλώστοις
> περιφραδὴς ἀνήρ.

('And the light-hearted race of birds, and the tribes of savage beasts, and the sea-brood of the deep, he snares in the *meshes of his woven toils* [in the *coils of woven nets*].'—Jebb).

Here the meaning is literal, but perhaps Milton adapted such a phrase as σπείραισι δικτυοκλώστοις, and contaminated it with such a one as we find in Aeschylus, *Prom.* 1076–9 :

> εἰδυῖαι γὰρ
> κοὐκ ἐξαίφνης οὐδὲ λαθραίως
> εἰς ἀπέραντον δίκτυον ἄτης
> ἐμπλεχθήσεσθ' ὑπ' ἀνοίας,

which Plumptre renders :

> For now with open eyes,
> Not taken unawares,
> In Atè's endless *net*
> Ye shall *entangled* be
> By folly of your own.

Here we have 'entangled' and 'net' (cf. *Agam.* 358 ff., 1115, 1382, 1492 ; even of Dike, *Agam.* 1611), as, in the passage from the *Antigone*, we have 'coils.' Nor should we overlook Orestes' characterization of the robe in which Agamemnon was slain, *Choeph.* 998–1000 :

> ἄγρευμα θηρὸς, ἢ νεκροῦ ποδένδυτον
> δροίτης κατασκήνωμα ; δίκτυον μὲν οὖν
> ἄρκυν τ' ἂν εἴποις καὶ ποδιστῆρας πέδας,

where Plumptre has :

> A wild beast's trap?—a pall that wraps a bier,
> And hides a dead man's feet?—A *net*, I trow,
> A *snare*, a *robe entangling*, one might call it.

Add Euripides, *Orestes* 25–26 :

> ἢ πόσιν ἀπείρῳ περιβαλοῦς' ὑφάσματι
> ἔκτεινεν,

which Way translates :

> Who trapped in tangling toils her lord, and slew.

Cf. *Orestes* 1315 :

> στείχει γὰρ εἰσπεσοῦσα δικτύων βρόχους,

which Way renders :

> For into the net's meshes, lo, she falls.

The suggestion of 'robe' is what occurs to one in first reflecting upon Milton's 'fold,' yet the latter is not inevitably restricted to a garment.

It is interesting to find that Shakespeare has (*Hen. V.* 5. 1. 20–21) :

> Dost thou thirst, base Trojan,
> To have me *fold* up Parca's fatal *web?*

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STRAY NOTES.

Tennyson, *Princess* 3. 11.

> The circled Iris of a night of tears

is doubtless a reminiscence of Shakespeare, *All's Well* 1. 3. 156–8 :

> What's the matter
> That this distempered messenger of wet,
> The many-colored Iris, rounds thine eye.

This I did not see when I wrote the note in my edition.

Dante, *Inf.* 26. 52–3.

A classical mention of the divided flame, which Scartazzini has missed, is Seneca, *Œd.* 311–3, which Miss Harris translates :

The stubborn flame is split
In two, and one discordant half divides
Again. I shudder, father, at the sight.

'*Je n'en vois pas la nécessité.*'

It is well known that the Comte d'Argenson, Intendant of Paris, on Desfontaines' remarking to him by way of excuse, 'Il faut bien que je vive,' made reply, 'Je n'en vois pas la nécessité.' This has been traced back to Tertullian, *Idolat.* 5 (see King's *Class. and For. Quot.*, No. 1184). A more ultimate source seems to be Seneca, *Epist.* 12, *s. f.*: 'Malum est in necessitate vivere, sed in necessitate vivere necessitas nulla est. Quidni nulla sit? Patent undique ad libertatem viæ multæ, breves, faciles. Agamus Deo gratias quod nemo in vita teneri potest; calcare ipsas necessitates licet.' See also his Phœn. 153, aud Cunliffe's remarks upon it in his *Influence of Seneca upon Elizabethan Tragedy.*

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A NOTE ON THE *Introduzione alle Virtù.*

Among the numerous works of Mediæval literature which were influenced more or less powerfully and directly by the *Consolatio Philosophiæ* of Boëthius, one of the most interesting, by reason both of its linguistic and literary excellence, and also of the doubts attaching to its authorship and the date of its composition, is the *Introduzione alle Virtù*, attributed to Bono Giamboni. Gaspary[1] states that the Latin work served as a model for the Italian, and this statement, though not based upon a thorough investigation,[2] seems reasonable, since Boëthius is quoted in the *Introduzione*,[3] and since points of resemblance between the Latin and Italian works abound.

Any investigation into the sources of the *Introduzione* should take account, not only of the work of Boëthius, but also of the *Elegia de diversitate fortunæ et philosophiæ Consolatione*, of Arrigo da Settimello, since the *Introduzione* and the last-named work bear a striking resemblance to each other in at least one particular. When Philosophy first appears to the author of the *Introduzione* he notices that from her is generated a brilliant light:

"E della detta figura nascea una luce tanto grande e profonda, che abbagliava gli occhi di coloro, che guardare la volieno; sicchè poche persone la poteano fermamente mirare. E della detta luce nasceano sette grandi e maravigliosi splendori, che alluminavano tutto il mondo."[4]

The identity of these seven splendors, which is not revealed in the text of the *Introduzione*, would appear to be the seven sciences of the trivium and the quadrivium. That they are such is not a matter of conjecture, highly probable in the present case, since these sciences are personified as goddesses who accompany Philosophy when she first appears to Arrigo da Settimello:

Hanc phronesin dictam septens cohors comitatur,
Præbuit officium cuilibet illa suum.
Prima fovet pueros; alia soligizat; amœnat
Tertia colloquiis: perticat illa solum;
Hæc abacum monstrat; alia philominat; et altum
Erigit ad superos septima virgo caput.
His prædicta dea sedit comitata deabus.[5]

That the author of the *Introduzione* had easy access to the work of Arrigo da Settimello is certain, since we learn from F. Villani that "Henrigettus . . . primam discentibus artem aptissimus, per scholas Italiæ continuo frequentatur."[6] It would, therefore, seem that the identity of the seven splendors is not a subject for doubt. And whereas in this instance Arrigo offers a source for the *Introduzione*, in Boëthius we find no mention of any seven splendors, or any equivalent therefor.

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[1] *Storia della lett. ital.*, I, 165.

[2] Casini (Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, 3, 1, pp. 44, n. 3), draws attention to the need for an investigation of the sources of the *Introduzione*.

[3] Cf., for example, ed. Tassi, Florence, 1836, p. 233.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 234.

[5] Leyser, *Historia poetarum et poematum medii ævi*, Halæ. Magdeb., 1721, p. 476.

[6] Quoted by Milanesi (*Il Boezio e L'Arrighetto*, Florence, 1864, p. lxxii), without page reference from F. Villani, *De Henrico a Septimello*, in *Liber de civitatibus Florentiæ famosis civibus*, Florentiæ, Mazzoni, 1846, which is inaccessible to me.

NOTES ON THE *Shepherd's Calendar*, AND OTHER MATTERS CONCERNING THE LIFE OF EDMUND SPENSER.

The general opinion of biographers of Spenser is that he wrote the *Shepherd's Calendar* while in the North of England, probably in East Lancashire where he is supposed to have gone after leaving Cambridge in 1576, and that by means of it he gained the friendship and patronage of Leicester and Sidney.[1] A careful reading of the *Shepherd's Calendar* and of the correspondence between Spenser and Gabriel Harvey has led me to the belief (1) that the acquaintance between Spenser and Sidney was of much earlier origin; (2) that by far the most part, if not all, of the *Shepherd's Calendar* was composed in Kent, probably at Penshurst, the home of Sidney; and (3) that in all probability entirely too much has been made of Spenser's sojourn in the north.

Before taking up each of these points in order, it is well to notice that the whole tenor of the *Shepherd's Calendar* makes it clear that it was the last of a series of juvenile poems, and that the poet expected to discontinue making on account of his loss of Rosalind. In the April Eclogue Hobbinol (Gabriel Harvey) says of the poet:

> His pleasant pipe, which made us merriment,
> He wilfully hath broke, and doth forbeare
> His *wonted songs*, wherein he all outwent.[2]

Again in the January Eclogue, the poet himself, because of his lack of success in love, exclaims:

> "Wherefore, my pipe, allbe rude Pan thou please,
> Yet for thou pleasest not where most I would;
> And thou, unlucky muse, that wontest ease
> My musing mind, yet canst not when thou should;
> Both pipe and muse shall sore the while abye!"
> So broke his oaten pipe, and downe did lye.

The *Shepherd's Calendar* clearly belongs to the end rather than to the beginning of a series of poems.

[1] See Craik, *Spenser and his Poetry*, p. 11.

[2] The following poems by Spenser are mentioned in the *Shepherd's Calendar* and in Spenser's letter to Harvey: Pageants, Dreams, Legendes, Court of Cupid, and "Sondry other" Sonnets, Translation of Moschus' Idyllion of Winged Love.

(1) In the first place there is in the poem a certain air of familiarity with the Sidneys and the Dudleys which would hardly be consistent with the view that the poet was attempting by its means to gain favor with them.

In the April Eclogue Hobbinol says,

> Colin thou kenst, the *southern shepherd's* boy.

This southern shepherd could be none other than Sir Philip Sidney, whose home at this time was at Penshurst in Kent. The gloss renders this more than mere conjecture. In it we read, "Seemeth hereby that Colin perteyneth to some southern nobleman, and perhaps in Surrey or Kent, the rather because he so often nameth the Kentish downes, and before, *as lythe as lasse of Kent*" (see below).

In the August Eclogue we have a singing match between Willie and Perigot, in which Perigot recites his luckless love story. The gloss adds this note, "By Perigot who is meant I cannot *uprightly* say: but if it be who is supposed his love, she deserveth no lesse praise than he giveth her." I feel that here we have a covert allusion to the love of Sir Philip Sidney for his Stella, Penelope Devereux, to whom he dedicated his Astrophel and Stella Sonnets, which were in process of composition at this time.

Again in the October Eclogue, when Cuddie, who, as the gloss hints, may be the poet himself, complains of the contempt into which poetry has fallen, Piers answers him:

> Abandon, then, the base and viler clowne;
> Lyft up thyself out of the lowly dust,
> And sing of bloody Mars, of wars, of giusts. . . . .
> Then may thy muse display her fluttering wing,
> And stretch herself at large from East to West;
> Or, if thee please in bigger notes to sing,
> Advaunce the worthy whome shee loveth best,
> That first the *white beare* to the *stake* did bring.[3]

The reference here is clearly to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. No poet would have dared to utter these lines had he not been on terms of intimacy with the earl.

In the November Eclogue, Colin bewails the death of Dido. The argument to the eclogue says that she was "some mayden of greate bloud. The personage is secret, and to me altogether un-

[3] This was actually done in the *Faerie Queene*.

knowne, albe of himself I have often required the same.'' That she was not unknown to the poet we have the poet's own words :

> Als Colin Cloute she would not once disdayne.

And again :

> Sing now, ye shepherd daughters, sing no moe
> The songs that Colin made you in her praise.

She is mourned by a great shepherd named Lobbin,

> O thou great shepherd, Lobbin, how great is thy griefe.

We know that about this time Spenser had a poem entitled *Stemmata Dudleiana*, which today may appear in a modified form in the *Ruins of Time*. In this latter poem are praised certain members of the Dudley family. May it not have been that in the older poem were found those songs that ''Colin made in her praise?'' Certainly Lobbin looks almost like an anagram for Robert Dudley. The only member of the Dudley family who died not far from the date of the *Shepherd's Calendar* is Ambrosia Sidney,[4] a twenty-year old daughter of Sir Henry Sidney, niece of the Earl of Leicester, and named after his elder brother, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. She died on the 23d of February, 1575–6. It may be objected that Spenser at this time was in college, but we shall see later from the February Eclogue that in his youth he was a frequent visitor in Kent.[5]

Certainly by October, 1579, Spenser was on sufficient terms of intimacy with Leicester to live at Leicester House in London, and to write to Hobbinol of the ''sweetness that I have already tasted'' in this patronage. This was before December 5, 1579, when the *Shepherd's Calendar* was entered at Stationers' Hall.

(2) Furthermore, every definite local reference we have in the poem is to Kent or Surrey. In order to be as accurate as possible I shall take up each of the eclogues in turn.

In the January Eclogue there is no direct reference to any district in England. In it the poet exclaims :

> A thousand times I curse that carefull howre
> Wherein I longed the neighbouring towne to see.

There is nothing here that could lead us to suspect that he was writing this in the north of England.

February. In this there are two references to Kent, one of which may have some further biographical significance :

> *a.* Seest how brag yond Bullocke beares,
> So smirke, so smoothe, his pricked eares?
> His hornes beene as broade as a Rainbowe bent,
> His dewlap as lythe as a *lasse of Kent*.
> *b.* But shall I tell thee a tale of truth,
> Which I cond of Tityrus *in my youth*,
> *Keeping his sheep on the hills of Kent*?

The gloss says that by Tityrus is probably meant Chaucer. We do know that Spenser served his apprenticeship under Chaucer. I am afraid, however, that we would have to look long in Chaucer for the tale of the oak and the briar. It is interesting to know, however, that Spenser spent a part of his youth in Kent.

March. No local reference.

April. See the reference above.

May. No local reference.

June. This eclogue has been most frequently quoted to establish the fact that the *Shepherd's Calendar* was written in the North. But to me it indicates, if it indicates anything, that the poem was not written in the North, but in some place to which the poet had come from the North. Colin Clout, the poet, complains of his fate, and contrasts it with his friend's :

> O happy Hobbinoll! I bless thy state,
> That Paradise hast found which Adam lost:
> *Here* wander may thy flocke, early or late,
> Withouten dreade of Wolves to bene ytost:
> Thy lovely layes *here* mayest thou freely boste.
> But I, unhappy man! whom cruell fate
> And angry Gods pursue from coste to coste,
> Can nowhere fynd to shroude my lucklesse pate.

Hobbinol urges him to

> Forsake the soyle that so doth thee bewitch,
> Leave me *those* hills where harbrough nis to see,
> And to *these* dales resort.[6]

[4] The following line may have been suggested by her name :

> Then drinks she nectar with ambrosia mixt.

[5] The *Stemmata Dudleiana* has long been mourned as one of Spenser's lost poems. But we learn from one of Harvey's letters to the poet dated April 7, 1580, that it was in Latin, and if it was no better than the Latin poem in one of his letters to Harvey we need shed no tears.

[6] The gloss makes it perfectly clear that these lines refer to the north and south of England respectively.

Again Hobbinol says :

> Colin, to heare thy rymes and roundelayes,
> Which thou *wert wont* on wastfull hylls to singe
> I more delight than lark.

In the July Eclogue, Morell, speaking of famous hills, mentions

> St. Michaels Mount
> That wards our Westerne coste,
> And of St. Brigets howre, I trowe,
> All *Kent* can rightly boaste.

Then, after recalling the names of hills famous in antiquity :

> But little needes to strowe my store,
> Suffice *this* hill of our.
> *Here hath the salt Medway his sourse,*
> The salt Medway, that trickling streamis
> Adoune the dales of *Kent.*

Penshurst is within a very few miles of the source of the Medway.

August. See above.

In the September Eclogue Hobbinol says to Diggon Davie :

> Fye on the, Diggon, and all thy foule leasing!
> Well is it knowne that sith the Saxon king
> Never was Woolfe seene, many nor some,
> Nor in all *Kent*, nor in Christendome.

Further, if by Roffin in the same eclogue the poet refers to John Young, Bishop of Rochester, who from 1567 to 1578 was master of Pembroke Hall, Spenser's Alma Mater, would it not be significant that Spenser here compliments him, and adds,

> Colin Clout, I wene, be his self boye.

Rochester is not far from Penshurst, and the lines would be a delicate compliment to an old college professor, now a near neighbor. This, too, would give this part of the poem a date between 1578 and early in 1579.[7]

No references of a local nature in October, November and December.

(3) All these references to the south and only one to the north of England seem to establish the fact that Spenser's northern journey had a very slight effect upon the *Shepherd's Calendar.* If we accept the usual explanation he went up there to visit relatives. But certainly no young man with any aspirations to literary fame would long stay away from the neighborhood of the court and the literary coterie in London. Nor am I convinced by any means that the earlier commentators were wrong when they made Kent the home of Rosalind. Granting that her name was Dinley, the fact that there were Dinleys in East Lancashire near Pendle Forest in 1570 is of no more consequence than the fact that there were Dinleys in nearly every county of England at the same time.[8]

As a further argument it occurs to me that Gabriel Harvey constantly gives us the impression that he was personally acquainted with the poet's charmer, a fact which could scarcely be credible if she lived in the distant provinces instead of near the metropolis, for Harvey divided his time between London and Cambridge. He has preserved one of her compliments of Spenser. In his letter of May 9, 1580, to the poet, he said, "Gentle Mistress Rosalind once reported him to have all the intelligences at commandment, and at another christened him her Signior Pegaso." In the December Eclogue the poet cries out :

> Adieu, good Hobbinoll, that was so true,
> *Tell* Rosalind, her Colin bids her adieu.[9]

In the gloss to the April Eclogue is found the following : "For it is *well knowen*, even in spighte of Colin and Hobbinoll, that she is a Gentlewoman of no meane house, nor endewed with any vulgare and common gifts, both of nature and manners." This seems also to be

[7] John Young, 1534(?)–1605. "The best testimony, however, to Young's faculty for securing the affections of his pupils and colleagues is Spenser's celebration of him as 'faithful Roffy' in the *Shepherd's Calendar*, 'Roffy' being an abbreviation of Roffensis ; which became Young's title when, on Feb. 18, 1578–9, he was elected to the Bishopric of Rochester."—*Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[8] The following two notes from the *Calendar Inquis. Post Mortem Henry VII.* may be of interest :

12 Nov., 1494—Edw. Langfoded enfoeffed Edw. Dynely, Esq., Henry Spencer and others of manors in Co. Berks.

18 Feb., 1494—Sanchea Carvanell in land suit with Anne Dynely, Thomas Spenser, etc., Co. Hants.

See also Index of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, will of Moile Dyneley, Gent. of Nackington, Kent, probated in 1594.

[9] Dr. Grosart thinks that "the absence of Rosalind from him seems to point to her leaving her home, and being separated from him," and he refers us to Drayton's celebration of her as among the Cotswold Hills.

corroborated by a passage from Spenser's letter to Harvey dated October, 1579. "Then also, meseemeth the work (the *Shepherd's Calendar*) too base for his excellant Lordship, being made in honor of a private Personage unknowne, which of some ylwillers might be upbraided not to be so worthie, as *you knowe she is.*"

In this connection, it seems not out of place to raise a question concerning the extraction of Spenser's immediate family.

In Grosart's *Life of Spenser*, we find in the first volume a statement that leads us to suppose that there were two distinct branches of the family, one spelling its name "ser" and the other "cer"; that the former was found chiefly in the East Lancashire district; and that these spellings were more or less consistently kept up. From this he traces the origin of the poet's family to East Lancashire. This opinion has been concurred in by all the leading Spenser biographers. The Globe edition says: "For the particular branch of the Spencer or Spenser family (one branch wrote the name with s, another with c) to which the poet belonged, it has been well suggested that it was settled in East Lancashire in the neighborhood of Pendle Forest."

Now, I shall attempt to show that there never was any great difference made between the spellings, but that the same family often spelt the name in either way, and that often, as was true with the poet himself, the same person spelt it in both ways.[10] This carelessness was not at all an unusual thing in those times. The sources of my information were Wills, Registers, Inquisitions, Chancery Records, State Papers, Domestic and Foreign, Heralds' Visitations, Accounts, etc. I found the name Spenser or Spencer in the following counties in which the owners had holdings, had filed their wills, or were buried. In case a man's name occurred in more than one county, as was often the case, I had some difficulty. In many cases I was able to trace him to his home county, in others, I chose the county in which he seemed to be most interested. The result of my research I give below. I arrange the counties beginning with the north and west. The first column of figures includes those who spelt their names Spencer, the second Spenser. The period covered by my research includes the reigns of Henry VII, Henry VIII, Edward VI, Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth. Very few names were selected after the year 1590, only those who for some reason or other might be useful in further research. In London, I have arranged the names according to parish churches whose registers I had access to. In many cases a person was found holding land in several parishes. In such cases I assigned him to the parish in which he was buried. This was possible in most cases. A number, not as large as one would expect, could not be assigned to any definite locality.

County.	'cer.	'ser.	Remarks.
Cumberland	...	1	
Yorkshire	...	1	
Lancashire	6	13	
Cheshire	3	1	
Lichfield and Birmingham, Wills	3	41	
Warwickshire	2	3*	
Shropshire	3	1	
Glamorganshire	1	...	
Gloucestershire and Wiltshire, Wills	13	14*	
Somersetshire	5	1*	
Devonshire	...	1	
Hampshire	1	6	
Sussex	1	8	
Kent	4	1	
Essex	1	2	
Buckinghamshire	2	...	
Berkshire	1	2	
Oxfordshire	1	...	
Hertfordshire	3	...	
Suffolk	7	1	
Norfolk	4	3†	
Nottinghamshire	3	...	
Huntingdonshire	2	2*	
Bedfordshire	5	3	
Hampton and Rutland, Wills	27	9*	
Lincolnshire	4	3	
London	17	6	No parish given.
St. Mary, Woolnoth	6	2	
St. Mary, Whitechapel	...	1	
St. Sepulchre's	...	1	
St. Michael's, Cornhill	9	1	
St. Foster's	2	2	
Christ Church, Newgate	7	...	

[10] For example, in the Reports of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records in Ireland, under "Fiants Elizabeth," dated May 12, 1588, and July 4, 1594, we have the poet's name spelt first Spencer and then Spenser.

County.	'cer.	'ser.	Remarks.
St. Olaff's, Southwark..	...	1	
Allhallows, Barking...	1	2	
Allhallows the More...	1	2	
St. Clement, Danes.....	...	1	
St. Peter's, Cornhill...	2	...	
St. Margaret's, Westminster	...	1	
St. Antholin, Budge Row.....	4	...	
St. James, Clerkenwell	3	3	
St. Faith's.....	2	...	
St. Dunstan in the East	8	...	
St. Dunstan, Stepney..	1	2	
St. Stephen's, Upon Wallbrooke.....	2	...	
St. Vedast's.....	9	9	
Kensington.....	2	3*	
Old Windsor.....	2	1†	
St. Botolph's.....	11	7*†	
St. Thomas the Apostle	1	1†	
Not traced.....	7	3	
Ireland.....	1	7	Not including the poet.

Same family, *
Name spelt in both ways, †

I might also add that I spent considerable time trying to discover the parentage of the author, but, with the exception of a slight clew upon which I am still working, it remains as great a mystery as ever.

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SOME SPANISH WORDS IN THE WORKS OF BEN JONSON.

A recent perusal of the works of Ben Jonson impressed me with the fact that some words of Spanish origin have not as yet been adequately explained by the editors and commentators of this poet. I therefore offer the following explanations to those interested in the study of Jonson's works.

Lomtero (*Every Man out of his Humour*, v, 4; vol. i, p. 132 c. 1).[1] This word is not found in any dictionary, not even Murray's; neither does any commentator notice it either in his notes or glossary. Jonson himself nowhere uses this word again. After a first reading I passed the word without troubling myself about it. Not until Dr. C. M. Hathaway, of Columbia University, called my attention to it did I begin to study this peculiar word. Dr. Hathaway tried to connect it with the Spanish *lomo*, a loin.

No doubt we have here a word coined by Jonson to serve a special purpose. At the beginning of act v, scene 4, Carlo says to George (p. 130, c. 1): "Let me have a good fat loin of pork laid to me presently." While waiting for his order, Carlo passes the time drinking. In this pastime he indulges so vigorously, that soon he becomes exceedingly jolly. At length he calls again for George to inquire after the pork. It is at this point that Jonson introduces the new word. Carlo begins to sing and dance, and, instead of using the common *la, la* or any of the common refrains found in similar situations in Shakspeare, facetiously coins a word referring to the occupation of George. Jonson probably coined his word from *lomo*, loin; then the diminutive *lomito*, a delicious little loin; and then *lomitero*, one who prepares a delicious loin. By analogy with such words as *verdad* (veritatem), *bondad* (bonitatem) he simply dropped the pretonic *i*. Hence, *lomtero*.

This word is a philological impossibility, and, as a matter of fact, does not exist in Spanish. If there were a corresponding word, its development would have been as follows: *lumbum* = *lomo*; **lumbarium* = **lombairu*, **lombero*. Thus, after all, as far as mere sound is concerned, Jonson is not so very far from a philologically correct form. But we must remember that in Jonson's time there was no science of philology, and no one dreamt of sound-laws.

Verdugoship (*The Alchemist*, iii, 2; vol. ii, p. 41, c. 2).

> *His great*
> *Verdugoship has not a jot of language.*

Gifford explains: "Verdugo is the name of a noble Spanish family, and was probably that of some individual well known to the writers of Jonson's time. He is mentioned by Fletcher:

> *Contrive your beard o' the top cut, like Verdugo."*

[1] Owing to the great diversity of divisions into scenes by the various editors and the general inaccessibility of the original editions, all references are made to F. Cunningham's edition, "*The Works of Ben Jonson*, with critical and explanatory notes and a memoir by William Gifford," in three volumes (London, 1897), as being the most convenient edition.

There is quite a difference between the two passages. Jonson uses an abstract title, Fletcher a concrete person. Count Baudissin translates Jonson's passage :

Der grosse Don Verdugo hat kein Iota
Von Sprachgenie.

To this he adds Gifford's note, but adds the little word "*wahrscheinlich*" in speaking of Verdugo as a family name. But the translator has substituted for the abstract title the concrete person ; so that Gifford's note fits the translation far better than the original.

The name Verdugo is a very uncommon name. I have looked through several catalogues of the Spanish nobility without being able to find the name. The only person of that name mentioned anywhere I found in a history of Spanish music, where an organist, Martinez Verdugo, living in the sixteenth century, is mentioned. The only explanation for Gifford's note I can offer, is the fact that in the folio edition of 1640 the word is printed VERDUGO-ship. Throughout this edition all proper names occurring in the dialogue are thus capitalized. This probably misled Gifford. But all scholars know how little importance can be attached to the capitalization, italicization, punctuation, and even spelling of these older editions.

The word Verdugo primarily means *hangman, executioner*. It is very generally employed to denote a cruel, brutish person ; and then, by extension of its meaning, to denote any boor or uncultured person. In this sense Verdugoship, as equivalent to "Boorship, Clownship, Foolship," or the like, would be quite natural ; whereas, "-ship" added to a proper name is really inconceivable.

ADALANTADO (*Every Man out of his Humour*, v, 5 ; vol. i, p. 134, c. 1). The word is misspelled. It should be *Adelantado*. All editors have retained the form as misspelled by Jonson. Gifford merely quotes Minshen's definition : "in Hispania unius provinciæ præses determinandis litibus destinatus." The following is translated from the great *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana* by *Donadíu y Puignau :*

"*Adelantado*, the governor of a frontier province. In times of peace the presiding official and chief justice of the kingdom or province or certain districts, and in time of war the chief of the army. All the governors throughout the kingdom were subject to his authority."

PAVIN, STOUP (*The Alchemist*, iv, 2 ; vol. ii, p. 54, c. 2).

Ask from your courtier to your inns-of-court man,
To your mere milliner ; they will tell you all,
Your Spanish gennet is the best horse ; your Spanish
Stoup is the best garb ; your Spanish beard
Is the best cut ; your Spanish ruffs are the best
Wear ; your Spanish pavin the best dance.

STOUP. Gifford says in a note : "I am unable to explain this. It may mean that the Spanish fashion of evincing politeness is the most respectful (for *garb* is sometimes used for a mode of behavior), or *stoup* may signify some article of dress—but this is all at random." All subsequent commentators, however, have adopted Gifford's first suggestion. Count Baudissin, adopting this, translates :

Jeder wird euch sagen
Spaniens Genette sei das beste Pferd,
Die span'sche Form die beste Etiquette.

Here we have another word coined by Jonson. *Stoup* has nothing to do with the English *stoop*, to bend, bow. It is the Spanish *estopa*, tow, towcloth. The diminutive *estopilla* means a very fine cloth. The following definition is translated from the Dictionary of the Spanish Academy (and literally copied by Donadíu y Puignan and Salvá) : "a very fine and thin cloth, like cambric, loosely woven and light, resembling gauze in transparency."

Jonson coined *stoup* from *estopa* while he had in mind the meaning of *estopilla*. He naturally dropped the initial *e*, since Spanish always prefixes this letter to any word beginning with impure *s*. (cf. *Lat.* stupa, *Sp.* estopa, *Fr.* étoupe ; but *Ital.* stoppa, *Engl.* stop.)

All editors of Jonson retain the spelling *stoup* in this passage, while they spell the verb "stoop" (*Alchem.* iv, 1 ; p. 53, c. 1) and the noun "stoop" (*Sejanus*, i, 1 ; vol. i, p. 278, c. 1) with *oo*. Only the editions of 1616 (*Alchem.*) and 1640 spell the verb also *stoup*. But I have already remarked before that we attach little importance to the spelling of Elizabethan authors.

PAVIN. Gifford says : "I know not what par-

ticular advantage the *Spanish pavin* possessed over the French or Italian pavin; perhaps it was more stately." While the pavane was a stately dance in every country, it was the special favorite of high Spanish society in the sixteenth century, and was performed in Spain with special magnificence. Dr. P. Langlois, in his very extensive article, *Danse* in *La Grande Encyclopédie* (vol. XIII, p. 867), gives the following account:

"The principal dance of Spanish society during the sixteenth century is the pavane or *pava d'Espagne*. The pavane is a stately dance, in its very nature the grand dance *par excellence*. The princes take part in it dressed in gala cloaks, the knights in cloak and sword, the magistrates in magisterial robes, the ladies in dresses with long train. . . . The dancers change their places slowly with grave and measured step, raising their cloaks by means of the arms and the sword in such a manner as to imitate exactly the walk of the peacock."

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A NOTE ON MILTON'S GEOGRAPHY.

Not that fair field
Of Enna, where Proserpin gathering flowers,
Herself a fairer flower, by gloomy Dis
Was gathered—which cost Ceres all that pain
To seek her through the world—nor that sweet grove
Of Daphne, by Orontes and the inspired
Castalian spring, might with this Paradise
Of Eden strive; nor that Nyseian isle,
Girt with the river Triton, where old Cham,
Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Libyan Jove,
Hid Amalthea, and her florid son,
Young Bacchus, from his stepdame Rhea's eye;
—*Paradise Lost*, IV, 268–279.

Diodorus Siculus, III, 68–69, describes at some length the beauty and salubriousness of the *Nyseian isle*, which he locates only as νήσῳ περιεχομένῃ μέν ὑπό τοῦ τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ.

Some of the annotators of Milton have sought to assign the island a definite geographical position. Keightley says, "This rural retreat in the west of Africa." Verity is more definite, "Ammon gave Amaltheia an island *Nysa*, on the Mediterranean coast of Libya, not far from the modern Tunis." Masson says, "There were not a few places named Nysa in the ancient world; but the particular Nyseian isle here meant seems to be the island in the lake Tritonis, about the middle of the northern coast of Africa, where the river Triton flows from the lake into the lesser Syrtis."

An examination of Milton's geography in the light of the old atlases shows that he had no vague sense of the position of places, but that he had doubtless seen and studied the maps. I find in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of Ortelius, 1624, map at page xxxvi, the river Triton with the Isle of Nysa clearly marked. The river rises in the Upsaletus Mons in Libyae Inferioris, and runs almost due north emptying into the Syrtis Minor. In its course it flows through three small bodies of water; the first and smallest is *Libya palus*, the second in size and position is *Pallas palus*, the third and last is *Tritonis palus*. In the center of this third lake is a small island marked *Nysa* and encircled with the inscription *Phila insula*. The map is Africæ Propriæ Tabula, and is dated 1590.

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ON A PASSAGE IN MARLOWE'S *FAUSTUS*.

In the fourteenth scene of *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* (p. 221, Mermaid ed.), occurs in Text A (1604) a speech hitherto assigned to an Old Man but evidently assignable in large part to Faustus, whose reply immediately follows. I quote the two speeches as they stand in the Mermaid edition:

"*Old Man.* Ah, Doctor Faustus, that I might prevail
To guide thy steps unto the way of life,
By which sweet path thou may'st attain the goal
That shall conduct thee to celestial rest!
Break heart, drop blood, and mingle it with tears,
Tears falling from repentant heaviness
Of thy most vile and loathsome filthiness,
The stench whereof corrupts the inward soul
With such flagitious crimes of heinous sins
As no commiseration may expel,
But mercy, Faustus, of thy Saviour sweet,
Whose blood alone must wash away thy guilt.

Faust. Where art thou, Faustus? wretch, what hast thou done?
Damned art thou, Faustus, damned; despair and die!
Hell calls for right, and with a roaring voice
Says 'Faustus! come! thine hour is almost come!'
And Faustus now will come to do the right."

A careful examination of these lines and their context shows that not only does the Old Man's counsel lack coherence, line 5 revealing no connection with line 4, but that it is not consistent with the mild tone of his other utterances in this scene. Delius (*Marlowe's Faustus und Seine Quelle*, p. 23) notes the incoherence, but draws no conclusion therefrom. The whole difficulty disappears if we give to Faustus all of the Old Man's speech except the first four lines. We thus obtain a consistent reply, with a striking first line ("Break heart, drop blood," etc.) and an expression of self-condemnation which is at this point entirely natural and to which the unhappy victim gives vent more than once toward the close of the play. Note, moreover, that his call for the Saviour's mercy explains what is otherwise incomprehensible — the reproach of Mephistophilis on the following page:

"*Meph.* Thou traitor, Faustus, I arrest thy soul
For disobedience to my sovereign lord;
Revolt, or I'll in piecemeal tear thy flesh."

"Revolt" means, of course, return to his allegiance to Lucifer. But what is his disobedience? Unquestionably, his appeal to Christ; for in Scene 6 (p. 199, Mermaid ed.) he promises

"Never to look to Heaven,
Never to name God, or to pray to him."

And it is noteworthy that this vow is occasioned by Lucifer's wrathful entry immediately upon Faustus's agonized cry:

"Ah, Christ, my Saviour,
Seek to save distressed Faustus' soul!"

It should be unnecessary to state that, throughout the passage in Scene 14, the victim, in speaking of himself, uses the second personal pronoun or his own name—a fact which does much to disguise the proper assignment of lines 5–12. The opening line of Faustus's speech as heretofore printed ought, however, to suggest the necessity of a new arrangement. The exclamation, "Wretch, what hast thou done?", clearly refers to his sudden realization of his disobedience in having invoked the aid of Christ, and his consequent fear of condign punishment. There should, therefore, be a dramatic pause before the line

"Where art thou, Faustus? wretch, what hast thou done?"

It may be added that Text B (1616) makes nonsense of the whole passage by substituting for lines 1–12 (the Old Man's words as printed in the Mermaid edition) something entirely new, containing no appeal to Christ and hence leaving unexplained the rebuke of Mephistophilis.

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LAURENCE FOSSLER: *Material for Practical German Conversation. Boston*, etc.: Ginn & Co., [1904]. 12mo., xi + 255 pp.

A good book for practical use in German conversation-classes has long been a desideratum. Most teachers will agree that mere haphazard conversation is almost totally unproductive of results, and that there must be in some form or other a continuity in the systematic study of the language. Now at the stage for which the present book is intended (after the second year), the study of special idioms is perhaps the most valuable, and the editor has selected these with great care and skill. They, together with the sentences based on them, constitute the most useful part of the book.

The actual material for conversation is not quite so happily chosen. It is granted that "phrases pertaining to steamboats, ticket-offices, and hotel-accommodations," which the editor dismisses so lightly, are not what the majority of American students most need; still, it is a question whether they are not more practical than the talks on grammar and syntax which form so large a part of the book. The latter are excellent in their way, especially the treatment of word-order, but the matter would much better be given entirely in English and the time thus saved be devoted to some subject of more universal interest, for nothing is as essential in live class-work as variety

and a wide range of topics. Some of the grammatical notes are extremely useful, such as those on the *future of conjecture* (p. 147), the *hortatory subjunctive* (p. 162), *zu* with the *infinitive* (p. 183 ff.), the *English present participle* (p. 189). However, it is to be regretted that one important phase of language study which properly belongs here, is entirely neglected; that is, the distinction and the correct use of synonyms, for which a beginning was made in an excellent but now almost forgotten little pamphlet by Werner-Spanhoofd, *Practical Lessons on German Synonyms*, Boston, 1898. But, of course, as the author says, "the field is limitless," and the book must be judged for what it contains.

Considered from the point of view of plan and scope, the *Materials for Practical Conversation* would deserve to be called a very usable and timely book, but, unfortunately, its pages are marred by a considerable number of awkward, un-German or dialectic locutions, by misprints and by some actual mistakes.

A German would hardly say in every-day conversation: *Das Lesen des Deutschen 'gelingt Ihnen ganz ordentlich'* (p. 3); *wir 'brachten' das Sprechen aber nicht gut 'fertig'* (p. 4, cf. p. 118); *Das können wir uns wohl 'einbilden'* (p. 44, cf. p. 183); *Was gehört dazu den Gebrauch der Vorwörter zu 'bewältigen'?* (p. 48); *wenn man sich einer fremden Sprache 'bemächtigen' will* (p. 65); *Sind Sie etwa "dreingefallen"?* (p. 91); *ein 'weitlaufendes' Prinzip* (p. 103); *Ich ersuchte meine 'Hausfrau,' einen kleinen Gang für mich zu tun* (p. 108); *Welche Zeilen 'vom' "Faust" werden angeführt?* (p. 114, cf. p. 210); *Man wird dich fragen was du 'wollest'* (p. 165); *erfordern diese Verben verschiedene 'Vertreter' im Englischen* (p. 196); *es ist etwas eingelaufen, 'ist's nicht'?* (p. 214); etc., on almost every page.

Distinctly dialectic are: *Springen Sie 'tapfer' an die Tür* (p. 212); *Kirschen sind natürlich noch nicht 'zeitig'* (p. 213).

Undoubtedly wrong are: *War der Lehrer damit 'übereinverstanden'?* (p. 6, cf. p. 45); *Soll ich noch eine glänzende Perle 'hervorbringen'?* (p. 47); *dem Schreiben nach* for "to judge by the writing" (p. 47); *es bekommt* as equivalent to *es steht* (p. 58); *Erlauben Sie, dass ich 'Ihnen' nur einige fühlen lasse* (p. 74); *Die Hitze war nicht mehr zu 'vertragen'* (p. 79); *stecken bleiben* for "fail to be promoted" (p. 122); *Spargeln* (p. 213); *Die Dame da 'schlägt' eben 'nach' einem Muster* (p. 215); *Welche* (for "some") *Exemplare sind immer auf Lager* (p. 223).

Misprints or oversights are: *wie viel Uhr* (p. 12, cf. pp. 78, 163, 216); *für grammatischen Studien* (p. 24); *Machen 'Sie' viel röter* (p. 84); *auf 'den' Tisch zu lassen* (p. 94); *wunder Fuss* for "sore leg" (p. 124); *Subjunktive* (p. 154); *Unter welchen Umständen bedienen Sie sich denn 'der Konjunktiv' bei diesen Wörtern?* (p. 161); *etwas warmes* (p. 177); *mit dem Fürwort "zu"* (p. 183); *Ofen* [*n.* —] (p. 218).

The use of *Ihr* in the singular (p. 119) is thoroughly antiquated. Inadequate is the treatment of the mood in indirect questions (p. 165), as well as the discussion of the use of *gnädig* in polite address (p. 176). *Mein Herr* (pp. 25, 95, 156, 196) is now used only by waiters and salesmen. *Lang* as an adverb of time (pp. 12, 88, 181, etc.) is practically never heard, but *lange*. *Abhangen* (p. 190) has the much more common form *abhängen*.

Most of the faults noticed above could have been avoided if the book had been submitted in manuscript to some competent German for revision. It is impossible to expect that absolutely correct feeling for the language in one of American birth; and even in the case of one German-born but American by education and surroundings, the language-sense must of necessity become confused and the colloquial usage contaminated. It is to be hoped that this book, so excellent in many ways, will be thoroughly revised for a second edition, as it would then constitute a valuable adjunct in the class-room.

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SOME RECENT FRENCH PLAYS.[1]

I.

Among the dramas which the Comédie Française has of late crowned with its talent, I have taken three for consideration. These three I have chosen because they are among the best known of recent productions, and because each seems separately characteristic of some one phase of modern existence as reflected on the modern stage. Furthermore, each seems, perforce and principally, to illustrate one particular aspect of the general dramatic problem: the one is essentially a study in situation; the other, a study in character; the greatest, an essay at such combination of movement and character as may best make real that war of ideas, that war of souls which is at once the most hidden and the highest life.

Of these three, two are successes of last season, while the fame of the third is still loud upon this and the other continent. The first two are *Notre Jeunesse* by M. Alfred Capus and *Le Duel* by M. Lavedan. The last is M. Octave Mirbeau's claim to remembrance and De Féraudy's unequivocal triumph—*Les Affaires sont les Affaires.*

Save for its prettiness, one hardly cares to linger upon *Notre Jeunesse*, which is indubitably the weakest of the three. M. Capus, known already for *La Veine*, *La Châtelaine* and more notably for *L'Adversaire*, has in this instance hardly shown himself equal to the difficulties of his problem. The play is remarkable only for its subject—which is, briefly stated, the adoption of a natural daughter after many years, not by her father, but by her father's legal wife, more or less against her father's will.

This turn seems novel and even startling. A new shudder was to be anticipated. Evidently, in order to bring about such a dramatic possibility—one might find the daughter natural enough, but hardly that adoption—regard must be had at once to the characters, their mental states and mutual relations, and to a convenient and consequent course of action. All must lead up to a culminating situation, where the improbable must seem inevitable, the shocking most human. Where can M. Capus find a woman who will voluntarily adopt a young person, for whom she should have the strongest feminine antipathy? Having found her, how can he place her, best to provoke such a crisis? Again, what further circumstances of character and action will contribute a mitigating effect to the situation? Let us see how the playwright has striven to answer such questions.

Many of the prerequisites to the solution would seem to be supplied, if in the first place, the couple be childless; if the adoptive daughter, Lucienne, be a charming *ingénue*, inoffensive, affectionate, in dire need; if the father, Lucien Briant, be represented as a rather good, rather stupid, wholly will-less person, a shuttlecock tossed between a domineering father and an excellent wife; if this wife, Hélène, be a sweet sympathetic *provinciale*, apparently devoid of feminine jealousy, conscious of a lack in her life not filled by the daily round, the society of her husband and the vexations of old Briant. Now, with these data, let the scene be laid at Trouville, where the Briant family is on a visit, in a company which easily excites, almost dazzles Hélène. Let a member of this company lay incidental siege to her heart. In the revulsion from this incipient affair, will she not cry out to a friend—who, of course, has Lucienne in reserve to provide for—her need of a child and her determination to adopt one? Will not the friend naturally produce the girl, and after mutual remonstrance and revelation, will not this strangely assorted family agree on such a new scheme of living as an ideal fulfillment?

In such manner probably argued M. Capus; and on these lines was the scenario constructed. It was doubtless an excellent scenario—the rub came in the development.

For, given Hélène and the circumstances, one does not see that her final action is rendered plausible. Granted an unsatisfactory husband and a vexatious father-in-law, will the introduction of a grown young woman—for it is a child she naturally desired, and Hélène herself makes that point—an adult of unknown station, training, adaptability, tend to harmonize family relations? Allowing for Hélène's open-minded, warm-hearted disposition, can we expect sweet reasonableness to reach the point not only of forgiving, but of sanctioning and in a sense of continuing her husband's delinquen-

[1] *Notre Jeunesse*, Capus; *Les Affaires sont les Affaires*, Mirbeau; *Le Duel*, Lavedan.

cies? She is very woman of very woman; she is jealous enough of old Briant's influence on her husband; it is both inconsistent and repelling that she should do more than pardon this earlier infidelity, that she should positively recommend the admission of a new subject of dissension. Also, Trouville may be fascinating, and its constructive Don Juan a delight; she may feel herself wavering—"je suis honnête femme, mais je commence à m'en apercevoir"; but why should this particular adoption serve as a bulwark against that sort of living? Especially why, in any society, should the knowledge that one's husband has had his distractions deter one from following one's own?

I think we shall have to give it up. The problem is *not* solved. The situation is *not* saved. M. Capus has chosen to revamp the old natural child question—which, as one critic aptly remarks, is now *cause gagné . . . sur le théâtre*—and has vainly striven to give it at once a new and a probable phase. It is to his credit that he has at any rate avoided the Scylla of the *pièce à thèse*, while perhaps giving into the Charybdis of the *comédie larmoyante*. He has also taken some pains with his character creation. Some one says that if Dumas *fils* is the father of the natural child, Capus is at least its uncle. This avuncular care he has shown towards Lucienne, who is all that a fond relative could desire. So, anyhow, one judges at first blush, which is the only blush. She seems altogether lovely, this delightful young person, who is modest—in both senses—well brought up, straightforward, self-respecting. She will not push herself forward. She will gain her livelihood by her hands first. She is indifferent, even cold, almost contemptuous in the presence of her father; but to Madame, her supposed protectress, she opens at once her frank young heart—which is illogical, but pretty and convenient.

The *rôle* was taken by Mlle. Piérat, who gained fame as the *ingénue* in *L'Autre danger*. Here was a true impersonation. It is rare to see anything more charming. Graybeards write of it almost with tears, of her candor, her artlessness, her appeal. Be the credit actress's or author's, here is some skill and some sentiment.

A few of the other characters are worthy of mention. Old Briant was capably handled by Leloir, an imposing, impedimental figure, looking like an incarnation of the past, which indeed he represents in conversation and opinion. He is contemptuous of this society of *potins* and *pantins*, of this noise about adopting a person who should be ignored, whom *he* does ignore. He is despotic, a chronic kicker, "autoritaire et aigri." He is ridiculous on the stage—but off it, curiously enough, he is nearly always right.

His counterpart is Chartier, the man of the time, the man of the world, who, having loved "un million et demi environ," has rather retired and with his sister entertains the Briants. He is an example and defence of the new *régime*, for while an egoist at bottom and prone to compromise, he shows good sense and feeling towards his sister, and in acting for Lucienne. He even takes the brief for present-day society, after being worked up to the point by old Briant. The world—and is not this the dramatist's creed as well?—may no longer be heroic or beautiful; but it is more cordial and more habitable than ever before. Also, what we have lost in direct virtue we have gained, it seems, in sensibility.

The particular society which is here in question assuredly needed a defender. It is almost inconceivable that any serious dramatist—and we shall shortly see what claim M. Capus has to this title—will deliberately fill nearly two acts with a panoramic procession of *fêtes*, duels, gossip and what not, during which the action is left to take care of itself. When such objection is made, the author seeks to disprove it by violently denying it. But the fact remains that the sole excuse for such *hors-d'œuvres*—bating that of atmosphere, which it has never been held should absorb half a play—is in preparing the *état d'âme* of Hélène, exactly what it fails to do. We are left to infer that these pages of pulp and padding, artificial society *blague*, characters introduced with much trumpeting, who turn out of no consequence—that all this represents matter for preferential treatment on the part of the author. Such, indeed, we are given to understand by his critics, is what one has hitherto expected of M. Capus, at most a delicious froth, "des mots boulevardiers et des théories de brasserie moderne;" "des pirouettes plaisantes . . . ou quelque narquois éclat de rire;" as more or less capably expressing "en ce monde spécial de blasés, de demoiselles et de plaisantins, le vide

charmant ou se complaît leur perpétuelle méningite." In this light some of the comments recorded on the night of the *première* in last November, are worth hearing.—"Why, it is a *drama!*" exclaims one. "A *mélo*," declares another. While a third, without eye to such tentative construction as we have analysed at the first, stoutly maintains of the greater part, "C'est du Capus" . . . that we know.

This then is our study in situation. This is our modern drama; for it is tinglingly modern, there can be no doubt about that. Despite a novel and encouraging grasp *at* conception, construction and characterization, despite some charm and much pleasantness, the play remains a poor attempt, wherein the epigram is substituted for psychology, bustle for action, puppets for humans, strings for motives, and for art, amusement.

II.

Before quite leaving *Notre Jeunesse*, it might be remarked that the reproach of extreme feebleness, of sentimentality, with which no less a critic than M. Faguet condemns it, might be attributable to a quality as yet scarcely mentioned. There may be more powerful plays, declares Catulle Mendès—there is none more *aimable*. All the characters, such as they are, are sympathetic. "Ils sont tous bons et sensibles, dans cette pièce . . . Vous trouverez mieux que de l'optimisme; vous trouverez de la bonté." At any rate, no such remark will apply to *Les Affaires*. Here, goodness is barely heard of; here, none of the characters are likable, and most of them are detestable. Is it a compensation that they are living?

M. Octave Mirbeau is a member of the Académie Goncourt and the author of several novels, as well as of a play—*Les Mauvais Bergers*. But it is for *Les Affaires* that he is chiefly known. This was first represented at the Français in April, 1903. It was swift to impress the imagination of the Parisian public, who allowed its power, if not its perfection. It has been translated and excellently represented by Mr. Beerbohm Tree, at London, as well as by William H. Crane in this country, under the title of *Business is Business*. It is interesting to compare Mr. Tree's rendering of the principal *rôle* with that of De Féraudy, who created the part. In general, it may be said that the former's version brings something more of humanity, of *bonhomie* into the play, without really impairing its essential grimness.

The commercial question, we are sufficiently aware, is *the* question of the day. Finance is the all-absorbing thing. The man of affairs is the protagonist, if not the hero, of his time. Any play, therefore, which portrays principally such a character, his atmosphere and his relations, must be accorded a burning actuality. And such a play is *Les Affaires*. Concerning its novelty or originality, there would be more to say. It has been anticipated for some things by such dramas as *Mercadet*, *La Question d'Argent*, *Mlle. de la Seiglière*, *Le Gendre de M. Poirier*, or *Mlle. de Marni*. Yet, in the one result which it set out to achieve, *Les Affaires* remains perhaps supreme. It is with the career and personality of Isidore Lechat, the financier, that we have to do. It is the faithfulness and force of such delineation that we have to test.

The play, then, offers us as a main study, the problem of character. The plot, the other personages, the situations, all are nothing, save in so far as they are related to the principal point. For the construction, we have merely successive incidents or accidents, not interlinked, not in the least consecutive and necessary; a series of lime-lights around the central figure of Lechat. As to the other characters, a word later. At present, one need only remember Germaine, the daughter, sullen, wearied, an idealist at war with her father and her environment, who has taken for lover a chemist in Lechat's employ; and the poor narrow mother, a vulgar soul, oppressed by her magnificence and awed by her family.

Let us consider M. Mirbeau's envisagement of his problem—the problem of exhibiting with truth and conviction the very actual and very terrible monster of finance, in all his rapaciousness, his repulsiveness, his putative greatness. The portrait, as M. Doumic points out, is not intended to represent the great modern financier, the colossus such as those whose names we are wearied of hearing. It is a lower, commoner type that is treated. It is "le faiseur, l'agioteur, le brasseur d'affaires." It is the shark rather than the leviathan of these somewhat muddy waters. It is the shrewd, soulless, heartless man of business, the vulgar, soiled mate-

rialist, the thief who arrives, the man of strength and without hypocrisy, glorying in his shame, redolent of his slime, yet always strangely predominant in his personality.

We see him surrounded by his acquired luxury, in his princely domain. This he has wrested from an expiring nobility. It is a *décor* meant to set off the salt of the earth, and, where he has not altered it, altogether too splendid for this unlovely creature.

The first scene, between mother and daughter, is intended chiefly to illustrate the bored and antagonistic attitude of Germaine ; but it announces Lechat as well. From the beginning we are not predisposed in his favor. His wife declares him vain, insolent, and—though honest in his way !—fond of lying and deceit. His specialty, his ideal is to "rouler les gens." We hear of his cruelty to his gardener, whom he has dismissed curtly, without provision, because, forsooth, the gardener's wife is pregnant, and he, Isidore, cannot allow children around his handsome park ; of his cruelty to an old woman, found guilty of gathering dead fagots in his wood ; of his cruelty to the very birds, upon whose little heads he has indiscriminately put a price—so much a blackbird, so much a nightingale—wishing to exterminate the whole race, without considering that some are as helpful to growth as others are pernicious.

He enters blatant and triumphant, with a chorus of *vivats* from bought workmen, with a tag of two sharps, who will try to-morrow to outwit him in a deal. These are MM. Phinck and Gruggh—not unholy names I hope?—though surely unpleasing to a Paris ear.

Isidore begins at once boasting of his automobile, which has, it seems, made excellent time, and has had the honor of doing appreciable damage on the route. It is significant that Mr. Tree, in his version, ran his machine up to the stage. It was too good a symbol to be wasted. The machine is a juggernaut, like its master, powerful and destructive ; both make for the material, both are relentless and regardless of humanity.

"Our hero" is foul-mouthed from the start. He flaunts his lack of manners, his ignorance and contempt of polite or even decent usage. He prefers to *tutoyer* the sharps, whose names he has pardonably forgotten. He presents them to his wife by stating that "elle n'a pas d'usage" :—and to his daughter as a "mauvaise tête."

He rejoices in his nickname of Le Chat-Tigre. He boasts of everything, of his bought journals, of his spendthrift villainous son, of his contempt for the aristocracy and for the poor alike, of his domain above all. He shows them the enormous plan of this, with a multicolored miniature of himself gambolling in each of its divisions—to signify possession. To-morrow they shall see all of its seven thousand *hectares*, its almost royal appanages, covering two departments. He boasts equally of his *château*, which has apartments in the style of every reign from Henri II. He takes pleasure in violence, in meanly insulting his poor intendant, who, as a fallen noble, is made to remove his hat.

His agricultural notions are foolish and wild. Witness the matter of the birds. This is to show the weakness of specialism, even where the specializing is in the realm of practical affairs. He manifests a riotous contempt for books ; the sharps please him because they never read. Neither does he.—"C'est mon orgueil à moi. Et cela n'empêche pas que je suis Isidore Lechat, Châtelain de Vauperdu, riche à cinquante millions, et que je possède un journal ou je dirige l'opinion politique, littéraire, philosophique et tout le bataclan."

At this point, a medley of guests, whom he has invited and forgotten, throng in, to the dismay of poor Mme. Lechat. This hurly-burly passes off, leaving the stage free for the revolt of Germaine, who, with her chemist-lover, decides to flee from a situation grown intolerable.

So far Lechat has appeared as rough and cynical, as hard and downright, as possessed of an enormous egotism. But this is only in general. His more especial self can appear only in business, and it is in the negotiations with Phinck and Gruggh in the next act that we are to look for a fuller revelation of the man.

Here, in an apartment furnished with tasteless extravagance, with "bric-à-brac cher et hurlant," with a gaudy full-length portrait of Isidore himself, with a ridiculous *maniéré* Cupid, who extends a rose to these sentimental people—it is a question of going to church. Poor Madame is seeking a companion. Her husband, she says, is readily excusable from conscientious scruples—"il est anticlérical cette année." But will Germaine not

go? Germaine will not. Will not Germaine then say what is the matter with her? Germaine, again, will not. There is a scene of reciprocal unpleasantness between mother and daughter, after which there is a long and vehement scene between the two lovers. I wish there were space to transcribe the passages where Germaine, in her savage manner, in her greatest *tirade*, gives at the same time her own best defence and the appalling effect of this atmosphere. Even after her best moments, this splendid castle is for her the heavy, stony symbol of death and destruction. It all shouts at her Crime and Theft. It is all swimming in visions of tears and of blood. "Et ce qu'il y avait de joie en moi s'est changé, tout d'un coup en souffrance, et ce qu'il y avait d'amour en moi est devenu de la révolte et de la haine . . ."

And when Lucien objects that her father, terrible as he is, has done great things, she hurls back—"De grandes choses! ah! Laisse-moi aller jusqu'au bout . . . Pas une fois je n'ai rencontré des yeux tranquilles, et des visages heureux; pas une fois je n'ai entendu la musique d'une parole de douceur et de bonté. La hâte, la fièvre, le malheur, le rire grimaçant, l'apothéose du crime! Des gens venaient sans cesse, puis repartaient qu'on ne voyait plus . . . Figures de complices, quelquefois; mais, le plus souvent, figures de victimes, et pauvres figures inconnues, plus douloureuses de m'avoir été révélées, sanglots et détresses, par les récits de mon père, car, le soir, à table, devant les étrangers et devant nous, il nous racontait ses bons coups. Avec une gaieté sinistre, avec de véritables rires d'assassin, il nous disait comment il avait roulé celui-ci, volé celui-la, déshonoré cet autre. Tu me reproches de n'avoir pas de pitié? Ah! Lucien, mais je n'ai vécu que de la pitié durant ces années maudites. Je ne pouvais croiser dans la rue une femme et des petits enfants en deuil sans me dire, 'C'est peut-être ma faute!' Je ne pouvais voir pleurer quelqu'un sans me dire: 'C'est peut-être à cause de nous qu'il pleure!'" And she tells the story of a banker whom her father ruined and drove to suicide, while sneering at his threats.

But let us to this Lechat and to "business." It is here that his shrewdness is supposed to shine. His methods in the deal with the two sharps are direct, disconcerting, even brutal. He laughs at Gruggh's suggestion of philanthropy in business, and hurries him over general considerations. He calls for cards on the table. The proposition concerns the establishment of an electric plant on a site in the secret possession of Gruggh and Phinck. Will Lechat furnish the capital for exploitation—a small matter of 8,000,000 fr.? The enterprise is of course magnificent and profitable. In the sharp play of dialogue that follows, Lechat's rapier is always on top. He completely dominates the others. There is a chance here for much good acting, and both of his impersonators took it. He arises from time to time, turns the reflectors on his portrait and examines it fondly, with evident approval, with apostrophes and gestures.

Certainly, Lechat is quick to seize the essential points in the game. He shatters in short order a mythical outside ownership which the two had alleged. He declares that the proposed site is in the *zone militaire*, and hence, exposed to numberless restrictions. And when it comes to a question of profit, he says the owners shall have one share, and he the other. "But we are three!" exclaim the others. "I don't see but two," maintains Lechat. "You, the owners, one; I, the capitalist, one; that's two." The direction shall be his alone.

He knows the card up his sleeve is the best. He can lie in wait, in spite of his inordinate desire to blow a trumpet. The two conspirators are ushered out, abashed and disconsolate. They will draw up the contract in forced compliance with his demands.

Lechat is vulnerable in one point. To save him from utter condemnation, he must have one weakness or virtue. This is his affection for his son, who in return for demonstrations dryly demands 10,000 louis. It is for a debt of honor, out of which Isidore regrets there is no way to squirm. The son shall have the money, if he regains it as he has lost it—which he can well do. Lechat caresses him, delights in his naughtiness, in his sporting associations, confides to him that *maman* is *toujours rasante*—and that fortunately he has found an angelic substitute.

The third act is the most crowded. The scene with the son is practically carried over. The spendthrift scamp informs Isidore that he cannot bring his friends to dine in the paternal man-

sion, in the paternal presence. There are too many stories about Lechat to suit this set. If his father needs to treat with them and wants his help, why he must pay for it and roundly. Has not he, the youngster, been taught that such is business? But this is the one thing that wounds Isidore, who, like many parents, would have his children other than he has made them.

But the Marquis de Porcellet, his neighbor, his debtor, is at his gates; and in the scene with this gentleman, Isidore again changes front. He shows more regard for the amenities. He actually listens to the other's arguments, shows much diplomacy and some reasonableness. This is, however, only a surface coat of manners. He takes from the start the upper hand of the Marquis, spite of the latter's birth and breeding.

Lechat refuses to lend him more money, either on land which is already mortgaged to the hilt; or on his honor, which, it is explained, is not a negotiable asset; or on his chances of a succession. The Marquis is about to leave, when Lechat holds him for a proposition. Then ensues a war of ideas, in which the Marquis stands for the past, for something of chivalry, for his point of honor, for scorn of the practical—all of which Lechat discounts, with much contempt of grand words.

Yet the Marquis is not *intransigeant*. He is willing to open his mind to certain things—"pourvu qu'elles n'attentent en rien à l'idéal que je me suis fait de la vie." To which Isidore responds, "Oui, seulement voilà, elles y attentent toujours." Still, upon this hint he speaks. He proposes, quite simply, to marry Germaine to the other's son, to present them with the land in question, and the Marquis with a handsome *douceur*. This is generous; for he is quite fond of the Marquis' lands, almost as fond as he is of the Marquis.

The nobleman, naturally enough, repels the idea with some violence, and Lechat is back at him immediately with arguments, reasonings, coaxings. How can the Marquis stand being ruined? "J'ai été ruiné deux fois. Ça n'est pas drôle! Mais moi j'ai du ressort." He insists that there should be nothing repulsive in this transaction, believing and proclaiming that everything is bought and sold.—"Les affaires sont des échanges: on échange de l'argent, de la terre, des titres, des mandats électoraux, de l'intelligence, de la situation sociale, des places, de l'amour, du génie; ce qu'on a contre ce qu'on n'a pas. Il n'y a rien de plus licite, et rassurez-vous, rien de plus honorable." With such astute wheedling does he finally persuade the Marquis, astounding him with a knowledge of his most private affairs, seeking paradoxically to make him believe that if there is any one who compromises in this bargain, who is bought and sold, it is Lechat himself.

Accordingly the Marquis taunts him with striving after all to gain, by an alliance with the nobility just what he declares he contemns—grandeur, tradition and elegance. Isidore still vaunts the superiority of his bandit, pirate species—who at least promote individual movement and progress—and impudently declares that the Church itself would recommend this marriage. The Marquis, driven to it, at last gives his gloomy and reluctant consent. Isidore has scored another triumph, just before the wheel of Nemesis will turn.

So accustomed is he to conquer, that he does not even prepare his daughter. He orders her in, like a slave to the market, a victim to the sacrifice, and on her clear refusal, on her declaration that she has a lover, all that is vilest and vulgarest in him comes to the top. He strives a little to hold the Marquis *quand même*, then lets him go, calling him *canaille*. He seizes Germaine by the wrists, and tries to force her to the ground. Follows a vilifying scene between the two, after which epithets would seem exhausted. Lucien the lover is called in, a signal for fresh abuse. Lechat cannot understand that they do not want his money, repeats insistently his threat of disinheriting Germaine. Finally forced to it, as he thinks, he offers to buy Lucien's absence, and is again flouted. With impossible threats, he dashes out, leaving the stage clear for an affecting scene—all too late—between mother and daughter.

The lovers leave. Isidore, on again, sneers at his wife's sorrow, ends by outraging her maternal feelings, is denounced even by her, and still stands undismayed and unconquered. But the tragedy culminates with swift sure strokes. The one thing that can move him comes. The intendant rushes in, bringing the awful news that his beloved son has been killed by an automobile accident. Isidore is crushed, overwhelmed, slow to believe it, as he

was slow to believe Germaine's defection. Then in a fearful paroxysm, to which only "Magda" offers a parallel, of anger, apoplexy, fear and fury, he seizes the wretched intendant, violently shakes him, tries to stagger out, falls into the arms of our two sharps, who break into this time of grief with their contract artfully worded to give them the best of it. They are his friends, his dear friends, in his misery. But they regret; they must leave; will he not just sign the contract? He waives that, and wishes them to lament with him. They insist. He takes the paper, glances at it, perceives at once their perfidy, bursts out in wrath. With wonderful mastery he controls himself and dictates to the cowed rascals new terms which they are compelled to write and sign. He crushes the papers into his pocket and totters out to his dead, having achieved his master-stroke of business in his hour of sorrow. . . . "Les affaires sont les affaires."

One sees how difficult it is not to be carried away by the current of this thing, how difficult to judge it calmly. The effect is that of being swept along in a nasty nightmare, in a particularly dingy and unpleasant train, with jolts and jarrings infinite. The style is broken, telegraphic, to correspond. Tears and triumphs, passion and action are thrown at us to digest in lumps. It has all the grimness and terror of tragedy, without its large majesty.

Let us hear the critics. One declares that last scene of a Shakespearean horror. "Elle devait être sublime. Elle l'est théoriquement. En fait, au théâtre, elle paraît outrée, elle ne passe pas." And that, because it lacks preparation and inevitability. M. Mendès finds its terror comparable to that of the antique drama. . . . "Ici le *fatum*, l'ananké, c'est l'argent. Balzac modernise Eschyle." But M. Faguet has said the last word when he declares the play "plus violente que forte, plus âpre que profonde et plus tumultueuse que douée d'un vrai mouvement."

One exception taken by many, and that with evident reason, is the lack of any principle of contrast. Isidore's figure is unrelieved. The despicable should be thrown into relief by the admirable, and we have seen that none of the characters are really attractive. It weakens the effect that the people whom he outwits, whom he oppresses, should be little better than himself. If he crushes and terrorizes the two sharps, they are common rascals, deserving no better fate. If he turns the screws on the Marquis, the Marquis is far from being a noble representative of his race, does his ideals mere lip-service and consents to a *lâche* compromise. Within the family, the same truth holds in a lesser degree. We can indeed feel some sympathy for poor Mme. Lechat, who is the best of a bad set. She is so avaricious that she will not kill a chicken for dinner until sure of her guests; she is uneasy in the midst of her splendor, declaring that even the old portraits of the castle look coldly upon her, demanding what does this woman here. She is narrow, vulgar and unsatisfactory whether a mother or wife; but in each relation she is affectionate and really faithful amid bewilderments—especially to Lechat whom she constantly defends and excuses.

How can we sympathize with Lucien, who is a truckler and seducer? Or with Germaine who is an undutiful and sinning daughter? But Germaine is a problem by herself. We see her first indifferent and wearied; then sullen and defiant; then militant and declamatory. Through all these stages, her inner savageness, her actual hate for her father, her scorn of her mother, her brooding sense of injury and despair make themselves felt. But by way of relief she is tender-hearted to outsiders, to servants, to the intendant, she is considerate of the poor. And how she has suffered through it all! Her main fault is of course the fact that she has a lover—for which she has her defence. The French judgment on her is prompt and complete. Her mother declares that even if Lechat were the worst of men, he is still Germaine's father, and it is not for Germaine to condemn him. Here the critics are practicallly unanimous. M. Doumic affirms uncompromisingly—"Pour caractériser la conduite, l'attitude, le language de cette jeune fille, il n'y a qu'un mot qui serve: elle est odieuse." She is an unnatural daughter. To insult one's father is intolerable. Her own *honnêteté* is tarnished. She is atrocious. Again, I was interested in the opinion of some French women, who, while not vociferous against Lechat—they seemed to consider him as at least rather a good head for a household—could not stigmatize too sternly the unfilial and unvirtuous

Germaine. This is essentially the French point of view, where the family is so much more of a solidarity, where to be unfilial is the worst of crimes, and to be unvirtuous one must be married.

Germainē receives more pity in the Tree version where her language is milder, and her lover is of the harmless English variety. It must be conceded, however, that in the original a chance was lost in drawing Germaine, as a chance was lost in the manipulation of the business scenes, and in the neglect to make the death of the son necessary and coherent. This has been variously regarded as interposition of Providence, of the melodrama, of morality. By such things is the quality of the play impaired.

Yet with all its faults we hate it still. And where there is hate, there is horror and a grim commanding force. Isidore Lechat is likely to remain an abiding type. Where do we find his like? Old Grandet is mild beside him, and Bel Ami beautiful, and any *arriviste* acceptable. We feel that in the marrow he is fundamentally *true*, that his standard and his villainies are *living*, true and living for this age, if for none other. Mirbeau's prototypes for the character were recognized by his audience. If the real financier is somewhat better-mannered, more cultured, more taciturn, more dissimulating; if there are certain exaggerations for dramatic and even for comic effect—we can strip off the disguises as we do with Dickens, leaving more flesh and blood.

Wherein the play really fails as drama, wherein it is bad art, is in its depressing ugliness. Where is a lovable character? Or a sentiment of beauty? Or a movement of elevation? Not its pessimism damns it, not its creeping sense of desolation, but sordidness, but grime, but the representation of the foul pimple, the wrinkle, the bruises on the face of humanity. Why paint a toad when devotion has left us temples? We are far from the time when poets declared truth and beauty one. We should know better now. We should keep them distinct. By some such principle is the decrepit monster of naturalism to be slain—but we are still watching the contortions of his dying spasms.—I turn with pleasure to a clearer note, a drama of unmistakable beauty, a more enduring monument.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

Robert Herrick.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—Robert Herrick's *Hesperides* and *Golden Numbers* went almost unnoticed by his contemporaries; indeed, Prof. Saintsbury declares that they attracted absolutely no attention. The following item may therefore be of interest. In *Naps upon Parnassus*, by P. Q., published in 8vo. in 1658, is a poem, "Upon the Infernal Shades of the Author's Poems; or, The Hooded Hawk," stanza five of which runs:

> And then Flaccus Horace,
> He was but a sowr-ass,
> And good for nothing but Lyricks:
> There's but One to be found
> In all English ground
> Writes as well; who is hight Robert Herick.

Who "P. Q." was, I have no idea; he may have merely wanted a rhyme for "lyrick," inasmuch as Herrick himself used the same rhyme. In any case, we have here one of the very, very few contemporary notices of Robert Herrick.

Edward Payson Morton.

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BRIEF MENTION.

Additional information on the Weinhold Library, donated to the University of California by Mr. John D. Spreckels (cf. *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1905, p. 256) is contained in an article by Prof. Hugo K. Schilling in the *University Chronicle*, Vol. viii, No. 2. We are glad to learn from Prof. Schilling's statements that "a catalogue of the books of particular value for original work and of such others as are not likely to be found elsewhere in this country will be published at an early date for the benefit of librarians and scholars in other universities." We also wish to concur in Mr. Schilling's contention that collections of books placed in seminary rooms for the use of instructors and advanced students ought theoretically to consist of duplicates throughout, and not of copies withdrawn from the general library.

H. C.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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SOLUTIONS OF THE *EXETER BOOK RIDDLES.*

Among those who have sought to undo the gates of the treasure-houses of the *Exeter Book Riddles* (*E. B. R.*)—to use a figure drawn from one of those delightful but baffling poems—no one has more frequently attacked the locks than Professor Moritz Trautmann. Yet the results of his endeavors have seemed often more problematical than the problems themselves. As he has published the greater number of his solutions with no further support than an *ipse dixit* (*Anglia, Beiblatt*, v, 46 f.), these answers, by reason of their seeming remoteness from any obvious interpretation of the text, have sometimes been regarded, perhaps unfairly, as random guesses. Now, however, in an interesting article in *Bonner Beiträge*, XIX, 1905, 167–215, Professor Trautmann discusses at length fourteen of the Anglo-Saxon riddles (*E. B. R.*, 11, 12, 14, 18, 26, 30, 31, 45, 52, 53, 58, 74, 80, 95), and seeks, by ingenious arguments, to establish his solutions. That, in at least two-thirds of his interpretations, he has failed of his purpose, I shall attempt to show by destructive criticism and by championship of other answers. At the very outset, I must indicate certain faults of method, which seem to me largely responsible for his lack of success.

First of all, I must insist upon the importance of the historical method of riddle-study. In a former number of *Modern Language Notes*, (XVIII, 1903, 1–8), I have discussed at length the principles that should govern such research, and have sought to apply these in subsequent articles (*Notes*, XVIII, 97–106; *Modern Philology*, II, 561–572) and in my edition of the *Holme Riddles* (*Publications of Modern Language Association*, XI, 211 f.). Now, Professor Trautmann speaks slightingly of my analogues to our problems as "dinge, die in mehr oder weniger entlegnen schriften stehn" (p. 202). Yet, despite his dissent, the conning of queries in the light of their history is obviously of twofold advantage to the student. First, it enables him to discover scores of illuminating parallels to the motives before him in the riddles of all countries and centuries, and often to chase his panting problem through time and space from the remotest period until the present. Secondly,—and this is equally helpful—the careful examination of many thousand riddles of different eras gives the investigator what I may term a riddle-sense, which compels him to weigh each particular problem, not as a scholar in his study, but as a man among men of naïve minds. The over-sophistication of the exclusively modern point of view is more than dangerously anachronistic; it is, as in the case before us, absolutely fatal to the proper conception of problems. He who brings to the solving of riddles only a knowledge of the text in hand and of Simrock's *Rätselbuch* is as competent to sit in judgment upon their meaning as a student of ballads whose range is confined to the *Percy Reliques* is to pose as an authority. The command of material and the riddle-sense are the two things needful. Had Professor Trautmann possessed the one, he would not have insisted upon his erroneous analysis and "Rosenbutz" solution of *E. B. R.*, 26, which has its close verbal counterpart in the modern English riddle of Onion (*infra*), and upon the association with "Ten Young Chickens" of one of the most widely spread problems of its day (*E. B. R.*, 14); nor would he have failed to produce cogent historical support for his admirable solution of *E. B. R.*, 52, "Pen and Fingers." Had he possessed the other, he could never have connected *E. B. R.*, 11 with "Anchor," 74 with "Water," and 95 with "Riddle." Riddles have their vested right in a little corner of Comparative Philology.

In the next place, the solution of riddles is too uncertain a matter to permit their solver "to come to battle like a dictator from the plough." To the same motives are often accorded, by the folk itself, different solutions, as I have shown at length (*Notes*, XVIII, 5–6). It was, of course, the purpose of the riddler to lead his hearers into many

devious paths, each of which seemed for the moment the only way of escape from the maze ; and his cunning has been richly rewarded by the fate of modern solvers. Not only do they differ with one another, but they differ quite as widely with their former selves. Dietrich's second article is often a palinode of his first (*Haupts Zeitschrift*, XI, 448–490 ; XII, 232–252) ; and Professor Trautmann frankly and freely changes ground in many problems. *E. B. R.*, 11, once solved by him, "Bubble" is now "Anchor"; 30, formerly "Swallow and Sparrow," is now "Bird and Wind"; 31, "Corn-field in ear" now becomes *Bēam*. In 52, "Horse and Wagon" is rightly replaced by "Pen"; in 53, "Broom" by "Threshing Flail"; and in 80, "Spear" by "Horn." In 58 he recants his recantation, passing in successive articles from "Hailstones" to "Raindrops" to "Storm-clouds." If, in one-half of the riddles here considered by him, he has altered utterly his interpretations, Professor Trautmann will, I think, be the first to admit the unwisdom of lengthy and strenuous dogmatizing over opinions which may to-morrow be abandoned by their champion.

Thirdly, I take issue with Professor Trautmann in his perversion of the meaning of many problems. Despite his regrettable use of the *argumentum ad hominem*, he is unquestionably right in insisting upon a close study of the Anglo-Saxon text ; but, when this study leads him to wrest words from their true calling, and to leap beyond all bounds of metaphor, it is time to protest with all deference. I present a few of his many misinterpretations of the original. *E. B. R.*, 30^{1-3} reads :—

> "Ic wiht geseah wundorlīce
> hornum bitwēonum hūþe lǣdan
> lyftfæt lēohtlīc listum gegierwed."

Professor Trautmann renders (p. 191):—"Dieses wesen (ein vogel) führt zwischen seinen hörnern (dem ober- und unterkiefer seines schnabels) beute. Die beute ist ein leichtes und kunstvoll bereitetes luftgefäss (ein gras- oder strohhalm oder eine feder)." I register twofold objection : first, that, in spite of the well-known word, *hyrnednebba*, the upper and lower parts of the beak would not, in any flight of fancy, be called "the bird's horns"; and, secondly, that neither a blade of grass nor a feather would be termed "an air-vessel," 'on account of its hollowness.' I also think it exceedingly unlikely that in *E. B. R.* 14^{9a}, *haswe blēde* means "ein mehre wochen lang bebrütetes ei" (p. 180); that in 18^{8-9}, *brūnum beadowēpnum, bitrum ordum,/eglum āttorsperum* refers to 'the logs and coals thrown into an oven' (p. 182); and that 58^{3b}, *sanges rōfe* relates to 'the voice of thunder' (p. 200). It passes belief that in 11^{9-10}, *mec lifgende lyft upp āhōf,/wind of wēge* could refer to 'the weighing of an anchor' (p. 171). It is sheer assault and battery upon words to render (p. 207) 95^{3a}, *gefrēge* as "ein gegenstand des fragens," and to regard 4b, *frēondum* as dative singular of the present participle, *frēonde* (*frēogende*). And it is entirely beyond reason to ask us (p. 201) to find an allusion to the various forms of water and their grammatical genders in *E. B. R.*, 74^{1-2} :—

> "Ic wæs fæmme geong, feax-hār cwēne
> ond ǣnlīc rinc on āne tīd."

Fourthly,—and this is a crowning weakness of Professor Trautmann's paper—perversion of meaning is supplemented by distortion of the text of the riddles. We may all differ, it seems that we must all differ, with regard to the meaning of these enigmas, but we must all agree in respecting the integrity of the text. If our particular solution does not harmonize with the manuscript, it is clear that the solution needs emending, not the reading. Unfortunately, Professor Trautmann does not hold this view. The text may be without flaw, it may indeed contain a reading confirmed by many parallel passages in the *Riddles* themselves ; but, if it does not accord with his answer of the moment, he alters in Procrustean fashion. This blameworthy practice is seen at its worst in his treatment of *E. B. R.*, 11^{3b}, *on sunde āwōx*. No valid objections can be alleged against this reading ; it is in perfect harmony with the context, and is moreover supported by 10^{10a}, *oþ þæt ic āwēox* and 73^{1a}, *ic on wonge āwēox;* but it does not fit his freshest solution, "Anchor," so, instead of throwing this overboard, he emends the line to read, *on sande grōf* (p. 171). Not content with this violent change, he alters, for the same reason, 11^{7a}, *bēames* to *bearmes*, an enigmatic word in this context. Now, frankly, what value can be attached to a solution so abnormally engendered? Likewise in *E. B. R.*, 58^{1b}, the MS. reading, *lȳtle wihte*, is the very antipode of his forced

solution, "Stormclouds," so he begs the question by arbitrarily substituting the objectionable *lihte* (p. 199), thus marring utterly this charming little swallow-flight of song. In 18^{11a}, *men gemunan*, the verb is not to Professor's Trautmann's liking, as this could hardly be said of "Bread;" so he changes the word to the unlikely *gewilniað* (p. 183); but here he can plead a defective line. His changes of *E. B. R.*, 12^{9a}, *hēah* to *hearm* (p. 176) and of 52^{4} to read, *fugla fultum flēag geond lyfte* (p. 195), and his alterations of the text of $95^{4,6}$ (pp. 206–207) have this much in their favor, that the passages emended are certainly corrupt.

To summarize, lack of historical method, inconstancy of solutions, perversion of the meaning of the text, and arbitrary assaults upon its integrity, go far to discredit many of the answers in the article before us. And yet, in his analysis of one or two problems, Professor Trautmann has achieved valuable results. I shall now devote attention to each of the queries discussed in the *Beiträge* essay.

There is little need to refute Professor Trautmann's "Anchor" solution of *E. B. R.*, 11, built as it has been shown to be, upon unwarranted changes in text and upon perverted meanings.[1] But I must consider his three objections to the answer, "Barnacle Goose," which superstition I have already discussed at length (*Notes*, XVIII, 100–101). He asks (p. 170):—"*Neb* müsste doch bei Brooke's annahme den schnabel der gans bedeuten: wäre es nun aber nicht höchst seltsam, wenn der dichter die gans, die doch nach jener vorstellung mit ihrem ganzen leibe in der enge, der muschel, war, sagen liesse, 'mein schnabel war in der enge?'" Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topographia Hiberniae*, I, xv, (*Rolls Series*, 1867, v, 47) answers this, when he tells us of the Barnacle Goose:—"Dehinc tamquam ab alga ligno cohaerente conchylibus testis ad liberiorem formationem inclusae, *per rostra dependent.*" Or permit me to give Max Müller's translation of the Latin (*Science of Language*, Second Series, 1865, p. 564):—"*Bernacae* are like marsh-geese, but somewhat smaller. They are produced from fir timber tossed along the sea, and are at first like gum. Afterwards *they hang down by their beaks* as if from a seaweed attached to the timber, surrounded by shells in order to grow more freely. Having thus, in process of time, been clothed with a strong coat of feathers, they either fall into the water or fly freely away into the air." Does this not read like a close paraphrase of our Anglo-Saxon text? Professor Trautmann's second objection is even more easily disposed of:—"Der dichter kann ferner nicht wol sagen dass die gans vom winde aufgehoben und fortgetragen werde; das träfe zu auf ein blatt, eine feder, einen grashalm, aber von einem vogel sagt man, 'er schwingt sich in die luft und fliegt davon.'" There is a vast difference between Modern German prose and Old English poetry. He seems to have forgotten completely that we are told of the Swan in *E. B. R.*, $8^{3\text{-}6a}$:—

> "Hwīlum mec āhebbað ofer hælepa byht
> hyrste mīne ond þēos hēa lyft,
> ond mec þonne wīde wolcna strengu
> ofer folc byreð."

So of the Swallows (*E. B. R.*, 58^{1}), *Ðēos lyft byreð lytle wihte.* Professor Trautmann can hardly lay much stress on his third objection that our riddle is four centuries earlier than Giraldus' account of the superstition. This is just the sort of popular myth that might exist for hundreds of years among simple men before finding a scholar to record it; and, again, many accounts of the marvel may have perished. In the case of a bit of folk-lore, a negative argument drawn from the absence of extant testimony is always weak. If I have established this solution—and I think that I have—here at last is an early and exact record of the Barnacle Goose.

For his answer, "Wine," to *E. B. R.*, 12, Professor Trautmann has made out a seemingly good case (pp. 173–176); but Dietrich's solution, "Night" fits better the various conditions of the query. That this problem is clearly a companion-piece to *E. B. R.*, 28, "Mead" is, at first sight,

[1] *E. B. R.*, 11^{6a}, *hæfde feorh cwico*, "I had a living soul," could surely not be said of a lifeless thing like an anchor. Elsewhere in *E. B. R.* the phrase is, of course, used only of creatures with life like the "Fingers" (14^{3a}) and the "Siren" (74^{5b}). Yet Professor Trautmann would render (p. 171), "Ich bewegte mich lebhaft." So to him *hwīte hyrstę* (11^{8}) means "the anchor rope." An Anglo-Saxon riddler, who juggled thus with the meaning of words, would have broken all rules of the game, and would have tempted his hearers to add a tragic passage to the *Fates of Men.*

an argument for the "Wine" interpretation; but the meaning, "night debauch," is quite as well suited to the vinous lines that suggest the later riddle. The opening passage (12^{1-2}) far better describes a starry night than a golden beaker.[2] Night, by reason of its evil ways, may well be praised by drunken revellers (3^{5b-8a}; compare the next riddle, 13^{9}, *dol druncmennen deorcum nihtum*) and rogues (Aldhelm, XII, "Nox," line 9, "Diri latrones me semper amare solebant"); and yet it protects others from the paths of folly by leading them to rest or sleep (5a, *nyttre fōre* implies "course of conduct"). I agree with Dietrich that 12^{9b}, *horda dēorast*, refers to the Sun, and that the line describes the coming of the day; and accept, in this corrupt passage, Cosijn's spirited reading, *hēah þringeð* (*Paul und Braune, Beiträge*, 23, 128) instead of Professor Trautmann's *hearm bringeð*, which seems to me tame and prosaic. His explanation of the closing lines of the poem is as unfortunate as his interpretation of the opening passage. It is hard to believe that *horda dēorast* refers to the communion-wine (why should that bring harm?); and that *nyttre fōre* (12^{5a}) is intended also to suggest the Eucharist. These are my reasons for preferring the answer, "Night."

When Professor Trautmann wrote his article last October, he had not yet read my contribution to *Modern Philology* of April, 1905 (II, 561 f.), on "Riddles of the Bede Tradition"; else I cannot believe that he would have held out against the many analogues there cited to prove that the "Fingers" motive, *E. B. R.*, 14, is one of the most popular of the riddle themes of its day. 14^{1a}, *turf tredan*, which is paralleled by the Latin *pergebat plana campestria* (St. Gall MS. 196), and 9a, *haswe blēde*, refer clearly to the leaves of the manuscript on which the hands are browsing (*Notes*, XVII, 101). Professor Trautmann's solution, "Ten Chickens" is ingeniously defended by him (178–180); but his arguments seem to me unconvincing. To claim that the "skin which hangs on the wall" (3a-4) is not the glove of folk-riddles of all times (*Notes, l. c.*) but 'the film that clings to the inner surface of the egg-shell after the hatching,' is to reason far too quaintly and totally without the warrant of Eusebius, No. 38, who says nothing of "wall;" and to interpret *haswe blēde* as 'eggs in an advanced state of incubation' is surely a curious conceit. Then, too, his treatment of the numbers, "six" and "ten" (1–2), seems arbitrary. In my opinion, he has failed throughout to prove his case in the light of either logic or tradition.

In *E. B. R.*, 18, I must refuse to be led by Professor Trautmann from the camp to the kitchen. This riddle is certainly a companion-piece to *E. B. R.*, 24, "Bow," and forms with it one of the many pairs in our collection. Both objects swallow and spit out terror and poison; from the belly of each fly deadly darts; each is the servant of a master. Indeed, a half-line of one poem (18^{6a}) appears practically unchanged in the other (24^{12b}). Is it not reasonable then to seek a companion weapon to the "Bow?" I find this in Dietrich's first solution, *Ballista*, which as I have already shown (*Notes*, XVIII, 104) is, elsewhere in riddle poetry, associated with *Arcus*. This answer caps our query at every point.[3] Above *E. B. R.*, 18,

[2] Few will agree, I think, that Professor Trautmann, in his note on *Hasu* (pp. 216–218), has successfully combatted the hitherto received meanings of the word. He seeks to prove that it can mean only "glänzend," and that, therefore, *hasofāg* (12^{1a}) is inapplicable to "Night." Even if we grant that this is the exclusive meaning, we must not forget that "Night's mantle" in poetry may be "gleaming," as well as "azure" or "sable." But we cannot grant this. *Hasu* seems to have the connotation of *glaucus* to which indeed it corresponds, *E. B. R.*, 41^{61b}. The Latin word is a synonym of *caerulus* (*Harper's Latin Dictionary*, s. v. *glaucus*) and, as Dietrich has noted, *caerula* is the very adjective used by Aldhelm to describe *Nox* in his riddle upon that subject (XII, 6).

[3] Isidor tells us of the *Ballista* in his *Origines*, XVIII, X: "Torquetur enim verbere nervorum et magna vi jacit aut hastas aut saxa." From the many Roman references in Marquardt und Mommsens *Handbuch der Römischen Alterthümer*, 1884, V, 522–524, and from many medieval examples in Du Cange's *Glossarium*, *s. v.*, one gathers that not only darts and rocks but beams and bolts of every sort were cast from the huge engine. So our riddler's chief motives, the varied contents of the creature's belly (*E. B. R.*, ($18^{2b-3, 7-10}$) and the casting forth thence of "spear-terror" ($^{4a, 6}$) are here well sustained. Illustrations and descriptions of the *Ballista* in Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, *s. v.*, Yule's *Marco Polo*, II, 122, and in Marquardt support the mention in *E. B. R.*, 18, of the subject's "mouth" and "belly"; and the cords with which it was wound ("Ballista funibus nervinis tenditur") may perhaps be "the enclosing

in the MS. are two runes, B with the L above it. If B refers to *Ballista*, may not L represent its Anglo-Saxon equivalent, *lipre* (*Sprachschatz*, II, 183)? Let us now glance at Professor Trautmann's solution, "Baking Oven." His long analysis of this problem (pp. 180–184) leads him into fourfold error. He ignores entirely the relation of the riddle to its mate, *E. B. R.*, 24, since this association in war cries out against his answer. According to his wont, he changes the text (1b, 11a) to fit his meaning. He hunts words and phrases beyond all the bounds of riddle fantasy. 4a, *sperebrōgan* is wrenched into meaning 'the flames of the oven'; and 8–9a, "the brown war-weapons, bitter points, dire poison-spears" are strangely enough regarded as the fuel. This is surely not the naïveté of the riddler. And, finally, he seeks to sustain his solution by pointing to certain likenesses to *E. B. R.*, 50, "dem zweifellosen backofen-rätsel." Such a solution of *E. B. R.*, 50 is certainly suggestive and may be correct, but it remains to be established over against Dietrich's acceptable answer, "Bookcase." Further fallacious reasoning is employed by him, when, after changing *E. B. R.*, 18^{11a} to resemble 50^{7b}, he argues for his solution from this made-to-order resemblance (p. 184). "Not proven" must be the verdict against the "Baking Oven" thesis.

E. B. R., 26 contains the "Onion" motive common in popular riddles even to-day. Indeed, as I have already pointed out (*Notes*, XVIII, 103), the Onion stanza of *Royal Riddle Book*, Glasgow, 1820, p. 11, which is too coarse to print, reads, line for line, like a modern rendering of the Anglo-Saxon in the description of its lofty stand, its treatment at the hands of the goodwife and her watering eyes.[4] One trait alone in our problem, 2b–3, *Nēngum sceppe . . . nympe bonan ānum*, "I hurt no one except a murderer," seemed unsuited to "Onion," so I accepted the "Hemp" solution of Bouterwek, supported by Scaliger's riddle of *Cannabis* (Reusner, I, 190), in which the subject is the servant of justice, is deprived of its head, (*incapitata*) and is then tortured. But, as the "Hemp" answer hardly fits the last line of our riddle, and as the historical evidence is overwhelmingly on the side of "Onion," I now accept that solution. I now believe that *bonan* is used in the general sense of "destroyer" (*E. B. R.*, 66, "Onion," *bīted mec on bær līc, briceð mīne wīsan*), and that 26^{2b-8} is but an adaptation of the motive in the Symphosius "Onion" riddle, No. 44, "Mordeo mordentes; ultro non mordeo quemquam." This is followed in *E. B. R.*, 66^{5-6}, admitted by all to be "Onion," which has also in common with our problem the motives of "loss of head" (26^{8}, $66^{2b, 3b}$) and "confinement in a narrow place" (26^{9a}, 66^{3a})—strong evidence for a common solution. It is my opinion, that Professor Trautmann's "Rosenbutz" (pp. 184–188) does not accord with the demands of the problem as well as "Onion," that indeed it hardly meets any of them. It is not, however, opinion but fact that, in our query, we have traditional "Onion" motives of riddle literature; that "Rosenbutz" is not only never associated with these motives, but that when its kinsman, "Hagebutte," appears as a theme, it is in a "Cherry-Arbutus" group (*Notes*, XVIII, 6), which cannot be misconstrued into any real relation to our problem. One is therefore absolutely safe in rejecting the usurper, "Rosenbutz."

E. B. R., 30, perhaps the most imaginative of all Anglo-Saxon poems of Nature is given by Professor Trautmann (p. 191) in "the dull catalogue of common things." The wonderful wight who bears booty, an air-vessel, between his horns is, according to his curious interpretation, a bird carrying a feather in his beak. Then comes the wind, snatches the feather out of his mouth and drives the wretched creature home; it then blows westward, because *w* is needed for the alliteration, etc. Is it really necessary to consider further than I have already done anything so inherently improbable as this? Walz's solution, "Cloud and Wind," (*Harvard Studies*, VI, 264) is far more pleasing and suitable; but I do not believe that

wires" of line 2a. Lines 3a, *dryhtgestrēona* and 10, *wombhord wlitig wloncum dēore*, seem to me to express admirably that joyous pride of the Anglo-Saxons in their war-weapons, of which our riddles are so full; and the last line is of characteristic grimness, when applied to an engine of destruction.

[4] In literature as in life the Onion causes eyes to water. Shakespeare is full of examples:—*A. W.* V, 3, 321: "Mine eyes smell onions; I shall weep anon"; *A. and C.*, I, 2, 176, "The tears live in an onion that should water this sorrow"; *Id.*, IV, 2, 35, etc.

this is as well adapted to the sense of the poem as Dietrich's "Moon and Sun" (*Haupts Zeitschrift*, xi, 468 f.). Let us see how the early myth-maker weaves his story of elemental strife. The primitive attitude to the two great lights of heaven is seen in the deservedly famous Ossianic "Address to the Sun" (Clerk's *Translation*, 1870, i, 221):

> "O Sun!
> Thou comest forth strong in thy beauty.
> . . . . . .
> The Moon, all pale, forsakes the sky
> To hide herself in the western wave,
> Thou in thy journey art alone,
> . . . . . .
> The Moon is lost aloft in the heaven;
> Thou alone dost triumph ever more
> In gladness of light, all thine own."

Here are the chief motives of our riddle: the contest between the bodies, the loss of the Moon's light and the triumph of the Sun. I give now a detailed interpretation of *E. B. R.*, 30. The Moon is seen bearing between his horns as booty a bright air-vessel, which is the light captured from the Sun in battle (4, *hūþe . . . of þam heresīþe*). He would build himself a bower or tabernacle (*būr = tabernaculum, Sprachschatz*, i, 150) in the burg and set it skilfully, if it so might be (see *Psalms*, xix, 4, "In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun"). Then the wonderful being, known to all men on earth, the Sun herself, appeared in the heavens (7b, *ofer wealles hrōf*), snatched his booty, the light from the Moon, and drove away the wretched wanderer (so in Ossian, "The Moon, all pale, forsakes the sky"). Then hastening with vengeance on her journey, she fared towards the west (*Wonders of Creation*, 68, "Sun," *gewīteð þonne mid þȳ wuldre on westrōdor*). (At this coming of the Sun) dust rose to heaven (probably raised by the cool wind that, in early Germanic poetry, blows at the rush of day; see Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, 745, 1518) dew fell on the earth, night departed.[5] Nor did any one of men know afterward the journey of the Moon (a riddle motive of the time, *Notes*, xviii, 104). I shall return to this myth in my discussion of the riddle's mate, *E. B. R.*, 95 (*infra*).

There seems now little reason to doubt that Dietrich's first solution of *E. B. R.*, 45, "Key," which Professor Trautmann defends (pp. 192–195), is better than his second, "Sheath." To both answers I have presented many analogues (*Notes*, xviii, 103). Let me repeat what I have shown at length (*Id.* 6), that it is unwise to dogmatize over the answers to certain Anglo-Saxon riddles of this class. It is probable that the collector himself knew and cared little about the original solutions, since any decorous reply would adorn his unseemly tale.

If Professor Trautmann does not fear "the Greeks bearing gifts," I am glad to offer many analogues to confirm his apt solution of *E. B. R.*, 52, "Pen and Fingers" (pp. 195–198), which well replaces Dietrich's inappropriate answer, "Dragon." The relation of the "four wights" (1b) is mentioned not only in Tatwine's enigma, No. 6, "De Penna," which he quotes (p. 197), but in Aldhelm, iv, 1, line 4, and in the "Pen" problem (xix) of Cambridge MS. Gg. v, 35 (printed by me, *Modern Philology*, ii, 571): "Tres gemini repunt stimulati marmore pellis." Upon this the glossator comments, "Tres digiti discurrunt in pagina stimulati, cum acuta penna, vel graphio, vel planitie." The same motive appears in two "Pen" riddles from the German and Italian Tyrol, cited by Petsch (*Palaestra*, iv, 1899, p. 135), "Drei führen und zwei schauen zu" and "Due la guarda e cinque la mena," in both of which the eyes watch the work of the fingers. The "black tracks" (2b-3a) are found not only in Eusebius, "De Penna" (No. 35), which our riddler did not know, but in Aldhelm's "Pen" query, v, 3, l. 4, "vestigia caerula linquo," and in the ninth century "Lorsch" riddle, No. ix (*Haupts Zeitschrift*, xxii, 260), "tetra . . . linquit vestigia." The interrelation of these various "Pen" enigmas is discussed at length by Ebert (*Id.*, xxiii, 200). The "black tracks" appear as "black seed in a white field" in the riddles given by Petsch (*l. c.*) and by Wossidlo (*Mecklenburgische Volksüberlieferungen*, 1897, No. 70, Notes). The other motives in *E. B. R.*, 52,

[5] 30[13a], *niht forð gewāt* is rendered by both Grein and Professor Trautmann, "night came on." There is not the least warrant for this rendering. When *forð gewāt* appears elsewhere in like context, it means in each case, "departed" or "began to depart": Luke ix, 12, *gewāt sē dæg forð* ("dies coeperat declinare"), *Genesis*, 2447, *forð gewāt āfenscīma*. Compare with our passage *Phœnix*, 98–99, *on dægrēd, and sēo deorce niht won gewiteð*.

are well explained by Professor Trautmann in the light of the "Pen" passage in *E. B. R.*, 27[7-11], "Book."

I yield to Professor Trautmann's superior knowledge of the "Threshing Flail" (*E. B. R.*, 53), in the use of which his whole article proves him an adept. There he was certainly right, and I, wrong. I believe now that his answer (pp. 198–199) fully meets the demands of the problem, and that Dietrich's "Two Buckets," like many other answers to Anglo-Saxon riddles, must be consigned to the Limbo of Vanities. I am also in thorough accord with the new solution of *E. B. R.*, 80, "Horn," which fits the riddle far better than Dietrich's "Hawk" or Walz's "Sword" (*Harvard Studies*, VI, 267). The illuminating interpretation of every enigmatic phrase in the poem (pp. 203–206) leaves nothing for me to add. Blackburn's solution of *E. B. R.*, 30, *Bēam*, which Professor Trautmann champions (pp. 211–215), I regard with greater favor than formerly, but am not yet convinced of its aptness. This I shall discuss at a later time.

Professor Trautmann's only objection to Dietrich's first answer to *E. B. R.*, 58, "Swallows," is 'that 5a, *tredaþ bearonæssas*, could not be said of them' (*Anglia*, XVII, 398). Why not? Indeed, that is exactly what Aldhelm (VI, 1, l. 6) makes his *Hirundo* say: "umbrosas quaero latebras." It needs no Audubon to tell us that "the swallow is found in remote and secluded woods and swamps as well as about the habitations of men." [6] We know, moreover, that Swallows are dark-coated (2b-3a), purple, steel-blue, brownish-black, that they fare in flocks (4a), and that their "pipe and trill and cheep and twitter" (as Tennyson describes their note in "The Princess") is among the best-known of bird-songs (3b, 4b). As I have shown (*supra*), in my discussion of the "Barnacle Goose," *Dēos lyft byreþ* (1a) is used in *E. B. R.* of the flight of birds (8[4-6a], 11[9]). Above all, Swallows are *lȳtle wihte* (1b). The unwarranted change of this to *līhte wihte* is, in itself, quite sufficient to invalidate the fallacious claims of Professor Trautmann's "Stormclouds," a sadly forced answer (p. 200). Stopford Brooke's preference for the solution, "Martin" (*Early English Literature*, 148, Note) supports my interpretation.

E. B. R., 74 is a "monster riddle," and the strange creature must satisfy many conditions. If I read the simple text aright, the thing must be at once a woman, both old and young, and a handsome man. It must fly with the birds and swim in the flood. It must dive into the water, dead with the fishes, and yet, when it steps on the land, it must have a living soul. Professor Trautmann defends his solution, "Water" (p. 202), and labors over its various forms: a spring ("young woman"), a cake of ice ("a hoary-haired woman"), and snow ("a handsome man"). These startling identifications he champions by reference to grammatical gender. Mythology thus becomes the creature of declensions. The snow or man flies in the air, the ice or beldam swims and then sinks into the water, the spring or maiden runs upon the earth. This is all too finely spun. Moreover has "Water" "a living soul?" I still think the answer futile. I have already offered the solution, "Siren," and have sought to justify this by analogues (*Notes*, XVIII, 101). This answer easily meets every demand of the text. The Siren is both aged and young, centuries old and yet with the face of a girl. It is not only a woman but sometimes a man.[7] In the Latin riddles of Reusner (I, 177; II, 77) the Siren is not only "femina" but "avis," "piscis" and "scopulus." In Greek and Etruscan and Roman art, the Sirens were represented as bird-women;[8] but, as Harrison and Baumeister point out, at an early period of the Middle Ages ("vom 7 Jahrhundert ab") the Teutonic con-

[6] An early but accurate observer, Alexander Neckham, *De Naturis Rerum*, c. LII (*Rolls Series*, 1863, p. 103) says of Swallows:—"Quaedam enim domos inhabitantes in eis nidificant . . . quaedam in abruptis montium mansionem eligunt." The second clause suggests 58[2a], *ofer beorghleoþa* and may well apply to the Cliff Swallow, *hirundo fulva*.

[7] To establish the two sexes of our creature, I have already pointed (*Notes*, *l. c.*) to the male "Siren" of *Orendel*, 94. Philippe of Thaun tells us of the "Siren" in his *Bestiare*, l. 683, "*il* cante en tempeste"; and in two of Philippe's sources (Mann, *Anglia*, IX, 396) we have "figuram hominis," and in a third, "figuram feminis."

[8] Schrader, *Die Sirenen*, Berlin, 1868, pp. 70–112; Harrison, *Myths of the Odyssey*, London, 1882, Chap. V, "Myth of the Syrens"; Baumeister, *Denkmäler des Klassischen Altertums*, Munich, 1888, s. v. "Seirenen."

ception of a fish-woman or mermaid met and mingled with the classical idea of a bird-maiden.[9] The combined bird and fish aspects explain 72[3], *flēah mid fuglum ond on flōde swom.* As no one will doubt the appositeness of the last line of the riddle, there remains to be discussed only 72[4], *dēaf under ȳþe, dēad mid fiscum.* Every student of myths knows that, "when Ulysses or the Argonauts had passed in safety, *the Sirens threw themselves into the sea and were transformed into rocks*" (Harrison, p. 152, Note). In its narrative of these creatures, the *Orphica Argonautica*, 1293–1295 (Latin translation of Cribellus, Hermann Edition) furnishes apt explanation of our enigmatic line :—

> "Ab obice saxi
> Praecipites sese in pelagus misere profundum,
> Sed formam in petras, generosa corpora mutant." [10]

The "scopulus" phase of the Siren thus appears in Anglo-Saxon. Every condition of *E. B. R.*, 74, finds natural explanation in this widely spread myth.

E. B. R., 95 has long been the theme of minute yet fruitless discussion. Dietrich's solution, "Wandering Singer," which has been defended by Nuck (*Anglia*, x, 393–394), and Hicketier (*Id.*, 584–592) is rightly rejected by Professor Trautmann (p. 208) on many grounds. Yet his own answer, "Riddle," already twice championed by him (*Anglia*, vi, *Anzeiger*, 168 ; vii, *Anz.*, 210 f.) and attacked at length in the articles of Nuck and Hicketier, seems to me even more unfortunate than that of Dietrich. His interpretation, to which he now devotes several pages (206–211), everywhere refutes itself by its academic viewpoint and its consequent failure to grasp the naïve psychology of riddling, by the usual perverted meanings and violent forcings of the text. It is indeed strange that the close connection of this problem with another riddle of the collection has been overlooked, and that, therefore, the proper answer has never been given. I believe this to be "Moon," and I find three motives common to *E. B. R.*, 95, and 30, "Moon and Sun" (*supra*). These are the fame of the subject among earth-dwellers, its capture of booty in its proud hour and its later disappearance from the sight of men. As briefly as possible, I shall now translate and analyze the problem in the light of my solution. 'I am a noble being, known to earls and rest often with the high and the low, famed among the folk (so of the Sun, *E. B. R.*, 30[3], *sēo is eallum cūð eorðbūendum*). I fare widely (Thorpe's reading of 3b, *fēre*). And to me (who was) formerly remote from friends[11] (so the Moon refers to his periods of lonely darkness) remains (4b, *stondeð* ; compare *Wonders of Creation*, 5) booty,[12] if I shall have glory in the burgs (compare 30[5], the Moon "would build himself a bower in the burg") and a bright course.[13] Now wise (learned) men love very greatly my presence.[14]

[9] The identity of Siren and Mermaid is seen in many Anglo-Saxon glosses (Bosworth-Toller, *s. v.*). Philippe de Thaun, *Bestiare*, 664 f., tells us that "the Siren has the make of a woman down to the waist, and the feet of a falcon and the tail of a fish." So the creature is presented in the illustration of the Old-High-German *Gottweih Physiologus* (Heider, *Physiologus*, Vienna, 1851, p. 10, Plate 3). And Laurens Andrewe (*The Babees Book*, *Early English Text Society*, 32, 237–238) gives a like account.

[10] How long this tradition persisted, we know from a painting of the death-dive of the Siren on the obverse of a Greek amphora (Baumeister, p. 1643, Plate 1700) and from a well-known illustration in Herrad von Landsperg's *Hortus Deliciarum*, 1160 A. D. (Harrison, 171).

[11] In 95[4], I read with Brooke (*Early English Literature*, p. 8) *fremdum* instead of MS. *fremdes* (the text is corrupt) ; but I interpret the passage very differently. From its position at the end of the first half-line, *ār* can hardly be a preposition governing *frēondum*, but is rather an adverb modifying *fremdum*, which qualifies *mē* and is followed by the usual dative construction (*Sprachschatz*, I, 338).

[12] 95[5a], *hīþendra hyht*, "the delight of plunderers," is but a circumlocution for *hūþe*, "booty," (30[2b, 4b]) as 27[7b], *fugles wyn* and Professor Trautmann's own reading, 52[4a], *fugla fultum* are periphrases of *feþer*, "quill," or as 65[3a], *hæbbendes hyht* is equivalent to "the thing possessed." "Booty," as in *E. B. R.*, 30, refers to the light captured from the Sun, "the bright air-vessel" of the earlier riddle (30[3a]). Ælfric tells us, *se mōna and ealle steorran underfōð lēoht of þāre miclan sunnan* (*De Temporibus, Leechdoms*, III, 236).

[13] If 95[6b] demands emendation, I accept gratefully Professor Trautmann's *gong* for MS. *god*, as no word could better suit the Moon's path in heaven. Or shall we retain the MS. reading, *beorhtne god*, as classical and Germanic belief assigns a god to the Moon (Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, 705, 1501), and our poet may be recording old tradition ?

[14] The word *snottre*, 7a, is used by Byrhtferth of scholars of this sort of lore (*Anglia*, VIII, 330, l. 33). Another

I shall to many reveal wisdom ;[15] nor does any one on earth speak a word (the Moon's teachings, unlike those of an earthly master, are conveyed and received in silence). Though the children of men, earth-dwellers, eagerly seek after my trail, I sometimes (that is, when my light wanes), conceal my track from each one of men.[16]

Since Professor Trautmann's few happy interpretations (*E. B. R.*, 52, 53, 80) are those in which he has recanted former error, it is to be hoped that he will reconsider and renounce many of the solutions once presented as *obiter dicta*. Yet I infer from a remark on page 183 that he still clings to his "Threshing Flail" answer to the "Loom" riddle, *E. B. R.*, 57. Does he still explain *E. B. R.*, 6, as "Chopping-block," 9 as "Bell," 23 as "Bridge," 29 as "Harp," 35 as "Bee," 61 as "Runenstab," 70 as "kornhalm," 91 as "Sickle"? Does he still refuse to accept the "Badger" solution of *E. B. R.*, 16, and the traditional answer to the Symphosius riddle, 86? One is curious to know. Such contributions as his present article will always be welcome since they invite and stimulate lively discussion and strong dissent.

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Handboc passage (*Id.*, 308, 19–24) shows the love of English "wise men" for the Moon and his "wisdom" :— "Uton ǣrest glēawlīce swȳðe witan hwæt hē [sē mōna] sȳ tō sōðe, ond hwanon hē cōme ond hwæt hē dō on þām gerīme oððe hwy hē sȳ swā gehāten, oððe hwā hine gemette, oððe hine þæs wurðscipes cūðe þæt he sceolde gestandan on þām rīmcræfte. Ic wāt gere þæt hē ys þēodscipes wyrðe."

[15] The Moon is the source and centre of Anglo-Saxon "wisdom" or scientific knowledge. Its orbit and "leap," its cycles, its epacts, its relations to the weather, its effect upon the tides are the leading themes of Ælfric's *De Temporibus* (*Leechdoms*, III, 248, 264–268, 282). The Moon is invaluable in prognostications (*Id.*, 150–162, 177–197); and sets of course the time of Easter (*Handboc*, 322–330).

[16] 95^{10b-13} is exactly parallel to 30^{13a-14}, "Moon," *nǣnig sippan | wera gewiste þǣre wihte sīð* and to Vienna MS. 67, No. 60 (*Luna*) (*Mones Anzeiger*, VIII, 219) :—

"Quo movear gressu nullus cognoscere tentat.
Cernere nec vultus per diem signa valebit."

ANOTHER EARLY MONUMENT OF THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE.

The sentence in Italian, which lends interest to the document I am about to describe, was brought to my attention in the Spring of 1903 by Mr. J. A. Child, now instructor in the University of California. While collecting records of legal procedure to be compared by the Italian Seminary of the Johns Hopkins University with the Carta Capuana of 960 and the Carta di Teano of 964, he came upon a document of Suessa containing a sentence in Italian, which has apparently escaped notice hitherto. Ever since then it has been our intention to mention the matter in print, and I intended to write some comment on the formula in Italian, but now I am about to do little more than describe the document, for my attention has been continually distracted by other matters, and the study I have been able to give to the words of the sentence has elicited no valuable information, because they are not new, and the early literature of a similar dialect, with which they might be compared, is scarce, and has been examined already by others.

The document in question, like its sisters the Carta Capuana of 960 and the Carta di Teano of 964, is published in the work of Gattola : Historia Abbatiæ Cassinensis,[1] and in the section entitled : "Sæculum Sixtum Cœnobii Cassinensis ; ab anno Christi 1000 ad 1100," which perhaps accounts for its being overlooked, since, like the other two documents, it belongs to the tenth century, and so is out of place under the above heading.

It is a notary's record of a trial held at Suessa,[2] and contains the following formula in Italian, similar to those already known :—"*Sao cco kelle terre per kelle fini que tebe monstrai Pergoaldi foro que ki contene, & per trenta anni le possette, . . .*" This formula occurs four times with slight variations, namely : first, as given above ; secondly, with *kella terra* instead of *kelle terre, conteno* instead of *contene, & trenta anni* instead of *& per trenta anni;* thirdly, with the same variations as

[1] I, pt. 1. 308[2]–310.

[2] The modern Sessa Auronca, in the province of Caserta : the birthplace of the poet Lucilius.

given in the second place; fourthly, with *kelle terre* as in the first place, but with the other variations as in the second and third places. These variations in the printed text, however, are of little importance, since they may not represent the manuscript correctly.

The document is dated at the beginning as follows: "*In nomine domini nostri Jesu Christi vicesimo anno principatus domni Paldolfi, & quinto anno principatus domni Landolfi gloriosis principibus mense Marcio sesta indiccione.*"

The Lombard princes referred to are beyond doubt Pandolfus I ("caput-ferreus") 943–981, and Landolfus III, his brother, 959–968. The date of the record is therefore March, 963, that month belonging also to the sixth "indictio" according to the reckoning of the chronicles of the period. The document is published by Gattola immediately after two others of the year 961, which are concerned with the same monastery, Cucuruzzu, with which ours deals, and almost certainly with the same abbot, Gaido.[3]

The record is of a case tried at Suessa before "Maraldo judex" in the presence of "domnum Atenolfum & domnum Landolfum germanis filii bonæ memoriæ domni Landenolfi." Who these lords were I have not yet been able to ascertain definitely.[4] The plaintiff is Gaido, priest and abbot of the monastery of St. Saviour of Cucuruzzu, the name of the hill upon which the monastery stood.[5] The defendant is Gualfrid, son of Occicla, son of Guaiferus, an inhabitant of "Castro Calvi."[6] The abbot, with his counsel, Ursus,

[3] No other sixth "indictio," beside that to which March of the year 963 belongs, will coincide with the twentieth year of a Pandolfus and the fifth of a Landolfus. The year 963 does coincide with the twentieth and fifth respectively of Pandolfus I and Landolfus III. The dates assigned to the reigns of these princes are those given by Pellegrini (*Hist. Princ. Lang.*, pp. 325–7, in Muratori: *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* II[a]) and agreed to by Muratori (*Annali d'Italia*, Milano, 1819; VIII, 511, 525, 574, 630), except that the latter seems to think with the anonymous author of the *Breve Chronicon Monasterii Beneventani*, that Landolfus III began to reign in 961, the year of the death of his father (cf. *Antiquitates Italicæ*, etc., I, 256, note 1). Muratori refers, however, to the *Chronicon Cavense* (*Rer. It. Script.*, VII, 920) which gives the year 959. All the documents accessible to me, which are dated by the reigns of these princes, reckon the reign of Landolfus from 959 or 960, which confirms the statement of Pellegrini that he was associated in the government with his father in the former year. The documents dated by the reigns of the two princes, published by Muratori and by Graevius, are also the best evidence for the dates of Pandolfus. For example, cf. the series of documents in the *Chronicon Vulturnense*, Lib. IV, 422 and following, in *Rer. Ital. Script.* I[b].

[4] The document preceding this, of 961, (Gattola, *op. cit.*, 307[2]), mentions "Atenolfus, & Landolfus Castaldeis dilectis fratribus nostris" (it is Pandolfus I and Landolfus III who are speaking). These may be those mentioned in our document, in spite of the "fratribus" which Gattola takes literally (p. 308[1]). If so, Landenolfus was the father of the other two, and dead already in 963. In Ughelli: *Italia Sacra*, Venetiis, 1720, VI, 393, there is published a deed by Pandolfus and Landolfus, of the year 964, bestowing the town of Isernia upon "Landolfo comiti dilecti fratri nostro filio quond. Landenolfi thio nostro." That is, in the year after our record, an uncle of the two princes who are making the decree, Landenolfus, appears as dead, and a son of his, Landolfus, is mentioned, who is a count. The only Landenolfus, uncle of Pandolfus I and Landolfus III, who appears in the genealogical table of Pellegrini (*op. cit.*), is Landenolfus, count of Suessa and afterward of Isernia. He has a son, Landolfus, count of Isernia. It seems likely that the latter is the Landolfus mentioned in our deed, and if so, he was count before becoming entitled to Isernia in 964, possibly count of Suessa with his father, since it was customary for the father to associate the son with himself in the government.

As for the Atenolfus mentioned in our document, the only lord of that name, given by Pellegrini as contemporary with the two sovereign princes, is Atenolfus, count of Suessa, given as the son of Atenolfus III, not of Landenolfus. There seems to have been some doubt in the mind of Pellegrini as to the existence of another Atenolfus, count of Suessa, for in the subscript to Atenolfus III, he has written: "Idem vero, an alter cognominis Atenulfus, filius Landulfi I, fuerit comes Suessæ, haud liquet."

In a deed of 976 recorded by the author of the *Chronicon Vulturnense* (cf. *Rer. It. Script.* I[b], 460[2]), we have a "Maraldo judex" trying a case at Suessa in the presence of "domnum Atenulfum & Landulfum germanis comitibus ejusdem civitatis," who may, quite possibly, be the persons mentioned in our document.

I have omitted a thorough investigation of this matter, since the reading in Gattola may be incorrect, which would make all investigation useless.

[5] Cf. Henrici Bacci: *Brevis Descriptio Regni Neapolitani*, p. 17, in Graevius: *Thesaurus Antiq. et Hist. Ital.*, IX, part 1, where the modern town of Cocorozzo is mentioned having, in the eighteenth century, a population of ninety families. The monastery was in the neighborhood of Teano, according to the deed in Gattola, *Hist. Cass.*, I, 307[2].

[6] Perhaps the modern Calvi, to which Bacci (*op. cit.*) gave a population of one hundred and ninety-nine families.

accuse Gualfrid of holding in his possession maliciously certain lands in a place named "Baloneu" near Suessa,[7] which belong to the abbot and monastery, Gualfrid asserting that they belong to himself by inheritance from his father and grandfather. Two documents are presented on behalf of the plaintiff, and read in court: one setting forth that Pergoaldo, son of Pergoaldo, had sold to Gaido, the abbot, two pieces of land in the locality in question; the other, that the same Pergoaldo had made an offering to the church of St. Saviour, of a piece of land adjoining that mentioned in the first document. The boundaries of the lands are described in these papers, as they are given later on in the record of the trial.[8] The abbot and his lawyer declare themselves able to prove by witnesses that the lands as laid down in the documents presented have belonged to Pergoaldo, and that they belonged to him for thirty years. Gualfrid, the defendant, on being questioned, admits that he has no documents in evidence to present and no way of proving legally the ownership of his father and grandfather. Maraldo the judge, then causes the two parties to give bond engaging themselves to go to the lands in question, the abbot taking his witnesses with him, who are to point out to Gualfrid the lands concerning which they intend to testify, according to their boundaries. Both parties are then to return to court where the witnesses for the abbot are to testify, each in turn holding the documents in evidence in his hands, and repeating the formula in Italian, which has already been given. The witnesses and the abbot are then to confirm the testimony given, by oath. Both sides appoint bondsmen, engaging to carry out the instructions of the court, and go away. They both return later to ask the judge to go with them to identify the land, and he does so. The witnesses for the abbot point out to Gualfrid the limits of the land. They all return to Suessa, and the trial is continued in the presence of the same lords, Atenolfus and Landolfus, who were present before.

All things being ready; on the one hand, Gualfrid with the gospels upon which the witnesses are to swear, and, on the other, the abbot and his lawyer, with the three witnesses and the necessary "sacramentales"; the judge addresses the witnesses, "Maraldum subdiaconum, & Rodelgisi subdiaconum, & Jacobum subdiaconum." He asks them whether they have appeared to testify on the side of the abbot, and on being answered in the affirmative, separates them, causing Maraldus to stand before him, and the other two each at some distance. Maraldus testifies first, after being admonished to tell the truth in the fear of God. He holds in his hand the documents in evidence mentioned, and repeats the formula in Italian. Rodelgisi next testifies in the same way, after being brought up before the judge and admonished as was Maraldus. Jacobus testifies last in the same way. After this the three witnesses swear to Gualfrid, on the gospels provided by him, that their testimony is truthful, and the matter is sworn to also by Gaido, the abbot, and by twelve "sacramentales" with him.[9] The judge then awards the land to the abbot, Gaido, and to the monastery of St. Saviour which he represents, and to all subsequent abbots or guardians forever, and instructs Ildecarus, the clerk, to prepare this record for the protection of the abbot and his successors. The deed is signed by the judge himself, Maraldus, and four witnesses.

From the description given, it will appear that

[7] For lack of detailed maps, I am unable to make sure of the location of Baloneu. Bacci (*op. cit.*) mentions a modern Bagnuolo, which may be the same place.

[8] The lands are bounded on one side by a river; on two other sides by ditches containing water running into the river; on the fourth side by the estate of other persons ("terra Romani, & Benedicti Filiastro ejus"). The river is mentioned where the land is first referred to, as "ipsu flubiu, qui dicitur Tregectu, & ubi dicitur Garilianu." In the absence of detailed maps, the description is not clear; perhaps there is a tributary of the Garigliano, called "Traetto," as there is a town; some such stream, though unnamed, is given in Dr. William Smith's *Ancient Atlas*, London, 1874. The ditches are described as running: one from the Church of St. Mary, "ubi sunt ipse *pentome* majori," (*pentome* may be an error for *pentorie*, the noun having become feminine through use in the plural); the other from a place written *Pinle* (309[2]), but *pinge* later on (310[1]). The distance from these places is given in a note added at the end of the document, where the ditches are called streams ("ribo").

[9] "& Abbas cum duodecim secum sacramentales legitimos suos": this probably means twelve, including the abbot, cf. Rajna, Ro. xx, 390, n. 2; Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders*, vi, 228, Oxford, 1895, or "duodecim" may be an error in the text, which contains many.

our record resembles closely the Carta Capuana of 960 and the Carta di Teano of 964. The chief differences are as follows : In our document, as in that of Teano, the ecclesiastical institution is the plaintiff, whereas in that of Capua the abbot is the defendant. In our document, the abbot offers in evidence two deeds containing the boundaries of the land ; in the Carta di Teano, no papers of any sort are presented ; in the Carta Capuana, only a chart of the boundaries. In our record, all the "sacramentales" swear regularly, as in that of Teano ; in that of Capua, they are dispensed with. No "launegilt" is given in our "carta" or that of Teano, such as is given in the Carta Capuana. Again, our document and the Carta di Teano agree in that no penalty is declared against the loser of the suit, in case of future opposition to the present sentence, thus differing from the Carta Capuana. The Carta di Teano is distinguishsd from the other two especially by the fact that the defendant is the count who is presiding at the trial, and who has to be represented by a proxy, and also by the fact that in the printed record, which is probably faulty, only two of the three witnesses testify.

As for the sentence in Italian, the forms it contains are identical with those in the other tenth-century formulas already known (the Carta Capuana of 960, and the Carte di Teano of 964 and 963), with the exception of the words "Pergoaldi foro." No valuable light can be thrown on the origin and nature of the forms by their being found repeated in one more document. In general they only constitute confirming evidence for the conclusions reached by Rajna in 1891,[10] and unfortunately the scarcity of very early texts in southern dialects leaves us without material with which to compare them with advantage.

With the discovery of two more documents since 1891, containing repeated examples of *sao*,[11] the form assumes a new importance, and it seems reasonable to suppose, considering the character of these formulas, that *sao* was the commonest form of the first p. sing. pres. ind. of *sapere*, in use in the southern Lombard district, in the tenth century.

[10] Cf. Ro., xx, 385–.

[11] The Carta di Teano of 963 and this.

Professor Rajna concluded more than plausibly that it is an analogical formation on *sai, sae*, (2d and 3d pp. sing.) produced in turn by *ài, àe*. It is likely, though not certain, that all four of these forms were in use in the tenth century, in the territory in question. If the *abo* recorded by De Bartholomæis in the "Spoglio del Codex Cavensis" [12] represents, as he thinks, a pronunciation **ao, *avo*, then this form may have completed the analogy with the pres. ind. sing. of *habere*, to produce *sao*.[13] We might also suspect the influence of a *stao*, such as occurs in Cielo dal Camo.[14] Whether these *ao, stao* are themselves Italian analogical formations, or early Folk-Latin forms preserved, is another question. The preservation of *au* in *guardao, comandao, divisao* of the Catherine Legend ;[15] the familiar Neapolitan and Abruzzesi 3d p. plur. forms *ao, sao, stao, vao, fau*,[16] and the *dauno, vaono* cited by Mussafia,[17] (and perhaps even the *claoso, aoru* of the Codex Cavensis, in spite of the *cosa* beside them, which makes them seem learned,[18] seems to show that had we numerous documents of southern dialects, of an early date, we might find numerous examples of first person singular : *stao, dao, vao* and even *fao*, as well as *sao*.

As far as the syntax of *cco* is concerned, we might suppose it to be the representative of either *quomodo* or *quod* with equal reason. We have examples in texts like ours of both uses in the Latin. For example, after *scire:* "Illi nobis uno tenore dixerunt: *scimus* nos a tempore quo memorare possumus, *quomodo* iste Ursepertus in primis fuit scario pro servo super aliis servos Sancti Vincentii de Offene, ..." [19] So after *cognoscere, e. g.*, "Ideo nos qui super judex dum vidimus ac veraciter *cognovimus quomodo* pars supra-

[12] *A. G. It.* xv, 268, n. 2.

[13] Cf. also the *ao* in the *Contrasto di Cielo dal Camo*, ll. 56 and 158 (Monaci, *Crestomazia* ecc. I, 106).

[14] L. 54, Monaci, *Crest.*, I, 107.

[15] Ll. 1535, 1258 and 1259 ; *Wien. Akad. Sitzungsb.:* Phil. Hist. Cl. cx, 355–.

[16] Cf. Meyer-Lübke : *It. Gr.*, §§ 454, 457 and Mussafia : *Kath.*, p. 367.

[17] *Regimen Sanitatis*, 549 ; *Wien. Akad. Sitzungsb.:* Phil. Hist. Cl., cvi, 507–.

[18] *A. G. It.*, xv, 257. The *l*, even if learned, does not affect the diphthong.

[19] *Rer. Ital. Script.*, I^{b}, 399.

scripti monasterii eadem terra possidebat, . . .'' [20] We find *quomodo* used in the same way, too, after *facere consignationem*, to testify on oath [21]; after *comprobare* [22]; after *narrare*. [23]

On the other hand, we have *quod* used in a similar sense after *manifestare*: ''Ille *manifestavit, quod* nullam scriptionem exinde haberet, . . .'' [24]; also after *dicere*, as: ''. . . causare cœpit, *dicendo*: *quod* ipse Padelfrit comes teneret terras . . . .'' [25] I have found no examples of *quod* after *sapere* or *cognoscere* in the documents of the tenth century I have had occasion to examine; needless to say, I have not examined them all; in the Latin forms of testimony which correspond to ours, *quia* is always used.

From the phonological point of view, *cco* or *ko* should be derived from *quod*, as Rajna pointed out, [26] and in the absence of proof that *ko* represents *quomodo* (> como), the matter must be left in doubt.

The formula of our document differs from those of the Carta Capuana of 960, [27] and of the Carta di Teano of 964, [28] in that it contains the phrase *Pergoaldi foro*, used because it was an essential part of the testimony to show that the land had actually belonged once to the author of the deeds which were being presented as evidence. In this respect our formula seems to agree with that of the Carta di Teano of 963: ''Kella terra per kelle fini qi bobe mostrai *Sancte Mariee* [et] trenta anni le possette parte sancte Marie,'' [29] for here too, apparently, in *Sancte Mariee* we have an affirmation of the ownership of the land in question. The order of the words in our formula arrests our attention, for it seems a little odd to have the ''*Pergoaldi foro*'' followed immediately by the sentence ''*que ki contene*,'' instead of the reverse order. The explanation seems to lie in the well-known habit of notaries at this time and before, illustrated by Ficker, [30] of using again and again the same formula in many documents, only changing it when and as far as it became necessary to adapt it to the essential peculiarities of a new deed. Now, since it was the custom, in the case of disputes regarding land, for both parties to adjourn to the site of the property in question, so that there might be no misunderstanding between them as to its exact situation, the form of testimony naturally included some sentence as ''*que tebe*'' or ''*bobe mostrai*.'' For example, in a record of Capua of 937, [31] we have: ''Scio quia illæ Terræ per illos fines & mensuras *quas vobis monstravimus* (elsewhere ''quas tibi monstravi''), per triginta annos possedit pars Sancti Vincentii.'' Again, in a record of 954, from the same town, [32] we have: ''Scio quia illæ terræ per ipsos fines & mensuras, *quas tibi Padelfrit comes monstravi*, per triginta annos possedit pars Sancti Vincentii, . . .'' The same form exists in the Carte di Teano of 964 and 963.

When it happened that the boundaries of the land were specified in documents offered in evidence by one side, and that it was therefore necessary to refer to those documents, which were held in the hand of the witness while he testified, the sentence ''*que ki contene*'' was inserted. So we have in the Carta Capuana of 960 an example of the formula containing the reference to the documentary evidence, and not the other sentence, as follows: ''Sao ko kelle terre per kelle fini *que ki contene*, trenta anni le possette parte Sancti Benedicti.'' In this document there is no record of any adjournment to the land in dispute, so that the other sentence would be out of place.

In our record of Suessa, 963, we find that the contending parties adjourned to the land in dispute, where the boundaries were pointed out to the defendant, and also that the plaintiff offered documents delimiting the land, which were held in the hands of the witnesses when they testified. So that it was to be expected that we should find inserted in the formula both the sentences ''*que tebe monstrai*'' and ''*que ki contene*.'' Beside these, the words ''*Pergoaldi foro*'' had to be in-

[20] Gattola, *Hist. Abb. Cass.*, I, 89[1].
[21] *Rer. It. Script.*, I[b], 419[2], 424[1].
[22] *Rer. It. Script.*, I[b], 419[2].
[23] *Rer. It. Script.*, I[b], 501[1].
[24] *Rer. It. Script.*, I[b], 419[2]; cf. also I[b], 424[1].
[25] *Rer. It. Script.*, I[b], 423[2]; cf. also 424[1] *et alibi*.
[26] Cf. also *cot* (< *quod*) in Codex Cavensis, *A. G. It.*, XV, 251.
[27] Cf. Monaci, *Crestomazia*, I, 1–3.
[28] Cf. Gattola, *Hist. Abb. Cass.*, I, 39–40.
[29] Cf. D'Ovidio in *Z. R. Ph.*, XX, 523–. I have not seen the document, which was to be published soon, according to D'Ovidio. If published, it has escaped me.
[30] *Forschungen z. Reichs- u. Rechtsgeschichte Italiens*, Innsbruck, 1872, pp. 12–17.
[31] *Rer. It. Script.*, I[b], 419.
[32] *Rer. It. Script.*, I[b], 423.

cluded, because it was of cardinal importance to establish the former ownership of the land by Pergoaldus, upon which depended the value of the documentary evidence.

The notary who drew up the record, therefore, had to decide how the three clauses which he intended to insert in the formula, should be arranged.[33] Following the regular form which was used most commonly, as far as I have been able to ascertain,[34] he wrote: "Sao cco kella terra per kelle fini *que tebe monstrai*, . . . ", then of the other two clauses ("*Pergoaldi foro*" and "*que ki contene*"), he chose to put the former first, because it is all-important, and the latter last, (perhaps only as an afterthought), because it is of secondary importance. That is, the whole important part of the formula was put down first, and the less important part tacked on to the end.

It is possible that the awkwardness of the repetition of relative pronouns in the possible arrangement: "per kelle fini que tebe monstrai, que ki contene, Pergoaldi foro, etc.," may have had some influence on the notary, but that seems to me very unlikely, in view of the unoriginal manner in use, of building up the records from fragments of preceding models.

Even supposing that the arrangement of the various clauses is due merely to chance, it seems clear to me that in this curious order of words we have not a syntactical problem, but only a question of mechanical arrangement.

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[33] Even if the judge decided how the witnesses should speak the formula, he would be ruled by the same considerations as would the notary.

[34] I have not found any other documents of this period which have a sentence: "*que ki contene*," as do our record and the Carta Capuana of 960, and, although doubtless it was used not infrequently, it seems reasonable to suppose that in most suits of this kind, at this time, no documents would be offered; this because of the exceptional importance given by the Lombard custom, to the swearing of witnesses. That the formula not referring to documents was actually the more common seems to be shown by a record of Suessa of 976, which relates the offering of a document in evidence, but which has a formula of testimony containing no reference to that document, as follows: "Scio, illæ terræ & monti per ille fines quæ vobis demonstravi, triginta annos possedit pars Sancti Martini." (*Rer. It. Script.*, 1b, 460–).

Hildebrandslied, 63 f.

In Laȝamon's *Brut* there occurs a passage so strikingly suggestive of the much-discussed lines 63–64a of the *Hildebrandslied*, that the two deserve to be quoted side by side.

Hildebr. 63 f.: *dô lęttun se œrist asckim scrîtan, | scarpên scûrim.*

Brut 28320 f.: (*summe hi fuhten a londe, summe bi þan stronde,*) *summe heo letten ut of scipen | scerpe garen scriþen.*

"They first let sharp spears fly"—this is without question the natural and proper interpretation of the former passage (cf. Meissner, *Z. f. d. A.*, xlii, 122 ff.; Trautmann, *Finn und Hildebrand*, 113), which, moreover, has been supported by Old English parallels, *Judith* 221 (cf. *Denkmäler*, ii, 16), *Elene* 237 f., 117 ff. (Trautmann, *l. c.*). Cp. further *Maldon* 149 f.: *forlēt þā drenga sum daroð of handa flēogan of folman.* The only doubtful point remaining is the use of the dative *asckim*, in place of which we should expect an accusative. Trautmann emends to *aski inscrîtan* (OE. *æscas onscrīðan*), thereby introducing an οὐδέποτε λεγόμενον. Meissner, following up a suggestion of Roethe's, tries to show that the dative after *lâzan* with infinitive may have been permissible, yet none of the Middle High German instances cited by him (*l. c.*, 125) is of exactly the same character as the case in question (where the infinitive is used absolutely, without any complement).

To operate with the conjecture *aski* would seem a little bold, though it is evident that the scribe could easily have been led by the following datives *scarpên, scûrim, sciltim* to misspell the form as *asckim*. As regards the function of *scarpên scûrim*, it may either serve as 'variation' of a preceding *asckim* or be used adverbially, 'in sharp showers,' with reference to *lęttun ascki scrîtan*. Both constructions could be exemplified from the Old English.

At any rate, the old explanation of *lęttun scrîtan* with reference to an (understood) accusative *diu hros* (see *Denkmäler*, ii, 16) should be definitely dropped. It makes less satisfactory sense than the plain, clear statement: 'first they shot their spears, then, in close encounter, they hewed the shields [with their swords]'. Nor have

the accompanying datives been sufficiently accounted for. Certainly the MHG. example cited in *Denkmäler* II, 16 : *sie liezzen umbe gân mit sper und mit schilde* is by no means quite analogous. More than that, the close parallels from OE. poems and especially from the *Brut*, are a strong, not to say, decisive argument against that time-honored, but awkward interpretation of the famous passage.[1]

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CHAUCER, *PARL. FOULES* 353.

In *Parl. Foules* 353–4, where Skeat reads,

> The swalow, mordrer of the flyës smale
> That maken hony of floures fresshe of hewe,

MSS. Trin. Th. have *flyes*, MS. Ff. has *bryddis*, MSS. Gg. and O. *foulis*, and all the other MSS. *foules* or *fowles*. Skeat remarks upon the variants : 'But *flyes* is right ; see Cant. Ta. I. 468, Boeth. iii, met. 7'; and in the note he says of *flyes* : 'This, the right reading (see footnote), occurs in two MSS. only ; the scribes altered it to *foules* or *briddes !*'

In a review of Skeat's six-volume edition, published in the *New York Tribune* for February 24, 1895, Professor Lounsbury, after pointing out that the modern editions generally read *bees*, adds : '*Bees*, however, is not found in a single manuscript. Eleven of the thirteen printed read *fowles*, and one its equivalent, *briddes*, that is, "birds." To represent the swallow as the murderer of birds, which birds also make honey, was almost aggressively absurd, and in spite of the weight of authority in favor of the reading, was manifestly incorrect. The single remaining manuscript read *flyes*, "flies." That was also the word found in the earlier black-letter editions till the folio of 1561. Then and there *bees* was substituted in its place. Though the genuineness of *bees* was made suspicious on literary grounds by the addition in the line following of the somewhat unnecessary information that they were in the habit of making honey, the word was accepted, and remained in all subsequent editions. For instance, in 1888 Professor Skeat brought out a volume containing the "Minor Poems," in which the "Parliament of Fowls" was included. In it he adhered to the reading which had been in use since 1561. He appended, indeed, to the line containing it the following foot-note : "Bees must be right ; but there is no authority for it except that of the black-letter editions ; thus, ed. 1561 has Bees." Here again I pointed out in my *Studies in Chaucer* (vol. i, p. 243), that *bees* was certainly wrong as well as unauthorized ; that the reading *flyes* of the earlier black-letter editions was correct, and to prove it quoted two passages from Chaucer himself—one from the Parson's tale and the other from the translation of Boethius—to the effect that bees were then called flies which made honey.'

In his *Studies in Chaucer* (1. 243-4), Professor Lounsbury, after some discussion of the matter, continues : 'Surprising as it is that an error so gross should have been made, it is far more surprising that it could have been persistently maintained in so many manuscripts often differing widely from one another, and some unquestionably the work of competent copyists. To represent the swallows as feeding upon birds was bad enough ; but when, in addition, these same birds were described as making honey, it seems to have required unusual incapacity to miss substituting a proper word, even though no written authority for it could be found.'

And yet *foules* may be right, after all.

If we go back to one of the patristic authorities on natural history, we find that Ambrose recognizes but three main orders of animals—land animals, those that fly, and aquatic animals. Thus he says (*Hexaem.* 5. 12. 37 : *Patr. Lat.* 14. 223) : 'Tria enim genera animantium esse non dubium est—terrenum, volatile, aquatile'; and so Basil (*Hexaem.* 8. 2 : *Patr. Gr.* 29. 167), from whom Ambrose derives many of his views.

Elsewhere we find him saying (*Hexaem.* 5. 14. 49 : Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 14. 227) : 'Sunt etiam vitæ in avibus et operum diversitates ; ut alii ament in commune consulere, et collatis viribus

[1] The translation offered (though with diffidence) by Siebs, *Z. f. d. P.*, XXIX, 412 : "da liessen sie es zuerst mit den lanzen losgehen, mit scharfen waffen" is worthy of note, but probably unsupported by analogy.

velut quamdam curare rempublicam, et tamquam sub rege vivere'; evidently referring to chap. 28, where it is said of bees: 'Ipsæ sibi regem ordinant, ipsæ sibi populos creant,' etc. Again, he has (*Hexaem.* 5. 21. 72: *Patr. Lat.* 14. 236): 'Itaque cum aves aliæ vix in anno edant singulos fetus, apes geminos creant, et duplici cæteris fecunditate præponderant.'[1]

As the authority of Ambrose was great throughout the Middle Ages, it might be assumed that Chaucer would be familiar with this classification. But we are not reduced to conjecture with respect to the inclusion of bees in the class of birds in Chaucer's time, for Wyclif has, in his translation of Ecclus. 11. 3: 'Short in foules [Vulg. *in volatilibus*] is a bee'; and in the next century (1535) Coverdale renders the same passage: 'The Bey is but a small beast amonge the foules.'

Even in 1605, Sylvester, in his translation of Du Bartas, calls a bee a honey-bird (2. 3. 4: *Captaines* 1143):

> Quails [have] but One Chief, the Hony-birds but One,
> One Master-Bee.

If Chaucer, then, spoke of a bee as a bird, he was by no means singular in so doing.[2]

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NOTES ON MARLOWE'S *TAMBURLAINE. First Part.*

1 Tamburlaine 387.

Line 387, as numbered in Wagner's edition (Bullen, 1. 2. 198), is:

> Ioue sometime masked in a shepheards weed,

where Bullen reads 'sometimes.' The allusion is repeated in 1965–7 (Bullen, *1 Tamb.* 5. 1. 184–6):

> That which hath [stoopt] the [chiefest] of the Gods,
> Euen from the fiery spangled vaile of heauen,
> To feele the louely warmth of shepheards flames.

At first glance, this might look like a blundering allusion to Apollo's service with Admetus (Euripides, *Alc.* 3; Virgil, *Georg.* 3. 2, etc.), or to some other myth which represented him as shepherd (Homer, *Il.* 21. 448, cf. 2. 766; *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 22, 102, etc.). It undoubtedly refers, however, to Ovid, *Met.* 6. 114:

> Mnemosynen *pastor*, varius Deoïda serpens,

which is echoed by Spenser, *F. Q.* 3. 11. 35:

> A shephcard, when Mnemosyne he catcht,
> And like a serpent to the Thracian mayd.

In this connection we are reminded that Marlowe is generally credited with a notable borrowing from Spenser in 4096–4101 (Bullen, *2 Tamb.* 4. 4. 119–123):

> Like to an almond tree ymounted high
> Upon the lofty and celestiall mount
> Of [euer] grecne Selinus, queintly dect
> With bloomes more white than Hericinas browes,
> Whose tender blossoms tremble euery one
> At euery litle breath that thorow heauen is blowen;

where Spenser (*F. Q.* 1. 7. 32) has:

> Like to an almond tree ymounted hye
> On top of greene Selinis all alone,
> With blossoms brave bedecked daintily;
> Whose tender locks do tremble every one
> At everie little breath that under heaven is blowne.

On this correspondence Dyce says: 'The first three books of *The Faerie Queene* were originally printed in 1590, the year in which the present play was first given to the press; but Spenser's poem, according to the fashion of the times, had doubtless been circulated in manuscript, and had obtained many readers, before its publication.'

1 Tamburlaine 412–3.

Wagner reads (corresponding to Bullen's 1. 2. 224–5), after Dyce:

> What stronge enchantments tice my yeelding soule
> To these resolued, noble Scythians.

Bullen reads:

> What strong enchantments tice my yielding soul!
> These are resolvèd, noble Scythians.

Here, instead of Dyce's *To*, ABC read *Are*. I would read:

> What stronge enchantments to my yeelding soule
> Are there resolued, noble Scythians!

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[1] Cf. Zöckler, *Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Theologie und Naturwissenschaft*, p. 194: 'Den Vögeln werden, *wie allgemein im Alterthum* [italics mine], auch die fliegenden Insekten zugezählt; so die Biene,' etc.

[2] Cf. "Chaucer's 'bees,'" *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XVII, 110. —J. W. B.

1 Tamburlaine 1968.

Line 1968 of Wagner's edition, corresponding to 5. 1. 187 of Bullen, reads :

And [mask] in cottages of strowed [reeds].

Here AB have *martch*, and C *march*, *mask* being Dyce's emendation. Again, AB have *weeds*, C *weedes*, *reeds* being Dyce's conjecture. I would suggest :

And match in cottages on strowed weeds.

For *match* one might think of *mate*, but this is not so close to the received text. So *reeds* would yield a good sense with *match* or *mate*, but the change is unnecessary.

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LUCIAN AND JONSON.

Ward accepts the conjecture of Gifford that Jonson took the plot of his *Volpone* from an incident in Petronius. This incident, in brief, is as follows :—Eumolpus, a penniless poet, goes to Crotona, a city swarming with legacy-hunters. Here he gives himself out to be a very rich man, whose wealth and slaves are on the way from Africa. At once the *captatores* throng about him with honors, attentions, and gifts. Thus he lives for a while in great splendor, but haunted by the fear of what will happen to him when the fraud is discovered, as it soon must be. Here the fragment breaks off, and we are left in ignorance of his fate.

I do not believe this to have been the source of *Volpone*. Jonson could have got as much as this from Horace and Juvenal. But there are two passages in Lucian which fit the case exactly ; so closely, indeed, that I can hardly believe that they have escaped all the commentators, though I have not met with any reference to them.

The first occurs in the dialogue between Terpsion and Pluto. Terpsion complains that rich old Thucritus, to whom he had been paying assiduous court in hopes of a fat legacy, is still living at the age of ninety, while he, Terpsion, is dead at thirty. He goes on (I quote from the Fowlers' translation) :

"He always looked as if he were at the point of death. I never went to see him but he would groan and squeak like a chicken barely out of the shell. I considered that he might step into his coffin at any moment, and heaped gift upon gift for fear of being outdone in generosity by my rivals."

The second is in the Dialogue of Simylus and Polystratus. Here it is the rich and childless old man who tells how, when he was alive, his doors were thronged by legacy-hunters loaded with gifts :

"I gave each an express promise to make him my heir : he believed and treated me to more attentions than ever ; meanwhile I had another genuine will, which was the one I left, with a message to them all to go hang.

Si. Who was the heir by this one? . . .

Pol. . . . It was a handsome young Phrygian I had lately bought."

The whole comedy of *Volpone*, except the *peripeteia* in the last act, is in these passages as an oak is in an acorn.

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THE SIMPLIFICATION OF FRENCH ORTHOGRAPHY. I.

The Académie Française versus the Rapport of Paul Meyer.

The great battle for the reform of French orthography has now been fought. It is the purpose of this article to give an account of it.

The most important result of the past twelve month discussion—let it be said at once—is that the problem of the reform has now been taken from the hands of dilettanti and entrusted to scholars. Of course, many very distinguished men have for years fought along the line of progress (Havet, Clédat, Renard, Lecoultre, etc.), but they did so on their own private initiative and for their own personal satisfaction. Now, the people who are best qualified in France have been called upon officially, by the Minister of Public Instruction, to express their opinion. They have done it in a conservative spirit or in a progressive spirit, to the best of their knowledge,

but they have done it. This is the reason why up to now we have witnessed only skirmishes; this time it was a real battle.

And now the fact that men like Paul Meyer, Brunot, Faguet, Brunetière have stepped to the front, has caused many people who had so far avoided the subject, to take a hand in the discussion. All progressists—or at least who claim to be—have appreciated the work of Mr. Barès, the man who provided the money to advertise widely the cause of reform. Some skepticism, however, prevailed as to the abilities of such a general. A good deal of superficiality and the somewhat mercantile methods adopted for the propagation of the cause were bound to hurt the feelings of refined minds.

And indeed, how different things look now! Read the brilliant pleadings, on both sides of the question, since a year. How refreshing it is to read the "Rapport" of Paul Meyer after the shallow talk about the necessity of the reform on the ground that foreigners would be more ready to study the language and thus spread the influence of French civilization abroad, or because one ought to prevent little children from crying over their lessons, or again, because mothers and even teachers were at a loss to explain odd spellings in the nursery or in the class room. Even if such motives are sometimes worth considering, they have been imposed upon us in such a fashion as to make them appear almost ridiculous.

Out of a number of extremely able and suggestive pamphlets, articles and speeches which have been published lately, three have to be taken into consideration especially; not necessarily on account of their inherent value, but because they have been made the basis of all further discussion. They are: the "Rapport sur la simplification de l'orthographe," by Paul Meyer; the "Rapport" of the French Academy, on the propositions contained in the later document; and an article by Faguet.[1]

[1] The most remarkable documents beside the three mentioned are: *Revue bleue*, 11 févr., 1905, an article by *Boulenger* (no new arguments, but important because he opens the fire on the side of reaction against reform). *Revue bleue*, 18 févr. and foll. Petition to the Minister of Public Instruction that he refuse to act on the proposition of reform. *Revue bleue*, 28 févr., 1905, *Michel Bréal*, opposes the Rapport Meyer, but thinks reforms are advisable. In this article, one finds the following curious passage concerning America: "Au moins le courant de popularité qui vient de se déclarer aux États-Unis pour l'étude du français se trouvera arrêté [if the simplification is accepted]. J'ai eu l'occasion de voir au moment de l'Exposition de 1900 quelques uns des professeurs qui à l'étranger se chargent d'enseigner notre langue. Ils s'étaient réunis en Congrès à Paris. Ah! ce n'est pas parmi eux qu'on rencontrera des partisans de la réforme! Ils en parlaient avec une sourde indignation, comme d'une invention propre à faire perdre à notre langue toute sa clientèle." [Would not one who knows about this "Congrès" let us have some more information about it?] *Revue bleue*, 11 mars, 1905. Very clever reply of *L. Havet* to the opponents of reform.

F. Brunot: "La réforme de l'orthographe, lettre ouverte à M. le ministre de l'Instruction publique" (Armand Colin, 1905). Written after the answer of the French Academy to the "Rapport" Meyer had been published. It is a most remarkable protest against the conclusions of the Academy.

L. Clédat: "Le rapport de l'Académie Française sur la réforme de l'orthographe," published first in *Revue de Philologie française et de littérature*, juillet 1905, then separately. Very severe on the Academy.

Rémy de Gourmont: in *Revue des idées*, 15 avril, 1905.

One will find a very convenient summary of events regarding the evolution of French orthography, since 1476 to date, in the "Chronique" of the *Revue des Idées*, beginning November, 1904.

[2] This was after the petition of four members of the "Conseil supérieur de l'Instruction publique," the content of which was examined in an article of February, 1904, in *Modern Language Notes*.

I. The "Rapport" of Paul Meyer.

One may remember that on the 11th of February, 1903, Mr. Chaumié, at the time Minister of Public Instruction, appointed a "Commission" which was to report on reforms that might be advisable in order to simplify French orthography.[2] The members were: Messrs. Paul Meyer, L. Havet, A. Thomas, F. Brunot, Carnaud, Comte, Devinat, Clairin, Bernés, Cornet.

Gaston Paris was to be president; and his death was indeed a great loss to the cause of reform of which he was a warm advocate. Not that Paul Meyer, who took his place, should not be perfectly competent in the matter; we are speaking from a merely practical point of view. Owing to his great fame in the general public as well as in

the scholarly world, a report signed by Gaston Paris would have induced a great many to join the movement in favor of reform, while the very special studies of Paul Meyer have necessarily limited his fame to a rather small circle of scholars. Moreover, Gaston Paris, being a member of the French Academy, would no doubt have defended his views before his colleagues and thus spared the famous body to associate its name with a document which will add nothing to its glory.

The "Rapport" of the Commission was published in full in the *Revue universitaire*, 15 nov., 1904, and later, as the second part of a pamphlet: "Pour la simplification de notre orthographe" (Delagrave), in which P. Meyer adds a few data which could not take place in the report, speaks in his own name in favor of the reform, and, finally, answers objections made from different quarters.

The "Rapport" is admirable, and no one interested in the French language could afford to leave it unread. Its author goes straight to the root of things—contrary to the arbitrary and wild proposals to which we were accustomed—and occasionally proposes very radical remedies; as every point is carefully and concisely explained, supported by solid, scientific arguments, no one, after this, would dare any more to use the arm of ridicule with regard to the reform.[3]

A detailed account of the "Rapport" cannot be given here, and only some of the most important results will be recalled.

The "Commission" believes that a perfect orthography should be phonetic;—since, however, this ideal is attainable only by a change of the alphabet (a reform which does not lie within the attributions of the "Commission"), absolute uniformity in spelling is impossible under the present circumstances.

[3] Except by making himself ridiculous. Thus, François Coppée, who endeavors to persuade the French people that spelling reform is a dangerous *political* undertaking. In the *Libre Parole* of Oct. 28, 1904, he urges his friends, the "Nationalistes," to firmly oppose those who are preparing "le chambardement de la langue française," with an "orthographe blocarde et dreyfusiste" "qui n'est qu'une absurde fantaisie de pédants." The "chambardeurs universitaires," in an "accès de cuistrerie démocratique," commit a "sacrilège" in changing the French orthography which, in beauty, is comparable "au torse de la Vénus de Milo et au sourire de la Joconde."

Moreover, some of the reforms which are possible even now, have not been proposed, because being too radical they might frighten timid souls and imperil the whole work of the "Commission."

In consequence, some inconsistencies will be found in the "Rapport"; its authors are aware of it.

Accents.—Suppression of the *grave accent* in all words where this sign does not convey a special sound, thus dropping it on *a* and *u* and keeping it only for the *e* ouvert.—Keep the *è* for all *e ouverts*, (*cèderai* like *achèterai*).—On the other hand, as there is a sign to distinguish *e* ouvert from *e* fermé, one ought to introduce a similar sign to distinguish, *e. g.*, different sounds of *o*, (*bloc*, *broc*) or pronunciations as different as *oeuf* and *oeufs*.

Suppression of the *circonflexe* when it indicates either an etymological letter that was dropped (*forêt*), or a long sound (*voûte*).—The *circonflexe* remains to distinguish the *o ouvert* and *o fermé* (*cône*); in some words the *o fermé* is pronounced, but not indicated in spelling (*zone*); it ought to be introduced. The "Commission," however, does not wish to assume the responsibility of the decision.

Tréma. Keep it, and replace the *h* by the tréma in words like *ébahir* (*ébaïr*), *trahison* (*traïson*).

Vowels, simple and compound.

a.—A few exceptions to the regular spelling ought to be corrected: *fame* instead of *femme*. Adverbs in *emment* changed into *ament*.

an, en.—After *i*, the *en* is often pronounced *in;* put *an* after *i* wherever the pronunciation requires it (*patiant*). To regularise the spelling of all *en*'s pronounced *an*, would mean a change of orthography of several thousand words: "La Commission a reculé devant cette réforme."

eu (sound expressed by *eu, oeu, oe, ue*).—Wherever the difficulty of a preceding *g* or *c* does not interfere, put *eu: neu, seur, euil* (*noeud, soeur, oeil*). In case of a guttural preceding, it would be logical to write *ueu* (*cueur, cueuillir*).

Past participle, preterit indicative and imperfect subjunctive of *avoir*, spelled *u, us, usse*, as pronounced.

in (*ain, ein, ien*).—Too many changes would be

brought about by regularizing now; once the movement of reform is well started, it will be well to take up this chapter. Provisionally, only *dessein* (design) is changed into *dessin* (like drawing).

y.—The "Commission" indicates the irregularities, but postpones reform until a phonetic system of spelling is admitted as a matter of principle.

Consonants.

Etymological letters.—The "Commission" here is very radical. All *consonnes parasites*—except in case they are regularly pronounced—must disappear: *cors, las, ni, neu, doit, pois, puis, rempar, soulter, set, vint* (*corps, lacs, nid, noeud, doigt, poids, puits, rempart, sculpter, sept, vingt*). This carries the change of *m* into *n*, where a *p parasite* falls: *tens, donter, pront* (*temps, dompter, prompt*).

Différend becomes *différent* (noun and adjective alike). The spelling *fonds* disappears, *fond* remaining the only form.

Perhaps *quand* ought also to write like *quant.*

Appas ought to become *appats,* (regular plural of *appat*).

Pié instead of *pied, clé* instead of *clef* are recommended.

Double consonants, followed by e muet.

ll reduced to *l* except in case of *l mouillé.* Verbs in *eler* ought to spell like *geler,* dropping forms like *appelle* and making *apèle.*

rr becomes always *r.*

mm and *nn,* reduced to *m* and *n,* if preceded by an *e ouvert,* this *e* takes grave (*anciène*).

tt, idem. (*nète*).

pp, ff = *p, f.*

Consonants, followed by sounded vowels.

Here the task is more difficult as the usages in pronunciation differ. The "Commission" proposes, in general, the reduction of double to simple letters when no one pronounces two.

Speaking of *cc,* it is proposed to drop the *c* before *q* (*aquérir*).

In case of *simple consonants:*

h.—Except when initial *h* prevents the *liaison,* it is of no use. The "Commission," however, proposes nothing, as it is not wise to attempt to do too much at the time.

g.—Substitution of *j* for *ge* (*manjer, manjons*). In consequence, the *u* after *g* for the guttural sound will become useless, and *gepe* become the natural orthography for *guêpe.* Again, the "Commission" deems it unwise to ask for this change now.

s (*ti, z, x,* &c.).—The "Rapport" shows how very complex the question is. Provisionally, the most shocking anomalies are dealt with. The *t* for the *sifflante forte* is replaced by *c* (*aristocracie, pacient*), *x* replaced by *ss* when it stands for a sifflante forte (*soissante*).

For the *sifflante faible, z* everywhere (*caze, extaze, chaize*).—Then reëstablish the simple *s* in compound words like *dessaisir, pressentiment* (*désaisir, présentiment*).

n mouillé (or *gn*).—Omit the *i* preceding in the words *oignon, moignon, poigne, poignard.* (The false pronunciation *éloigner* is too general now to change it).

Greek words.

The "Commission" would like to propose a radical reform, namely, the suppression of the initial *h,* and the substitution of *c* (or of *k* before *e* and *i*) for *ch.* Moreover, *ph* becomes *f, rh* = *r, th* = *t.* For the present, however, they will be content if the following simplifications are adopted: *i, t, r, f* for *y, th, rh, ph* and *k* for *ch* before *e* and *i.*

In the conclusion, the "Commission" reminds the reader once more of the fact that they were not expected to reform the French alphabet, giving us to understand that this would really be the only thorough remedy.

To show that the "Commission" has done its work most faithfully, let us add, just as it stands, the paragraph concerning the ways and means of introducing the reforms into the schools:

"Il semble . . . que le seul moyen de faire pénétrer dans l'enseignement l'usage de la nouvelle orthographe serait d'imprimer un dictionnaire contenant les mots de la langue usuelle, pour lequel on pourrait prendre comme base la nomenclature du 'Dictionnaire de l'Académie.' Ce dictionnaire serait purement orthographique. Les mots dont l'orthographe aurait été modifiée seraient imprimés en italique. La forme acceptée jusqu'à présent et la forme nouvelle seraient placées chacune à son rang alphabétique avec

renvoi de l'une à l'autre. Pour faciliter la transition on admettrait, dans les examens, pendant un temps à déterminer, les deux orthographes, à condition de ne pas les mêler, mais les maîtres seraient tenus d'enseigner la nouvelle. On peut espérer qu'ainsi l'orthographe réformée entrerait dans l'usage, et on ne niera pas qu'il en résulterait pour l'étude de notre langue une notable économie de temps et d'efforts, et pour la langue elle-même un aspect plus régulier et plus homogène."

A few remarks may be permitted here. The Rapport is thorough and systematic. It would hardly be possible from the scientific point of view to do much better; names like Meyer, Brunot, Thomas, Havet are by themselves a guarantee.

It is hardly necessary to say, nevertheless, that many people were alarmed. Even warm friends of reform considered the propositions of the "Commission" extremely daring and dangerous. This is not our view of the question. We should say, on the contrary, that the "Commission" has been altogether too timid. Several passages in the above summary have been intentionally pointed out to show this. We understand the motives that induced those men to be careful; but we regret them. And this is in no way in contradiction with the conservative attitude taken by us in our previous articles on the subject ever since the discussion opened. As long as the question was in the hands of a very mixed set of people, it was wise to be prudent, very prudent—and the French Academy was right in holding back as much as was in its power. But to-day—one cannot insist too much on this point—conditions are changed altogether. The work will be well done, we are sure of it; we can almost blindly trust the decisions of that "Commission." Therefore, all the reforms they could think of ought to be proposed without hesitation. We say more: If they reach the conclusion—and they do—that the alphabet had to be reformed first in order to reach satisfactory results, why not propose it? Why, if we can get more, deprive ourselves and be content with less? It is, moreover, our strong conviction that a radical reform will be much easier to carry into effect than those shy "demi-mesures." The public never interprets them as wisdom, but as an indication of a poor cause. It may be that we are not ready yet; in this case, better postpone the whole reform until it can be done in a consistent form, and without fatal compromises which will entail the value of the work.

A proof that we are right is that the "Commission" did not at all satisfy the conservatives by its timidity. No one would have been shocked more if the program had been: reform without any concession to old standards. The French Academy has gone so far as to take a mean advantage of the conciliatory dispositions of the "Commission" and reproach it with lack of consistency.

And now that we come to speak of the French Academy, it seems to us that its duty in this occurrence was to keep silent in the discussion and merely accept the "Rapport" of the "Commission." This may seem a very strong statement; it is not if one remembers that there is no grammarian, no French philologist in the French Academy. Gaston Paris is dead, and consequently there is not one man among them, *not one* who can for a moment think of passing judgment upon the work of, much more, therefore, of "faire la leçon" to, Meyer, Brunot, Thomas. The two men who were prominent in the discussion on the side of the Academy, Faguet and Brunetière, are two "amateurs" in problems of language. The Academy was consulted as a matter of courtesy; they refused to understand it and committed one of those blunders that will surely not soon be forgotten by posterity.

(*To be continued.*)

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SCHILLER'S *SPAZIERGANG* AND THOMSON'S *SEASONS*.

In 1789 Ludwig Schubart, the son of the unfortunate Swabian poet, presented Schiller with a copy of his translation of Thomson's *Seasons*. (*Jakob Thomson's Jahreszeiten.* Neuübersetzt. Berlin, Himburg, 1789.) Schiller acknowledged the receipt of the book in the following complimentary manner (Jonas, *Schillers Briefe*, II, 370):

"Haben Sie Dank lieber Freund für Ihr freundschaftliches Andenken und für das schöne Geschenk das Sie mir in Ihrem Tomson gemacht haben. Mit wahrem Herzensvergnügen habe ich Ihre Übersetzung gelesen, und dieses Vergnügen war um so grösser, da ich diesen Dichter bey dieser Gelegenheit überhaupt zum erstenmal las. Dass ich eine hohe Idee von ihm bekam, die ich vorher wirklich nicht hatte, dankt er Ihrer, in wahrem Dichtergeist abgefassten Verdeutschung. Ich verspreche Ihnen viele Leser, Bewunderung und ein dankbares Publikum." (Jena, 15. Nov. 1789.)

On the same day Schiller wrote to Lotte von Lengefeld and Caroline von Beulwitz (Jonas, II, 375): "Schickt mir doch . . . gelegentlich auch den Tomson, der noch bey euch liegt. Den Tomson möchte ich doch gern hinauslesen, er hat mich angezogen."

It is surprising that Schiller had never read Thomson before. Three different German translations had preceded Schubart's rendering (cf. Sauer, *E. v. Kleists Werke*, I, 153, n.); Lessing had severely criticized one of the translators in the *Literaturbriefe* (3. & 5. *Brief*); the whole nature poetry of Germany showed distinct marks of Thomson's influence.

The *Seasons*, even in Schubart's prose translation, made a deep impression upon Schiller. Besides the direct testimony of the two letters cited, we find strong evidence in Schiller's *Spaziergang*, which appeared in 1795. So far as I can see, the relationship between this poem, one of Schiller's best productions, and the *Seasons* has never been pointed out. The commentators are silent on this point. Gjerset in his monograph on the influence of Thomson's *Seasons* upon German literature, does not mention Schiller's poem. (K. Gjerset, *Der Einfluss von James Thomsons Jahreszeiten auf die deutsche Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts*. Diss., Heidelberg, 1898.) Prosch in his *Untersuchungen über elegische Dichter des 18. Jahrhunderts* (*Zt. f. d. Österreich. Gymnasien*, vol. 37, pp. 1–29) shows the connection of the *Spaziergang* with the nature poetry of Haller and Kleist, but does not observe the direct influence of the *Seasons*.

Schiller's *Spaziergang* consists of three parts: the walk of the poet into the country (ll. 1–58), the vision of the rise of civilization and its decay (ll. 59–172), finally, the awakening of the poet and his union with nature. Many of the images and situations of the first part may be found in the *Seasons*. It would be difficult, however, to point to any definite phrases or images as borrowings from Thomson; similar passages may be found in Haller and Kleist. Schiller far surpasses his predecessors in conciseness, vividness and energy of diction. It is in the second part that we see unmistakable traces of Thomson. After giving a description of an autumn scene, Thomson sings the praise of industry and its effects upon man (*Autumn*, ll. 43–143). This passage supplied Schiller with considerable material for the second part of the *Spaziergang*. Schubart was greatly impressed with Thomson's praise of industry. In a note (p. 185) he calls special attention to the passage: "Das hier folgende Lob des *Fleisses* gehört unter diejenigen Episoden, worauf ich den Leser aufmerksam machen möchte. Wenn Thomson nichts gesungen hätte, als das hier für sich bestehende so wahre und so vortreffliche Gedicht; so würde ihm dieses allein schon eine Stelle unter den ersten Dichtern versichern."

Industry, according to Thomson, is the power that raised man from barbarism and humanized him; it has brought about our high civilization. The immediate effects of industry are described as follows (*Autumn*, ll. 73–86)[1]: "Der Fleiss war es, der seine (des Menschen) Kräfte aus dem Schlummer riss; er zeigt' es ihm, wo die verschwenderische Natur die leitende Hand der Kunst heischte; lehrt' ihn seine schwache Kraft durch mechanische Kräfte erhöhen; Erze zu graben aus der wölbenden Erde;—des Feuers durchdringende Flamme, den Wasserstrom und den gesammelten Windstoss zu lenken. Er gab ihm den hohen alternden Wald unter seine Axt; lehrt' ihn Balken zimmern und Steine behauen, bis sich mählig das Gebäude vollendet erhob. Er riss ihm das blutbesudelte Fell von der Schulter, und hüllt' ihn ein in's warme Wollengewand,—in hellschimmernde Seide und fliessendes Lein" (Schubart, page 187). Compare ll. 101–110 in the *Spaziergang*, where the same activities are referred to as the work of "das freie Gewerbe." The locality in Schiller's poem is Greece, in Thomson we have to think of England.

Industry, furthermore, brings about the forma-

[1] It seems best to quote from Schubart's translation, as the English original is easily accessible. Schiller doubtless consulted the English edition also. Mr. M. C. Stewart kindly placed Schubart's translation at my disposal.

tion of a commonwealth, the development of laws and patriotism. (*Autumn*, ll. 96–105.)

"Jezt fluteten die Menschen zusammen, vereinten ihre natürlichen Kräfte, und bildeten einen *Staat*. Alles unterwarfen sie hier dem allgemeinen Wohl; lenkten und führten alles aufs Wohl des Ganzen zurük. Für diess nur trat die Patriotenversammlung,—das freie schöne Bild des Staats—zusammen;—für diess nur schufen sie die heiligen, die schützenden Gesetze; schieden die Stände; belebten die Künste; legten mit vereinter Macht die Unterdrückung an Ketten, und stellten die königliche Gerechtigkeit an's Ruder, ihnen doch immer verbindlich" (Schubart, p. 188).

The highest form of cultivated life is represented by the city. After the passage just quoted Thomson gives a description of the city and its commerce (*Autumn*, ll. 109–133): "Jede Art des geselligen Lebens wurde also geordnet, gedekt und beseelt, und reifte zur Vollkommenheit—zahlreich, verfeinert, und glüklich ward die Gesellschaft durch diesen allgemeinen Bund. Mit schönem Stolze hob die Stadt, die Pflegerin der Kunst, ihr thurmbekränztes Haupt empor. Sie strekte Strassen an Strassen, und zog ihre strebsamen Söhne bei Tausenden aus ihren verlornen Klüften und bogichten Baumhütten hervor.

"Jezt brachte die Handlung den ämsigen Kaufmann unter das Volk; sie baute sein thürmendes Waarenhaus; erhob den starken Kran; füllte mit fremdem Überfluss die beladenen Strassen, und wählte deinen weiten, sanften, majestätischen Strom, o Themse, du Königin der Flüsse, zu seinem grossen Zufluchtsort. Auf beiden Seiten thürmten Haine von Masten, einem langen Winterwald gleich, ihre Spitzen empor; schwellende Segel füllten den Luftraum dazwischen; das schwarze Lastschiff steuerte langsam dahin; gemessen und harmonisch glitt die schimmernde Barke; und das leichtschäumende Boot strekte seine Ruderschwingen aus. Laut erschallt' indes von Ufer zu Ufer der verworrene Ruf feuriger Arbeit." (Schubart, p. 189 f.)

Not only commerce but also the arts follow in the wake of industry (ll. 134–140): "Bald strekte der hohe Säulenpallast seine strahlende Kuppel in die Wolken empor, und die Üppigkeit goss ihre schimmernden Schätze über ihn aus. Verkörpert öfnete sich die glatte Leinwand dem Blik, und trozt' auf ihr glühendes Leben;—zu atmen und in Fleisch zu schmelzen schien die Bildsäule unter der Hand der begeisterten schaffenden Kunst. Alles ist dein Geschenk, o Fleiss, was immer das Leben erhöht, verschönert, und freudenvoll macht."

Thomson, who often repeats himself, had expressed the same idea more briefly in ll. 90–95 directly after enumeratiug the mechanical effects of industry. "Nicht lange weilte er (der Fleiss) beim dürren nakten Bedürfniss, schritt immer kühner weiter, und führte ihn zur Pracht und Anmut, zur Zierde und zur Freude. Hohe Ehrgier facht' er in seiner (des Menschen) Seele auf, sezt' ihm Wissenschaft, Ruhm und Weisheit zum Ziel, und hiess ihm der Herr dieser Unterwelt seyn." (Schubart, p. 188.)

To sum up, Thomson begins with the mechanical aspects of civilization; he passes on to the development of social life and virtues as shown in the commonwealth with its legal order and patriotic devotion; he ends with the city, the highest form of civilized life: here commerce is concentrated and the arts are fostered. In this way life is rendered delightful (l. 142).

In Schiller's *Spaziergang*, the same line of thought appears but in different order. As the rise of civilization presents itself to the poet in a vision, the most prominent part of it, *die türmende Stadt*, is put near the beginning of the description. Among the social virtues, the poet emphasizes legal order and patriotic devotion. Then follow the mechanical aspects of civilization including commerce (ll. 101–120) and finally the greatest achievements of culture: arts and sciences (ll. 121–137). Thomson's optimism furnishes the illustration for Wagner's "wie wir's dann zuletzt so herrlich weit gebracht," Schiller shares Rousseau's views as to the inevitable results of civilization.

A careful reading of the second part of the *Spaziergang* will at once show the close correspondence to the passages quoted above. A few agreements in phraseology may be briefly pointed out. *Spaziergang*, l. 63: the word "Stände" is used by Schubart to translate Thomson's "orders," *Autumn*, l. 102. Schiller's "thürmende Stadt," l. 68, corresponds to Schubart's "thurmbekränztes Haupt" (der Stadt) and Thomson's

(the city's) "tower-encircled head" (*Autumn*, l. 114). Schubart also says "thürmendes Waarenhaus" (the big warehouse, l. 119). "Türmende Stadt" is, however, a favorite expression of Klopstock's (cf. *Mein Wissen*, 3, 4 ; *Messias*, VII, 625, 763 ; XIV, 923. Würffl, *Sprachgebrauch Klopstocks*, Progr., Brünn, 1884, p. 49). *Spaziergang*, l. 114, read originally "von dem thürmenden Mast" which corresponds to Schubart's "thürmten Haine von Masten . . . ihre Spitzen empor." As Humboldt found fault with the phrase, Schiller later wrote "ragenden Mast."

Schiller's interest in Thomson at the time of writing the *Spaziergang* may be seen from the essay *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung*, on which he worked from 1793–95. The essay contains references to Thomson that indicate close acquaintance with his work. (*Schillers Werke*, ed. Bellermann, vol. VIII, pp. 349, 356.)

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A Life of William Shakespeare, by SIDNEY LEE. With Portraits and Facsimiles. Fifth Edition. London (Smith, Elder & Co.) : 1905. Cr. 8vo., pp. xxviii + 495.

Among the many articles contributed by Mr. Sidney Lee to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, two were recognized as preëminently authoritative, those on William Shakespeare and Queen Victoria, both of which were afterwards extended and published in book form. The *Life of William Shakespeare* appeared in November, 1898, and was "crowned" by the London *Academy* as the leading book of the year. Since then it has been generally recognized as the most trustworthy of the biographies of the poet, and has been repeatedly reprinted. The only critics who found fault with Mr. Lee were those who condemned him for what most scholars consider his greatest service—the stripping away of fanciful legend and of so-called biographical "interpretation" of the poems and plays. Mr. Lee's careful study of the biographical material and his rejection of all that would not stand the test, while not enhancing the continuity nor the charm of his narrative, produced a work for which every student must feel grateful.

In such a book of almost 500 pages, replete with references and notes, it was inevitable that some errors should creep in. Nearly all of these were of a trivial character, the most careless, perhaps, being the statement (p. 224) that *Antony and Cleopatra* is sixty lines longer than *Hamlet*, whereas it is really almost nine hundred lines shorter.

Recently Mr. Lee prepared a revised and somewhat enlarged (fifth) edition of his book. The actual extension of the text is from 476 to 495 pages. In his preface he noted the correction of a few errors that figured in earlier impressions, and called attention to the additions made to his chapters on autographs, portraits and bibliography. Much additional information concerning the First Folio was incorporated from the *Census* compiled by Mr. Lee in 1902. He likewise added to his notes the most important of new contributions to Shakespearean literature.

While this admirable biography is rendered still more valuable by the manifest care with which this new edition has been prepared, it is at the same time unfortunate that a number of errors should have escaped detection and thus found their way once more into print.

Without attempting any formal review of this now familiar book, I wish simply to call attention to a few *errata* (mostly bibliographical) that persist in the new edition or appertain to the new edition alone.

P. 1. In his first edition, Mr. Lee mentioned John Shakespeare of 'Freyndon' (1279) as the first recorded holder of the name. He now places him second, making way for a William Shakespeare or 'Sakspere' of 1248. Mrs. C. C. Stopes, in her *Shakespeare's Family* (1901), mentions (pp. 4–5) three other Shakespeares who antedate 1279, and Lionel Cresswell in *Notes and Queries* (ninth series, II, p. 167), mentions one as early as 1250.

P. 11. Alexander Webbe is mentioned in both editions as the husband of Shakespeare's sister-in-law, Agnes Arden. The usual genealogical authorities record that Webbe married another sister—Margaret Arden. Agnes was twice married, first to John Hewyns, secondly to Thomas Stringer.

P. 314. "Five [quartos] achieved only one

edition" should be four. Five was correct in the enumeration of the old edition (p. 302), but *Titus Andronicus* has been moved into the "three quarto" group. The old edition did not mention the 1611 quarto, nor, of course, the recently found 1594 copy. Moreover, why does this table omit the two 1611 quartos of *Romeo and Juliet* mentioned on page 316?

Pp. 318–319. In quoting a passage from Heminge and Condell's "To the great Variety of Readers" prefixed to the First Folio, Mr. Lee repeats a number of errors that occurred in the old edition (pp. 306–307). The essential part of the quotation is here reprinted with the correct reading in brackets.

"As where (before) we [you] were abus'd with diuerse stolne [,] and surreptitious copies, maimed and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of incurious [iniurious] impostors that expos'd them; ev[u]en those are now offer'd to your view cur'd and perfect in [of] their limbes," etc.

P. 320. Mr. Lee states that in the First Folio only the second and third pages of *Troilus and Cressida* are numbered, these being 79 and 80. Some copies have the fifth page numbered 82. This was the case in the copy used by Halliwell Phillipps for his reduced facsimile.

P. 338. Mr. Lee mentions eleven volumes of Dr. Horace Howard Furness' Variorum edition, just as in 1898, and makes no mention of the additional volumes added during the past seven years.

P. 357, *note*. To Mr. Lee's obsolete references to Shakespeare and Music should be added Mr. Edward W. Naylor's *Shakespeare and Music* (1896), and Mr. Louis Elson's *Shakespeare in Music* (1901), both admirable, scholarly books.

P. 363. Instead of accrediting the German Shakespeare Society with thirty-four year-books (as in 1898), it should now be some forty-one.

These few errors, trifling as they are, should not be permitted to remain in the text. It is to be hoped that they will be corrected before the American impression of the revised edition appears.

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Pädagogische Streifzüge durch die Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika. Vortrag von Dr. AUG. HÖFER, Oberlehrer am Realgymnasium Musterschule zu Frankfurt a. M. Bad Wildungen, 1905. (Sonderabdruck, 8vo., 18 pp.)

Those of us who met the author of this pamphlet on his wanderings through our land will greet his deductions with especial interest. There is more than a grain of truth in his strictures on our American school system and a lesson for each teacher of Modern Languages in what he says. The clearness and lack of prejudice of his presentation deserve notice and praise, and he is to be complimented upon the rightness and keenness of his observations.

He finds, for example, that there is too great a number of women teachers in our schools, holds that these are not the best formative influence upon half-grown boys and sees in our comparatively small salaries the reason for the growth of this already too large majority of women in the teaching profession. The matter of small salaries offers grave food for thought; it is in line with a tendency increasingly noticeable, to regard the teacher as to a certain extent a hireling whom one may discharge upon any pretext whatsoever. Recent unfortunate events in some of our largest universities seem to bear out this statement and it is one which should be combatted with all the energy at the command of the whole teaching profession. The blame to a certain extent, it is true, also falls upon the teacher, who with poor preparation, lack of personality and interest, has only a commercial attitude toward what he regards as a daily task.

Dr. Höfer also speaks a warning word against the trifling in our high schools. The time wasted there is positively inconceivable where debating and dramatic societies and what not, take time from serious work. Too much time, let it be observed, for no sensible person will wish to deprive the young people of their varied interests in the living thing. Yet all this makes for shallowness and keeps our students immature and unstable, while the growing interest in athletics takes their whole attention from their work for days at a time. The daily papers in Cleveland

and even in Boston, for example, devote an incredible amount of space to High School football, with pictures and cartoons and all the vulgar paraphernalia of semi-professional sport. One Cleveland team goes to Chicago to play, another to Pittsburg; high school boys are arrested for disorderly conduct, rowdyism of the college type, after a game, and, finally, ugly rumors of real professionalism are rife here, as in college athletics. These young people, in so far as they come to college, come sufficiently unprepared; if this new evil creeps in it will take away from the sober education and true bookish life that America so needs.

All this tends toward the superficiality which Dr. Höfer so trenchantly discusses. Yet his examples of bad translations are in the main hardly more than ordinary school-boy blunders. The root of the matter lies much deeper and is, as he has observed, in the too varied menu of our high schools. The pinch of chemistry, the spoonful of zoölogy and the few drops of botany are of no avail either for a practical life or as preparation for college. If the attention could be paid to the attainment of those means, language, grammar, the fundaments of mathematics and history, whose end is in culture, and of those essentials, correct spelling and punctuation, letter writing, vocabulary, which are the stamp of the gentleman and woman, our whole standard of education in the colleges would be raised and the emphasis on elements placed where it belongs, in the elementary and secondary schools. This is not an effort toward making our colleges rival the German university; in most cases there is still a far cry to that, but simply toward an economy of time and labor and toward a more practical and at the same time more cultural education.

The time has come in our educational development when the vanguard can begin to preach culture. To this end we must cease to regard "the best that has been thought and done in the world" as an objective mass; we must make it live in our pupils as a subjective reality. The daily task must no longer be a daily task but must become material for a better and higher life. Julia Marlowe is quoted as having said, that no one can become an artist who goes about his work as a school child at a task. But why should the school child be taught to go about his task in this purely objective way? By this ugly method we get farther and farther from usefulness and culture.

Dr. Höfer's tone is in the main optimistic—too much so, if we continue in the old paths. He emphasizes America's youth and possibilities. Yet one can hardly agree with him when he says that we have given our pupils but a few bits of change up to the present time, where the German has gold coin. Our effort has been to work out a practical scheme, and for a practical education in all but ethics (unimportant!) the scheme has worked. Now for some content in our system.

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Italian Grammar, by C. H. Grandgent, Professor of Romance Languages in Harvard University. Revised and Enlarged. Boston: D. C. Heath and Co., 1904. 12mo., xxxiv + 132 pp.

In this last edition of his *Italian Grammar*, Prof. Grandgent has introduced a set of lessons and exercises that to a great extent occupy the place formerly filled by his *Italian Composition*.[1] We have then, so to speak, two books in one.

The manifest excellencies of this little book, which contains what might be called the very quintessence of Italian grammar and which notwithstanding its succinctness unveils at times facts not contained in books of seven times its size, are too well known to be here dwelt upon. Every one that has used the book cannot but have felt a sense of security due to a consciousness of the mastery displayed in it. Prof. Grandgent has a well-defined end in view towards which he works with a lucidity of mind characteristic of him. He wished to give essentials unencumbered by accessories that should be put off to a time when the student will be ready, if he so desires, to pursue his grammatical studies in Italian treatises, or, God save the mark, in German ones. It is,

[1] This work, too, has appeared in a new revised edition (D. C. Heath & Co., 1904).

therefore, with some diffidence that the reviewer undertakes to make comments that may seem at times to go wide of the mark, since the author might have considered them as belonging to the accessories above alluded to. One might mention the fact that in the set of lessons and exercises (more complete than in his *Italian Composition:* there they were twenty, here they are more than twice that number), one has the benefit of the author's pedagogical experience in method, a fact which younger men will appreciate and so *escarmentar en cabeza ajena*, as the Spaniards put it, though in a totally different sense.

In the following review, in which, as was said above, the excellencies of the book will not be dwelt upon, I shall first consider the grammatical text; secondly, the exercises there inserted; then, the lessons and exercises prefixed to the body of the book; and finally, the typographical errors. The vocabularies will be treated simultaneously with the exercises.

I.

§ 3. The italicised vowels in the words generale, esposizione (other words might also be added), can hardly be called close. Professor Josselyn, in his *Étude sur la phonétique italienne*, not only considers the unaccented *e* of the penult of *fremere* to be an open sound, but comes to the conclusion that it is a third *e*-sound, distinct from the other two.[2] Sufficient material, however, has as yet perhaps not been collected from which to deduce rules for an elementary grammar, and Prof. Grandgent has consequently preferred to follow most of the Italian grammarians in their statement that an unaccented *e* and *o* are always close.

§ 4, S. On comparing § 3, (5), second paragraph, with § 3, (3), one would not expect the quality of the *o* of *so* to be marked.[3]

§ 4, *b*. One might here take note of the voiceless *s* in such combinations as *dicesi* (*si dice*), *facciasi*. Cf. *ventisette* here below III, Ex. 2, l. 25.

§ 4, *d*. The consideration of verbs in *-cludere* as exceptions to this paragraph is not strictly consequential. The author has so termed such verbs because they go back to the same Latin root as does *chiudere*.

§ 6. Is one to infer that just as *paura* is a word of three syllables, so *lei* is a word of two syllables? It would seem that Prof. Grandgent does not believe in the existence of diphthongs in Italian.

Appendix, page 123, § 1. The name of the letter *q* is spelled *qu*. The author spells it *cu*, probably for phonetic reasons.

App., § 3, γ. The statement with regard to the ending *-esimo* applies to numerals: *ventęsimo*; but cf. *cristianęsimo, paganęsimo, protestantęsimo, battęsimo, quaręsimo, incantęsimo*.

App., § 3, ζ. This paragraph taken in connection with § 3, (4) of page 2 might lead one to believe that this phenomenon occurs only in poetry. To avoid this, different examples should have been chosen for page 2.

App., § 4. C. *a*. An example of initial *c* or *g* that has become intervocalic owing to its position in the sentence should have been given.

App., § 6. Gröber's *Grundriss*[4] mentions *fa, va, sta* as literary imperatives and in that function includes them among the forms that double the initial consonant of a following word. In a parenthesis, the *Grundriss* warns against confusing them with the later Tuscan forms *fa', va', sta'*. Prof. Grandgent in his note to the words in question (*fa, va, sta*) says they double a following consonant both when indicatives and when imperatives. The *Grundriss* would then by implication seem to exclude *fa', va', sta'* from among the words that double the initial consonant of a following word, while Prof. Grandgent cautiously omits any reference to them whatever. Petrocchi in the case of *fa'* is more explicit. He says[5] that the imperative *fa'* is not followed by the doubling of an initial consonant except when joined to the pronouns *lo, mi*, etc. (*fallo, fammi*). According to him, apostrophized words do not double a following initial consonant, and there is thus in Tuscan speech a difference in pronunciation between *sta' sano* (keep well) and *sta sano* (sta ssano = he is well).[6] According to Petrocchi,

[2] Cf., too, his conclusions with regard to *popolo*.

[3] Cf. *do*, § 3, (3); *ho*, page 54, *a*, third example; *so*, p. 72, *h*, first example. In the paradigms of *avere, stare*, etc., the author has indicated the open sounds in *ho, sto*, etc., notwithstanding the remarks in § 3. The advisability of doing this for pedagogical reasons is obvious.

[4] Page 644, § 8, second edition.

[5] *Diz. univ., s. v. fare*.

[6] He cites (*Grammatica della lingua italiana*, p. 48) as an exception *Ve'* (*Ve' bbello!*). Owing to what he says in

then, the forms *vo'* (*voglio*), *fe'* (*fece*), *di'* (all given by the *Grundriss* and by Prof. Grandgent as forms that double a following consonant), and *da'* [7] cause the doubling in question only when followed by *lo*, *mi*, etc., and thus in Tuscan speech there is a difference between the pronunciation of *vo' bene* (*voglio bene*) and *vo bene* (*vo bbene* = *vado bene*).

To the list given by the *Grundriss* and Prof. Grandgent, might be added *ove* and *ve'*.[8]

App., § 6, final sentence. The last sentence should have mentioned the fact that *c* + *e*, *i* or *g* + *e*, *i* in the same position are never pronounced like *sh* (ship) and *si* (vision). This omission, coupled with the omission of examples like *la cena*, *la gente*, in App., 4. C. *a*, tends to leave these two facts totally in the dark.

Page 15, § 3. *Intrinseco*, *lastrico*, *parroco*, *sciatico*, *tossico*, *traffico*, also have regular plurals and might thus, along with *acrostico* and *farmaco*, be put in Italics. In the case of *intrinseco*, and of *parroco* the plural in *-ci*, according to Petrocchi, is even more common; in the case of *sciatico* and of *tossico*, the plurals in *-ci* are the only ones he gives. *Fondaco* should appear in the list that take *-chi*, or at any rate in the final note.

§ 24. The wording of the rule leads one to imagine that words, not monosyllabic and not oxytonical, exist that end in *u*. No example is given.

§ 27. *Grosso* and *alto* would hardly come under this rule, for they usually follow. *Grande*, which seems to be chosen to exemplify the rule for adjectives of size,[9] is hardly a good example. It would probably have been more advisable to prefer express mention of adjectives of color to express mention of adjectives of material, especially since the latter (*aureo*, *argenteo*, *ferreo*, etc.) are usual only in elevated and poetic language.[10]

§ 28. The last sentence would lead one to ask: are they variable in the plural? It is gender that is being considered.

§ 35, *c*. The ending *-otto* is registered among the diminutive endings. Would it not have been more advisable to consider the suffix as indicative of a medium size?[11] It is so considered by Italian grammarians. *Passerotto* would probably have been a better example to fortify the statement of the text than *aquilotto;* for this latter is a rather large bird even when young.

§ 45, *d*. It is to be noted that the interrelation of *di lei*, *di lui* between the article and the noun is disapproved by Italian grammarians.

§ 46. In this paragraph, we are presented with an almost flawless model of conciseness and precision—the example is perfect.[12]

§ 47, *a*. An example illustrative of *ci* = "to it" or "to them" is needed.

§ 48, line 3. It would be advisable to add an example containing a perfect tense.

§ 49. According to this rule, one could say *ti mi presentai* (I presented myself to you), but one finds instead *mi ti presentai*.[13]

§ 50, line 1. *Mi*, *ti*, *ci*, etc., also change their *i* to *e* before *gli*.

§ 51, *a*. The last sentence of the paragraph should refer not to 51, *b*, but to 51 (1) and 52 (1).

his *Diz. univ.*, *s. v. fare*, and to the existence of such combinations as *dammi*, *dimmi*, his statement in the grammar has to be slightly changed by the addition of some such words as *per regola generale*.

[7] Given by Prof. Grandgent, but not by the *Grundriss*.

[8] Note that *ave maria* is pronounced *ave mmaria* (Petrocchi writes it *avemmaria*), that *Spirito Santo* is pronounced *Spirito SSanto*, and that the *d* of *Dio*, *dei*, *dea*, *dee* is doubled even when preceded by words that do not cause the doubling of a following consonant (*gli ddei*, *la ddea*).—An exception to the rule that oxytones cause the doubling in question is *Gesù*, which in *Gesù Cristo* does not affect the pronunciation of Cristo.

[9] The sixth and seventh examples seem to be the ones that exemplify the emotional and figurative uses.—One might here remark in a general way that throughout the book it would save the student time were the examples of a comprehensive rule made more readily recognizable by some formal means.

[10] The Romance languages, preserving only the accented Latin suffixes, lost the sole suffix (*-eus*) that was used in the derivation of adjectives from the names of material. They substituted for such adjectives a prepositional phrase. Instead of learned forms like *aureo*, *argenteo*, *ferreo*, the forms of ordinary usage in Italian are *d'oro*, *d'argento*, *di ferro*. Cf. French *d'or*, Spanish *de oro*. See Gröber's *Grundriss*, p. 291, sec. ed.

[11] Prof. Grandgent mentions this usage, but considers it the exceptional one.

[12] Unhappily the statement that the disjunctive forms are those used as subject of a verb and object of a preposition does not quite cover the case. Cf. such examples as the one given in the remarks on § 51, *b*. (1).

[13] Italian avoids coupling the first and second persons together. Instead of *mi ti presentai* one finds more often *io mi presentai a te*.

§ 51, *b*. (1). Some such example as *La zia manda te a comprare il giornale* is lacking. The inclusion of such an example would bring § 51, *b*. (1) into clearer relation with the second paragraph of § 51.

§ 55, lines 2–5. An example of a perfect tense should be given.

§ 55, last sentence of first ¶. An example is needed. The reference contains no example of a reflexive.

§ 56, *c*. An example containing one of the compound tenses of the passive should have been added to § 54, *a*, in order to make it clear that both participles in the perfect tenses agree in gender and number with the subject.

Page 69 *. It would perhaps be advisable to leave out the words "the future or." One might understand "the perfect of the future" to mean the future perfect indicative.

§ 77, *b*. According to this rule, the verb of the relative clause in such a sentence as "America was discovered by an Italian who was called Chr. Columbus," would be put in the subjunctive. Fornaciari's rule, that the subjunctive is used in such clauses when their predicate is taken in a generic or indeterminate sense, seems to fit the case better.

§ 78. "However (before an adjective)." Can "however" before an adjective be considered a conjunction? If it be *qualunque* after an adjective that is so considered, it would not be translated by "however."

§ 79, *j*. A sentence like *che faceva delle forbici* makes necessary a note in explanation of the use of the imperfect.

Page 91, 13. The only form given by Fornaciari and by Petrocchi for the first person plural present indicative of *tacere* is a form with only one *c*.

Page 93, 31. By referring, for the conjugation of *risolvere* (dissolve), to *solvere*, one may infer that the author considers *risoluto* as the proper participial form for *risolvere* (dissolve). Petrocchi (*s. v. risolvere*) would lead one to choose rather the form *risolto*.

Page 94, 43. According to page 93, *f*, the first person present indicative and the third person plural indicative of *cuocere* insert no *i* (*cuoco, cuocono*). Fornaciari, however, gives only the forms with *i* (*cuocio, cuociono*). Petrocchi, too, gives only the forms with *i* (*cocio and cuocio, cociono*).[14]

II.

Page 11, Exercise 2, line 7. "Emmanuel." The vocabulary has *Emmanuele*, but this name is now more usually written with one *m*.

P. 23, Ex. 6, l. 2. "Melon." The vocabulary makes the accented *o* of *cocomero* open. It is given as close by Petrocchi and others.

P. 29, Ex. 8, l. 15. "Leap-year." *Bisestile* is an adjective. The author in the vocabulary seems to consider it a noun.

P. 45, Ex. 11, l. 9. *Parecchio* is translated "some" in the vocabulary, but the idea of *muchness* contained in the word in this passage is better brought out by the colloquial "quite a." In this case *tempo* would have to be translated "while."

P. 46, l. 16. "Much-trouble." Whether one considers *incomodo* a noun or an adjective,[15] "much" should be linked with "too" and not with "trouble."

P. 64, Ex. 15, l. 9. *Can barbone* in the vocabulary is translated "water-spaniel," but the dog meant is probably a large (clipped) poodle.

P. 72, Ex. 17, ll. 13–14. *Creatura* is translated "creature" in the vocabulary. It would perhaps be advisable to translate *bambina* "little girl" and *creatura* "child." If *creatura* is rendered "creature," it might be understood in a disparaging sense, which is absent in the Italian here.

Ibid., l. 17. *L'allontanò*. Since *ci andava*, etc., of the preceding sentence is translated "There used to come to the house," it is hardly appropriate to translate *l'allontanò* "sent her off." "Kept her away," or something equivalent, would seem more suited to the case.

P. 83, Ex. 19, l. 2. For *chicca*, "cake" is here probably more natural than "sweetmeat."

Ibid., l. 12. *O*, in the vocabulary translated "oh," might be more idiomatically translated "just."

[14] The forms *cuoco* and *cuocono*, Petrocchi considers as obsolete.

[15] "Too" in the vocabulary is followed by "excessively" in parenthesis.

Ibid., l. 17. *Amaro* is translated "bitter." But "bitter" used as a noun is so unusual that the fact that it is a noun should be indicated.

Ibid., l. 25. *Porta.* Instead of "bring," "lead to" should be given as the translation of *portare.*

P. 84, Ex. 20, l. 8. "Shoot-it" should be translated by some such word as *colpirlo* or *coglierlo.* The note has *tirargli,* which means "to shoot *at.*"

P. 87, Ex. 21, l. 2. *Mai,* translated "ever" in the vocabulary, does not mean "ever" here. It merely adds emphasis to the phrase.

Ibid., l. 2. *Sentir* should have "listen to" added to its meanings in the vocabulary.

Ibid., ll. 5–6. Unless "this one," "that one" be added to the translations of *questo, quello,* in the vocabulary, the student might understand *di questo e di quello* to mean here "of this and of that." Perhaps a note would serve best here.

Ibid., l. 9. *Esser di mezzo* means rather "to be mixed up with, connected with."

III.

Page ix, Exercise 1, l. 7. The translation of *le spighe del grano* by "the ears of corn" is doubtless misleading to most of the students in the United States, for whom "corn" means Indian corn (Italian *granturco*). The same remark applies to the sixth sentence of Exercise 4.

Ex. 2, l. 11. *Tanto* has a more precise translation in some such phrase as "after all." Cf. here below P. xxvii, Ex. 26, l. 6.

Ibid., l. 25. Unless a note to the contrary be added, the student is likely to pronounce *ventisette* with a voiced *s.* Cf. here above I, § 4, *b.*

Page xx, l. 2. *Scuotere.* In the list of irregular verbs (p. 95, 105),[16] Prof. Grandgent seems to prefer, perhaps for pedagogical reasons, *scuotiamo, scuotete* to *scotiamo, scotete.*[17]

P. xxiii, l. 2. "Offices nor honors." The student, from what precedes (Ex. 2, l. 11; Ex. 19, sentence 19), is led to use articles in the translation of "offices nor honors." Such objects after a verb accompanied by a negative generally do not take the article. The same remark applies to page xxviii, l. 7.

P. xxvii, Ex. 26, l. 6. "Rank alone." This exercise being based on Exercise 2 (the brackets say it is based on Exercise 1, but it is obviously based on Exercise 2), the student is likely to consider "their rank alone" = "their mere rank" of Ex. 2, l. 12, and so translate "their rank alone" by *tanto la nobiltà.*

Ex. 26. The desire to make the forms in Exercise 26 vary from those of the exercise on which Exercise 26 is based, has brought about incoherency in this last exercise. Cf. "born in 1749 . . . he is a count . . . He was noble." One does not know whether it is Alfieri's parents speaking or the Italian nation.

With regard to the specification of the sections to be studied in the Lessons, there is sometimes confusion in the case of those paragraphs that have sub-divisions in Arabic numerals. I mean those cases in which such sub-divisions precede sub-divisions marked with the letters of the alphabet. Cf. § 51, 2 of Lesson 5 which is clear with § 54 of Lesson 6, with § 47 of Lesson 14, and with § 44 of Lesson 10, where the ninth sentence of the accompanying exercise implies that 44 includes 44, (3) and consequently also (1) and (2).

Lesson 35. I imagine that the author intends that verbs marked poetical and rare and even those in parenthesis should be excluded.[18] If such be the case, it would perhaps be better to state it.

Lesson 38. The indication of the pages 30–34 in this lesson might, notwithstanding the use of the words "whole chapter," lead the student to leave out Exercise 9 in this lesson,[19] if it is meant to be included. One might here refer back to Lesson 37 where the appearance of Exercise 4 in Exercise 37 might tend to make the student think that Exercises 3 and 5 were not included in Lesson 37, if they are meant to be included.

IV.

Page x, l. 8. Imperfect type has caused *1749* to become 1740.

[16] Cf. § 92.

[17] I find no statement that applies to verbs of the third conjugation in the same way that § 59, *b* applies to *giocare, rotare, sonare.*

[18] Cf. the exclusion of *orire* in Lesson 33, and Lessons 26, 27, 28.

[19] Cf. Lesson 41 where Exercise 19 is expressly excluded though it occurs on page 83.

P. xix, Lesson 15, l. 2. Page 87 should be page *93* or page *58*, *second* ¶.

P. xxii seq. In Exercises 19, 26, 27, "Exercise 1" of the brackets should read "Exercise *2*."

P. 84, § 86, second example: "Sí" for *Si*.

P. 88, *b*: "détti" for *dêtti*.

P. 104, last word of second column: "sciegliere" for *scegliere*.

P. 112: "Recreazione" for *Ricreazione*.

P. 121: Your accent of *vôstro* blurred.

A. P. Raggio.

CORRESPONDENCE.

De Vidua: *Yvain*,[1] ll. 933–2048.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—After naming the sources of Chrétien's other works, Professor Foerster in his introduction to the *Yvain* says: "So ist der Yvain das einzige Werk Kristian's worin keine Quelle welcher Art immer angegeben wird."[2] And further: "War also der Dichter damals ohne Hofanstellung? oder hat die Laudinen-Episode (vielleicht ist etwas ähnliches in der damaligen Chronique scandaleuse vorgekommen und die betroffenen Kreise unangenehm berührt, als sie die Geschichte nun in diesem Rahmen eingefasst und verewigt sahen) an dem Hof, wo Marie von Champagne ihnen eigenen Liebesorden mit ganz besondern Satzungen gegründet hatte, verschnupft und war der Dichter so gezwungen, den Namen der Gönnerin wieder auszustreichen?"[3] The conclusion is that the *Yvain* is original in basis but that Chrétien has made use of a series of known episodes, among them Petronius Arbiter's story of the Ephesian Widow[4]—"diese leicht getröstete Witwe ist ein direkter Nachkomme der bekannten Witwe von Ephesus."

It would be interesting to investigate what was the moral force of literature in Chrétien's time, and thence how much a patroness like Marie de Champagne would hesitate to give sanction to such a playful indictment of the sex as the Lady Laudine affords. As for the source of the episode, I think it is unnecessary to look to Petronius, although it is certain that the history of the Widow of Ephesus was known in the later twelfth century. It is equally attested that dowered widows in the Middle Ages had good reason to marry again in haste. Professor Foerster compares in detail, but the two incidents are not strikingly similar. Laudine is scarcely "das würdige Seitenstück der Ephesischen."[5] Knowing as we do Chrétien's message of courtesy to his times it seems at least probable that as in the general scheme of the *Yvain*, so in this disproportioned chapter the author had no immediate source in mind.

But if we must trace the descent, what better model (for reshaping) than the Roman de Thèbes[6] with which Chrétien was familiar.[7] Oedipus has killed King Laius:

> Quant la reïne [Jocasta] ot la novèle
> De son seignor ne li fu bèle;
> Mout fu dolente et corraçose:
> "Lasse, dist ele, dolorose!
> Or sué je veve senz seignor,
> Or n'ai enfant qui guart m'onor:
> Se bataille me sort o guerre
> Ne porrai pas tenir ma terre."[8]

Oedipus and Jocasta are at supper. The queen asks who it is that has killed her husband, and adds:

> "Que me vaudreit de lui haïr?
> Cil qui morz est ne puet guarir."[9]

Oedipus admits that he is the slayer:

> Ore a cil tant son plait mené
> Que andui se sont acordé.[10]

Barons and burghers pray Jocasta to marry Oedipus:

> La reïne quant ço oï
> Forment li plot, si s'esjoï;

[1] *Kristian von Troyes Yvain* [Rom. Bib., No. 5], herausgeg. v. W. Foerster, Halle, 1891.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. xi. [3] *Ib.*, pp. xi–xii.

[4] *Ib.*, pp. xiii–xiv.

[5] Cf. *Petronii Satiræ*, ed. F. Buechler. Boston: Weidmann, 1895. c. 111–112.

[6] Ed. Léopold Constans [A. T. F.]. Paris, 1895, ll. 217 ff. (The line numbering is confused.)

[7] Cf. *Cligès*. [Rom. Bib., No. 1.] 2te Aufl. Halle, 1901, ll. 2536–39.

[8] *Thèbes*, ll. 217–224. Cf. *Yvain*, ll. 1206–1242.

[9] *Thèbes*, ll. 383–384. [10] *Ib.*, ll. 397–398.

Senz nul conseil le lor otreie
Et por le dameisel enveie.

With which compare *Yvain*, ll. 2037–2044 :

Einsi sont acordé briémant.
Et la dame ot son parlemant
Devant tenu a ses barons,
Et dit : " De ci nos an irons
An cele sale, ou mes janz sont,
Qui loé et conseillié m'ont
Por le besoing que il i voient,
Que de mari prandre me proient."

That is, Chrétien has improved again on the *matière de Rome*, choosing to stress *cortoisie* as included in *sagesse*. If in *Cligès* Soredamor and Fenice (leaving out of account the latter's rôle as an Iseult *retournée*) are plausibly intended as exemplars in contrast to such young women in love as the daughters of Adrastus,[11] as Antigone and Ismeine,[12] Lavinia,[13] and Briseïs,[14] it may well be that the Lady Laudine is meant to show readers how a woman may marry again within three days of her lord's death, and yet be quite in conformity with the rules of the love courts. Chrétien employs the confidante to good purpose—Lunete, Laudine's attendant, contrives by her artfulness that the three days shall be in effect almost as three years, whereas in *Thèbes* we are startled by the suddenness of the transition.

Par iceste signefiance
poum entendre quel creance
deivent aveir li mort es vis.[15]

Marie is bald and the moral is plain, but Chrétien, the poet of society, rather dims the issue.[16]

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[11] *Ib* , ll. 927–1068. [12] *Ib.*, ll. 3915 ff.

[13] *Eneas.* Ed. Jacques Salverda de Grave. Halle, 1891, ll. 8083–9131.

[14] *Roman de Troie.* Ed. A. Joly. Paris, 1870, ll. 13594–15101 ; 20195–20330.

[15] *Marie de France: Fabeln.* Herausgeg. v. K. Warnke. Halle, 1898, xxv, 37–39.

[16] In the thirteenth century, and later, the motif is introduced casually. Cf. *a*) *Richars li Biaus.* Herausgeg. v. W. Foerster. Wien, 1874, ll. 3189–3225. *b*) *Sone von Nausay.* Goldschmidt. Tübingen, 1899. ll. 6420–6743.

Performance of Old Plays.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs :—One of the most striking features of the new work in English at our colleges and universities is the frequent attempt to produce plays of the past, especially of the Elizabethan past. Perhaps no other one thing has done so much to foster a real interest in the student body in the early drama as these appeals to the eye and ear. But something still remains to be done to make these revivals fully effective and that is the coöperation of all the institutions engaged in this work so that information on the subject be spread. As one means to this end, I would suggest that a brief announcement of every such performance be made in this journal, together with information about the purpose of the performance, whether to rouse interest through an accurate reproduction of the original manner of production, so far as this is possible, or to appeal to modern theatrical taste by applying mechanical stage contrivances. Of special importance is any information about the publication of a special text, containing the acting version, and I would also suggest that in each case fifty extra copies of the program be printed, to be sent to libraries applying for them.

As a beginning in this attempt to spread useful information, I will state that Greene's *Frier Bacon and Frier Bungay* was performed, it is believed for the first time since the early part of the seventeenth century, by the students of the University of Illinois, under the direction of the English Club, at the Walker Opera House, Champaign, December 5, 1904, and again, in connection with President James's installation, October 17, 1905. The purpose of the performance was to give an effective modern rendering, in a necessarily shortened form, of this charming early comedy, and the success of the undertaking exceeded the fondest hopes of the direction. The acting version, prepared by Messrs. Scott and Guild, can be obtained at the price of 25 cents by applying to F. W. Scott, Urbana, Ill. A few copies of the program of the second performance are still left. It is believed that performances of this play will be given in several places this season.

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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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SIR WALTER SCOTT AND ALFRED DE VIGNY.

In *La Jeunesse des Romantiques—Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny*,[1] which has just appeared, M. Ernest Dupuis studies, p. 290, "Les Origines littéraires d'Alfred de Vigny," but only as a poet. This study had already appeared in the form of an article in the July-September number for 1903 of *La Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*. Perhaps he thought that nothing more could be said of "Les Origines littéraires d'Alfred de Vigny" as a prose-writer after the apparently exhaustive book of M. Louis Maigron, *Le Roman historique à l'Époque romantique—Essai sur l'influence de Walter Scott*.[2] Yet there is always something to be gleaned after the most careful reaper. Every critic agrees that *Cinq-Mars*, the first prose work of de Vigny, is a clever imitation of Sir Walter Scott's methods, but except for the proofs of a general order offered by M. Maigron—dialogue, picturesqueness, local color, manners, costumes, etc.,—nobody, so far as I know, has shown how closely and how frequently Alfred de Vigny in *Cinq-Mars* has imitated Scott in the details. This article being, as it were, a stake in a prospective field, I shall mention, without lengthy discussions, the similarities in the *dramatis personæ*, the analogies in the situations and incidents, and the imitations of passages that I have noticed so far.

Almost every character in *Cinq-Mars* has his counterpart, if not his prototype, in *Quentin Durward:* cf. Quentin and Cinq-Mars, Crawford and Bassompierre, Dunois and de Thou, Tristan l'Hermite and Laubardemont, Oliver and Father Joseph, The Bohemian and The Spaniard, the Duke of Orleans and Gaston, Isabelle de Croye and Marie de Gonzaga, Hameline de Croye and Anna of Austria. Besides, the Duke of Bouillon is, according to history, related to William de la Marck, and Louis XIII to Louis XI.

Let us first remember that *Quentin Durward* appeared about June 20, 1823,[3] and was translated at once into French[4]; and that de Vigny himself states[5]: "en 1824, à Oloron, dans les Pyrénées, je composai entièrement et écrivis sur une feuille de papier le plan entier de *Cinq-Mars*. Il n'y a pas de livre que j'aie plus longtemps et plus sérieusement médité . . . Ce ne fut qu'en 1826 que je me mis à écrire le livre d'un bout à l'autre, et, comme on dit, d'une seule encre."

The first five cases of similarity in the characters of the young heroes, Quentin and Cinq-Mars, are historical as far as the latter is concerned and are given because, in my opinion, they were somewhat responsible—with other resemblances, of course, mentioned further on—for suggesting to de Vigny the idea of building a historical novel around the tragical fate of Cinq-Mars:

1) Both young heroes belong to noble families.

2) They become great favorites with their royal protectors.

3) Each is or falls in love and sees his affection requited. (Yet most of the details about Cinq-Mars' love are fictitious.)

4) Each becomes ambitious because of his love.

5) Each one falls or comes near falling a victim to the politics of his royal benefactor.

The following points of resemblance are not entirely true to history or are fictitious as far as Cinq-Mars is concerned. They prove that de Vigny was greatly influenced by the reading of *Quentin Durward* in the moulding of his own hero:

1) Both books are named after the youths.

2) The young men are of the same age at the beginning of both stories.

3) They win royal favor by the display of their bravery, Quentin by crossing a ford that the king

[1] Paris, Société Française d'Imprimerie et de Librairie, 1905.

[2] Paris, Hachette, 1898.

[3] See Lockhart, *Life of Walter Scott*, vol. v.

[4] See Maigron, p. 110.

[5] *Journal d'un Poète*, p. 240.

thought was impassable, and later by saving Louis' life in a boar-hunt; Cinq-Mars by suggesting and helping in the storming of a bastion of the besieged city of Perpignan. (The truth is that Cinq-Mars became a page in the household of Richelieu when he was only fifteen, and later attracted Louis XIII's attention by singing an air composed by the royal musician.[6])

4) Each enters the Royal Guard (Quentin the Archers of the Scottish Guard, Cinq-Mars the Men-at-arms of the King's Guard) by special privilege and at the request of the members of these regiments whose exclusiveness was almost proverbial.

5) Both show hesitation in accepting this great honor.

6) Yet they accept it.

7) They leave, the one his country, the other his home, to seek their fortunes in the world, and in doing so, they both follow the advice of clerical friends.

8) Both have a prophetic dream. It has almost the same trend and turns into a nightmare which is interrupted by an unexpected visit. In each case the visitor speaks to them of their future and mentions their beloved.

9) Each gains the gratitude of a foreigner or pseudo-foreigner almost in the same way and is later rewarded for his charitable deed.

10) Both start their careers by making a powerful and mortal enemy through an act of violence.

11) They show on a certain night-trip the same symptoms of lovesickness and extreme fatigue.

12) Both follow similar tactics when surrounded by a crowd in a strange city.

13) Quentin participates in a two-cornered duel and Cinq-Mars in a three-cornered one. The combats are conducted along the same lines. The youths come out victorious and unharmed, but they are wounded shortly after, Quentin in a second duel, Cinq-Mars in the taking of a bastion.

14) They boldly take a leading part in the attempt to save the lives of two members of the Church, but both utterly fail.

15) They have a few similar qualities.

Of course, there are also points of unlikeness. For instance, we may notice that, in general, things are not always carried to extremes in *Quentin Durward* because it is fictitious, while de Vigny was bound by historical facts to go farther in the carrying out of plots, vengeances, etc. The greatest difference in characters lies in the light-heartedness, the good humor, the sunny and genial disposition of Quentin and the gloominess, the sorrowful and grave mien, the melancholy nature of Cinq-Mars. De Vigny's hero, from the very beginning, is doomed and bears on his forehead the seal of Fatality (a fact, by the way, which is far from being historical, for historians describe him to us as having been "a gay, lively youth, . . . a vain and frivolous page, . . . without solid intellectual or moral foundation, . . . fast degenerating into a conceited fop"). This deviation from history finds its explanation in the affected morbidness of the romanticists, "le mal du siècle," and the gloomy disposition of the author himself. "La sévérité froide et un peu sombre de mon caractère n'était pas native. Elle m'a été donnée par la vie."[7]

The following points of likeness in the characters will not be divided into historical and non-historical, because it is always difficult in de Vigny to point out where history ends and romance begins. He himself says[8]: "Ce qui fait l'originalité du livre, c'est que tout y a l'air roman et que tout y est histoire."

1) Isabelle de Croye and Marie de Gonzaga are foreigners.

2) They are errant-princesses and find a temporary home at the French court.

3) They are very young and nearly the same age when they meet their lovers for the first time. (The love of Cinq-Mars for Mary is historically true, but de Vigny makes her younger than she really was. It would have been too unromantic to show his hero in love with a girl eight years his senior.)

4) Both are of a higher rank than their lovers.

5) They decline to marry other suitors who are, as it were, forced upon them by their princely or royal guardians. Besides, both are loved by men of royal blood. In fact, both decline a throne.

[6] See Sankey's edition of *Cinq-Mars*. Introduction, p. xxv. Boston, D. C. Heath & Co.

[7] *Journal d'un Poète*, p. 59.

[8] *Journal d'un Poète*, p. 34.

Resemblances in the lesser personages also abound.

1) Lord Crawford and Marshal de Bassompierre are both foreigners and have faithfully served under preceding kings.

2) One is the Captain of the Archers of the Scottish Guard; the other, the former Colonel-General of the Swiss. (Both regiments then being recruited among foreigners.)

3) They are representatives of the preceding generation: well-preserved, frank, fearless, loyal to their respective masters.

4) Both show a decided fondness for wine and the stories of former times.

5) Finally, they are very much interested in the welfare and ultimate success of the young heroes, namely, Quentin and Cinq-Mars.

Dunois and de Thou symbolize blind fidelity, self-sacrifice on the altar of Friendship.

The villains also show some similar characteristics.

1) For instance, Oliver le Dain and Father Joseph are at once the confidential agents, the servile instruments and the advisers of their masters.

2) They are very familiar with them and sometimes go so far as to chide them for their lack of spirit.

3) Both are now and then scolded by their masters. In fact, they are despised by them.

4) They are ambitious for higher honors, but fail in winning them.

5) They are sly and full of their importance. People are afraid of them and pay them outward signs of respect.

6) Each has a rival in the favor of his master and tries to lower him.

7) Both attempt, at the beginning, to prevent the advancement of the young heroes.

(Father Joseph, being a somewhat complex character, combines within himself the rôles of Oliver and Cardinal Balue. The latter and Joseph are both ready to betray their masters for the sake of their own advantage. Let us recall here that de Vigny prolonged the life of Father Joseph by four years; he really died in 1638 and, of course, had no hand in Cinq-Mars' downfall. De Vigny was only imitating the boldness of his model, Scott, who in *Quentin Durward* did not hesitate to antedate the murder of the Bishop of Liege by fifteen years.)

Another pair of villains next call our attention.

1) Tristan l'Hermite, the Provost-Marshal of Louis XI, and de Laubardemont, the counsellor or reporter of State, are merely the factotums, the murderous satellites of Louis and Richelieu.

2) Both are anxious to supplant their rivals in the favor of their masters.

3) They are despised by them.

4) Each is awkward in appearance and has a hypocritical mien.

5) Both have been struck by the young heroes and are anxious to avenge the blow by bringing about their downfall.

A third pair of villains is presented to us in the persons of the Bohemian and the Spaniard.

1) The authors do them the honor of devoting to them one or two special chapters.

2) The first is a foreigner, the second a pseudo-foreigner.

3) They are vagrants, outcasts, and their main occupation is to act as spies and guides. They know thoroughly the country and the frontiers.

4) Both are savage looking; yet they have some education for that time.

5) They are now and then facetious and garrulous.

6) They are daring and reckless.

7) They are hardened criminals.

8) They are stoical before death. Both die a violent death.

9) They are entrusted with very important missions.

10) In spite of their villainy, they can be stirred by a fine feeling; we see both of them grateful to the young heroes for service rendered and anxious to repay them.

N. B.—The atheistic views of the Bohemian which we expected to hear expounded by his counterpart, Jacques, are curiously enough shared by Father Joseph, a Capuchin.

The similarities in the characters of Hameline de Croye and Anna of Austria are slight but still worthy of notice.

1) Both are sentimental and more or less in love with the young heroes; they see their affection unrequited.

2) They desire the young ladies under their care to marry royal suitors.

Anna of Austria combines the parts of Hameline of Croye and the Countess of Crèvecœur: the latter and the queen act as protectresses of the young ladies.

Let us end this long list of similarities by a last one, which is really the first to impose itself upon the reader's notice on opening *Cinq-Mars:* the old servant, Grandchamp, gruff, sententious, but touching through his faithfulness and loyalty, forcibly reminds us at once of old Caleb Balderstone in *The Bride of Lammermoor.*

De Vigny did not limit his imitation of his model to the delineation of his personages, but found it convenient to follow his footsteps in the very structure of the story, in the selection of certain situations and incidents, and even in the composition of a few passages. First, both books are divided into two parts, each part into chapters, with this difference however, that chapter-numbers run on in de Vigny's second part. Every chapter bears a definite title and is preceded by an epigraph. This innovation originated in the novel with Sir Walter Scott, who no doubt had been influenced in adopting it by the example of the English essayists. Let us add that each book has a preface, that of de Vigny being rather pompous, and ends with historical notes.

M. Maigron cites only one reminiscence (page 262), ". . . le repas du soir[9] au château de Chaumont: une scène visiblement imitée d'*Ivanhoe* (chap. 1)." The reminiscences I have quoted above: the dream, the duel, the night-journey, the tactics of the young men when surrounded by a strange crowd, etc., are more visibly imitated from Scott than the one cited by M. Maigron. The following ones are also very striking. The stories begin in the same region, in Touraine. The attitudes, the feelings and the prayers of Richelieu in his tent and of Louis XI in Earl Herbert's Tower, are very much alike. The description of the château of Pierre-Encise strangely coincides with that of the castle of Peronne. M. Maigron has failed to notice it, but makes the following suggestion (p. 264)—"Voyez la description du château de Pierre-Encise sur les bords de la Saône (*Les Prisonniers*) et quelques détails du *Procès* et du *Martyre* dont Hugo et Dumas semblent s'être souvenus dans *Notre-Dame de Paris* et *Isabelle de Bavière* . . ." Some textual passages also recall similar ones in Scott:

Quentin Durward (vol. I, chap. 2).	*Cinq-Mars* (chap. 1).
. . . the capital of ancient Touraine, whose rich plain has been termed the garden of France.	Connaissez-vous cette contrée que l'on a surnommée le jardin de la France?
(II. 7., note.) Indeed . . . it (*i. e.*, Peronne) was never taken by an enemy, but preserved the proud name of Peronne la Pucelle, . . .	(1). . . . seule province que n'occupa jamais l'étranger, . . .
(II. 8.) Peronne is a virgin fortress.	
(I. 2.) His companion . . . said, "Hush, hush, Sir Varlet with the Velvet Pouch! for I forgot to tell you, that one great danger of these precincts is, that the very leaves of the trees are like so many ears, which carry all which is spoken to the king's own cabinet."	(21.) "Allons! allons! ne parlez pas si haut," répondit brusquement le vieux domestique; les murs ont des oreilles de cardinal, et surtout les églises . . .
(II. 11.) "Know then, O King," said Martius, "that this only I can tell certainly concerning mine own death, that it shall take place exactly twenty-four hours before that of your Majesty."	(5.) (Grandier dit:) "Au nom du Dieu vivant, je t'ajourne à trois ans, Laubardemont, juge prévaricateur."

The following parallel is the most striking one I have noticed:

(II. 14):	(10):
"And you obeyed your orders accordingly?" said the king.	(Louis XI dit:) "Mais que vois-je! vous ici, monsieur de Thou? Qui êtes-vous venu juger?
"I did, Sire," replied the Scot.	—Je crois, Sire, répondit Coislin, qu'il a plutôt condamné à mort quelques Espagnols, car il est entré le second dans la place.
"You omit a circumstance," said the Duke. "You were set upon in the forest by two wandering knights."	—Je n'ai frappé per-

[9] It was the noon meal, contrary to M. Maigron's statement: "la cloche du château ayant sonné à *midi*, selon l'usage, le dîner de la famille qui l'habitait," . . . *Cinq-Mars* (chap. 1).

"It does not become me to remember or to proclaim such an incident," said the youth, *blushing* ingenuously.

"But it doth not become me to forget it," said the Duke of Orleans. "This youth discharged his commission manfully, and maintained his trust in a manner that I shall long remember.—Come to my apartment, Archer, when this matter is over, and thou shalt find I have not *forgot thy brave bearing*, while I am glad to see it is equalled by thy *modesty*."

sonne, monsieur, interrompit de Thou *en rougissant;* ce n'est point mon métier; ici je n'ai aucun mérite, j'accompagnais M. de Cinq-Mars, mon ami.

— Nous aimons votre *modestie* autant que cette *bravoure*, et nous *n'oublierons* pas ce trait . . .

Cinq-Mars calling on his old tutor, L'Abbé Quillet at Loudun, his knocking at the door, the appearance of the old man—with a description of his dress and attitude,—his warm reception, their "comparing of notes," the old abbé in hiding and preparing to flee to Italy, his talk about their common friends and their future prospects, all this is a visible reminiscence of the visit paid by Waverley to his old friend, The Baron of Bradwardine.[10]

Peveril of the Peak also inspired de Vigny several times. This passage may be a faint reminiscence :

Peveril of the Peak (39).

(Buckingham says of Alice Bridgenorth,—) "So how the girl is to be disposed of—for I shall have little fancy to keep her here, and she is too wealthy to be sent down to Cliefden as a housekeeper—is a matter to be thought on."

Cinq-Mars (13).

(Laubardemont says of his niece, Jeanne de Belfiel,—) "Quant à cette petite imbécile que voilà, je vais la donner à un ancien juge secret, à present contrebandier dans les Pyrénées, à Oloron; il la fera ce qu'il voudra, servante dans sa *posada* par exemple . . ."

The way de Laubardemont acts towards his niece somewhat corresponds to that of Christian Bridgenorth towards his daughter, Fenella, and his niece, Alice. The whole chapter 7, "Le Cabinet," in *Cinq-Mars* seems to have had for its basis chapter 28, "Buckingham's Levee," in *Peveril of the Peak*. The signal that Cinq-Mars (chap. 25) must give (but fails to give) to his friends if he wants them to save him from the hands of the executioner—to put on his hat—is nearly an exact reproduction of the one Julian Peveril (chap. 36) is asked to give (and fails to give) when in the same straits—"to put on his hat a white band or white feather or knot or ribbon of the same colour." Finally, a direct inspiration from *Peveril* is found in the fainting fit of Marie de Gouzaga on hearing the ominous words of the king. We have the same surroundings : an evening party at Court.

Peveril of the Peak (49).

The Countess . . . placed herself near Fenella as she called her little mute; and, while making signs to her, contrived to place her hand on her wrist. At this moment the king, passing near them, said, "This is a horrid deed—the villain Christian has stabbed young Peveril!" The mute evidence of the pulse, which bounded as if a cannon had been discharged close by the poor girl's ear, was accompanied by such a loud scream of agony, as distressed, while it startled, the good-natured monarch himself.

Cinq-Mars (26).

En cet instant une horloge sonna minuit. Le Roi leva la tête :

— Ah! ah! dit-il, ce matin, à la même heure, M. le Grand, notre cher ami, a passé un mauvais moment.

Un cri perçant partit auprès de lui; il frémit et se jeta de l'autre côté, renversant le jeu. Marie de Mantoue, sans connaissance, était dans les bras de la reine.

This same dramatic incident evidently inspired another passage in *Cinq-Mars* (4) :

". . . Nous avons su de ce même père, ici présent, . . . que soupçonnant cette demoiselle d'être possédée, à cause du bruit qui s'était répandu dès longtemps de l'admiration d'Urbain Grandier pour elle, il eut l'heureuse idée de l'éprouver, et lui dit tout à coup en l'abordant : *Grandier vient d'être mis à mort;* sur quoi elle ne poussa qu'un seul grand cri, et tomba morte, . . .

Of all the writers who have expressed an opinion on *Cinq-Mars*, Victor Hugo is the one who in my opinion showed the best judgment and came nearest to the truth. In an article that appeared in *La Quotidienne*, July 30, 1826, the poet says : "Nul doute que si on eût présenté ce livre comme un nouvel ouvrage de Walter Scott, traduit par Charles Nodier, plus d'un lecteur y eût été pris au premier abord. . ."

[10] See *Waverley*, chapters 53 and 54.

It would, then, have been a repetition of what had taken place in Germany in 1823, when Willibald Alexis (Häring) presented his maiden work, *Walladmor*, as a translation from Scott without being at once detected.[11]

Before M. Maigron's book, every critic (Sainte-Beuve, Stuart Mill, Taine, etc.), seems to have taken for granted that de Vigny was greatly influenced by Scott, that his historical novel was a novel "à la Walter Scott," without ever trying to prove it. De Vigny, so far as I know, never acknowledged his debt to his great model. M. Maigron, in 1898, conclusively showed this influence, but in the main lines, from a general point of view. Placing myself at closer range, I have aimed to prove more directly *a*) that *Quentin Durward* was the book the reading of which specially induced de Vigny to write a historical novel about the downfall of Louis XIII's favorite ; *b*) that most of the fictitious details of the first part in *Cinq-Mars* are, as it were, adapted from *Quentin Durward ; c*) that de Vigny did not limit his imitation to *Quentin Durward*, but borrowed situations and incidents from other romances of Scott.

While comparing de Vigny's book with some of the novels of his model, I have wondered why he confined himself to so servile an imitation. The only example I can remember of such a close inspiration is that of Maeterlinck concentrating the most dramatic effects of Shakespeare's best tragedies into one play : *Princesse Maleine*. The other subsequent prose work of de Vigny indicates that he could have written an interesting historical novel out of his own material. Furthermore, he was considered as being endowed with a wonderful imagination. Gaspard de Pons, in *Adieux Poétiques*, states : "Je ne dirai ni en vers ni en prose qu' Alfred de Vigny soit le premier de nos écrivains dans un sens absolu ; mais qu'il soit . . . le premier par l'imagination, c'est ce que je dirai toujours en prose comme en vers . . ."

That he was easily impressed is shown in his poems, which are permeated with the influence of the great French and English poets. Victor Hugo, Mérimée, Balzac, Dumas, etc., also adopted Scott's methods and now and then borrowed freely from him, but none of them proved to be so apt an imitator as de Vigny, who seemed to have relied much more on his memory than on his imagination.

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[11] Mielke : *Geschichte des deutschen Romans, Sammlung Göschen*, no. 229, p. 140.

THE DATING OF KLOPSTOCK'S ODE, *An Gleim.*

The date, March, 1752, has been commonly accepted as the time when the ode, *An Gleim*, was written and the poem is thus dated in the original manuscript in Klopstock's handwriting, where it bears the title, "*Ode an Gleim—im März*, 1752." There is also a copy of this made by Gleim, in which the title is "*An Gleim*, 1752." Both of these copies were found among Gleim's papers after his death.[1] That some time elapsed between the writing of these two forms is suggested by the fact that there is a variation of text between the original (O.) and Gleim's copy (Gl.).

v. 17, O. Er versteht es
Gl. Nun versteht ers

v. 23, O. vom kalten, | Halben Beyfall
Gl. vom halben, | Kalten Beyfall

v. 25, O. die sittsame
Gl. die zögernde

v. 32, O. eisernen Nacken
Gl. stolzeren Nacken

v. 33, O. Deutschlands Muse ! Schon nah, feurig dem Ziele nah | (Das der Britte gepflanzt, und es mit Griechischen | Lorbeern schattend umhaint hat | Mit der heiligen Ceder auch !)
Gl. Deutschlands Muse ! Gekrönt, feurig am hohen Ziel | Das der Britte gepflanzt, und es mit Phöbapolls | Lorbeerhainen umschattet | Mit der Palme der Engel auch !

[1] Muncker-Pawel, Hist. krit. Ausgabe der *Oden*, Stuttgart, 1889, l. s. 102.

v. 43, O. Deine Leyer, verstimme
Gl. Deine Leyer ; zerreise
v. 53, O. der pindische Quell
Gl. vom Hämus der Quell

The poem was first printed in the Darmstadt edition of the odes, 1771, where it appeared as the forty-third ode with the title "*An Herrn Gleim*, 1752." In this collection the poem is the last of the odes dated 1752, which same position it occupies in all later editions. In the Muncker-Pawel edition *An Gleim* is placed first among the odes of 1752, preceding *Die beiden Musen* among others.

In this edition, it is stated that the ode was sent to Gleim, perhaps in a letter of April 9th, 1752. Franz Muncker, in his article *Drei Oden aus Klopstock's Jugendzeit*, states that this ode may have been sent in the letter of April, 1752, or perhaps in one of the same spring which has been lost.[2] Several poems are mentioned in that letter of April, 1752, but there is nothing to indicate that such a poem as *An Gleim* accompanied it or had been written at that time. In fact, in none of the letters of Klopstock or Gleim have I been able to find the ode mentioned, either during the year 1752 or later.

All commentators have accepted the date 1752 as the year in which the ode was written, and this appears to be so accurately settled by Klopstock's original manuscript that I hesitate to take exceptions to that date. But if we accept 1752 as its birth year, there are several inconsistencies in the poem. The ode *An Gleim* may be divided into two parts : the first being a defence of Gleim and his songs against those who take the latter too literally, and a portrayal of his character (to v. 33) ; and the second part an attack on Frederick the Great, in regard to whom Klopstock's opinion underwent a radical change some time in his early life.[3]

1. In the first part of the ode Klopstock praises Gleim's love for his friends among other characteristics, and then in strophes seven and eight writes :

"oder, von Friederichs,
Wenn, von Friederichs Preise!
Ihm die trunknere Lippe trieft,
Ohne Wünsche nach Lohn ; aber auch unbelohnt!

That is, Gleim's lips fairly drip with Frederick's praise though without wish for reward, in which he has not been disappointed as he has not been rewarded. How are we to reconcile such a statement, if made in 1752, with the fact that prior to that date Gleim had sung almost no songs in praise of Frederick the Great? Before the year 1752 Gleim had written, or rather published, only his "*scherzhafte Lieder*, 1743 and 1745," and his "*Lieder*, 1745–1749." That we must consider published works on Gleim's part is shown in the verse "Ohne Wünsche nach Lohn." There could be no question of reward for a poet unless he published poems of praise. If we examine Gleim's early songs do we find that his lips drip with praise of Frederick? Quite the contrary, they are almost silent with regard to him although before the second book of *scherzhafte Lieder* was finished Frederick had nearly concluded the second Silesian war successfully. Notwithstanding the fact that several of the songs mention this war, only one of them is in praise of the Prussian king, *An die Stadt Prag* in which Gleim sings :

v. 11. Du musst die besten Schönen
Mit Lorbeerzweigen krönen
Und mit gefaltnen Händen
Zu meinem König senden.
Dann werden sie, im Flehen,
Sein gnädig Antlitz sehen ;
Dann wird der Held beweisen,
Es dien' ihm Stahl und Eisen,
Es dienen ihm die Waffen,
Zu segnen, nicht zu strafen.
Wie wirst du dann bedauren,
Dass er durch deine Mauren
Und tausend Siegesbogen
Nicht eher eingezogen.

It was not till Gleim published his *Kriegslieder* (1756–1757) that he publicly praised the king and then nearly every poem in this collection is full of Frederick's glory. Not till these songs had appeared does it seem possible that Klopstock could have written :

"von Friederichs Preise!
Ihm die trunknere Lippe trieft."

[2] Schnorr's *Archiv für Literaturgeschichte*, Bd. XI, s. 273.

[3] Cf. the first form of *Heinrich der Vogler* and the later form ; *Friederich der Fünfte ; Kaiser Heinrich ; Die Rosstrappe ; Die Verkennung ; Ihr Tod ; Der Traum ; Die Rache ; Delphi.*

Nearly all of Gleim's later collections contain poems praising his monarch. Even among the *Lieder nach dem Anakreon* (1766) are half a dozen that extol the king, although in the introduction to that collection Gleim writes that his *Leyer* will sing only of Amor, notwithstanding the fact that he has strung it with heavier strings and has sung of heroes and Frederick. It is well known that the king paid no attention to Gleim's flattery, but as early as 1752 his ignoring that author would not be marked enough to lead Klopstock to write "auch unbelohnt." What had Gleim done that Frederick should reward him?

2. In verses 13 and 14 Klopstock writes:

> "Lacht dem Jünglinge nicht, welcher den Flatterer
> Zu buchstäblich erklärt!"

The word "Flatterer" Hamel refers to the poem of Gleim's, in which the latter applies that name to himself.[4] This is the poem:

An Chloe.

Getreu soll ich, O Chloe, seyn,
Ich Flatterer? getreu?
Ich träumte jüngst, der Liebesgott
Hätt' an den Füssen Bley:

4th Str. Was sagt der Traum? der Liebesgott
Hätt an den Füssen Bley?
Getreu soll ich, O Chloe, seyn,
Ich Flatterer? getreu?

This ode appeared among the *Lieder nach dem Anakreon. Vom Verfasser des Versuchs in scherzhaften Liedern*, Berlin und Braunschweig, 1766. Körte, in his *Life of Gleim* (p. 122), states that the *Lieder nach dem Anakreon* were written after the peace of Hubertsburg, March (February?) 15th, 1763, which closed the Seven Years' War.

In no earlier poem and in none of the correspondence of Gleim or Klopstock, either with each other or with friends, have I been able to find any reference to Gleim as "der Flatterer." Hence if we are correct, with Hamel, in referring this allusion to the poem *An Chloe*, how are we to reconcile the fact that Klopstock's ode dated 1752 contains a reference to a poem which did not appear till 1766, and which was not written before 1763? While Klopstock might have seen this poem before 1766, it is scarcely probable that he would call Gleim "der Flatterer" until that name had become known to the public through the edition of his works.

3. A comparison of the ode *Die beiden Musen* and the variations of strophe nine as it exists in Klopstock's manuscript (O.), in Gleim's copy (Gl.) and in its present form (N), is interesting and may throw some light on the relation between the two odes. The three forms of the strophe are as follows:

O. Deutschlands Muse! Schon nach, feurig dem Ziele nach,
(Das der Britte gepflanzt und es mit Greichischen
Lorbeern schattend umschirmt hat
Mit der heiligen Ceder auch!)[5]

Gl. Deutschlands Muse! Gekrönt, feurig am hohen Ziel
Das der Britte gepflanzt, und es mit Phöbapolls
Lorbeerhainen umschattet
Mit der Palme der Engel auch!

N. Deutschlands Muse! In Flug' eilend zum hohen Ziel,
Das mit heiligem Spross Barden umschatteten,
Hin zum höheren Ziele,
Das der Himlischen Palm' umweht,

In O. the Muse is seen near the high goal planted by the English poets, protected by the "Griechischen Lorbeern" and also by the "heiligen Ceder," or as in Gl., by the "Palme der Engel." In N. the figure is more carefully worked out and the distinction between the goals of sacred and profane poetry is made clearer. In *Die beiden Musen* the second strophe describes these two goals:

> Zwey Ziele gränzten, wo sich der Blick verlor
> Dort an die Laufbahn. Eichen beschatteten
> Des Hains das eine; nah dem andren
> Wehcten Palmen im Abendschimmer.

In the earliest form of this strophe, in the copy partly in Gleim's handwriting, are found the same words describing these two goals as are used in the early texts of the ninth strophe given above (O., Gl.). This first variant is as follows:

> Zwey Ziele gränzten, wo sich der Blick verlor
> Dort an die Laufbahn. Dieses umschatteten
> Geweihte Lorbeern, jenes weitre
> Wehende Palmen im Abendschimmer.

Along the course toward the two goals the young

[4] Edition of Klopstock's Odes in Kürschner's *National-Litteratur*, vol. 47, p. 92.

[5] Text from Schnorr's *Archiv.*, Bd. xi, s. 274.

and trembling German Muse is to race with the Muse of Albion, who is accustomed to such contests.

v. 2. mit der britannischen
Sah ich in Streitlauf Deutschlands Muse
Heiss zu den krönenden Zielen fliegen.

In strophe eight the English Muse addresses "Thuiskone," pointing to the goals :

Dort steht es! Aber siehst du das weitere
Und seine Kron' auch?

Finally, in the last strophe the two muses are flying down the course toward the goals.

In the ode, *Die beiden Musen*, the two goals and the Muse hurrying toward them, are essential features of the poem, and they are described in detail, whereas in the ode, *An Gleim*, we have simply an allusion to them as to a picture already known, if not to the public, at least to the author himself and to the recipient of the ode. This would seem to show that *Die beiden Musen* was written before *An Gleim*; the third variant of the strophe (N) was certainly composed later than the ode, on which it is dependent for its interpretation.

4. v. 41: Lern des innersten Hains Ausspruch. This means, according to Hamel's interpretation, "der Ausspruch der echt vaterländischen Barden," that is, *Hain* is used here in the sense peculiar to Klopstock's later poems where it means the home of German poetry, or of the bards, the German poets. The word, however, was not used by him in this metaphorical sense till about the year 1766. To be sure, *Hain* in this sense is found in several of the odes before that year but not in the original versions, as the following references will show. The variants are taken from the Muncker-Pawel edition of the odes and the various texts are referred to by the letters used there :

Gl. Gleim's copy.
D. Darmstadt edition, 1771.
B. Bode's edition, 1771.
L. Lyrische Sylbenmaasse, 1764.

Wingolf I, v. 10. In the 1747 text *Hain* is used, but in the version of 1771 it is changed to *Wälder*, as there is no reference to German poetry here and Klopstock feared it might be so taken.

Wingolf III, v. 42. (1747) Höhern Gesängen.
(1771) Des Hains Gesängen.

Die beiden Musen (1752), v. 6.
Gl. D. Dieses umschatteten
Geweihte Lorbeern
B. Dieses beschattete
Des Hains Eiche

v. 24. Wuchs ich mit dir in dem Eichenhain auf.

Here again the word is not used in the figurative sense.

Kaiser Heinrich (1764), v. 14. Der deutschen Dichter Haine. This is the first use of the word in this special meaning and here it is not used metaphorically, but the idea of the grove as the home of the German poets is expressly stated. This line is really Klopstock's definition of the word *Hain* as used by him later, and therefore he felt free after this to use the word metaphorically.

Der Nachahmer (1764), v. 4.
Gl. L. Denen ums Grab Lorbeer einst weht!
B. Welche der Hain Bragas verbarg.

Sponda (1764), v. 1.
Gl. L. Der deutschen Barden Hügel
B. Der deutschen Dichter Hainen
v. 35. Gl. Liebling, da Lorbeer und
Strom er sein Lied | Lehrte.
Last form : Liebling! mich lehrte sein Lied
Hain und Strom.

The following quotations from odes of 1766 will show that *Hain* became a favorite expression of Klopstock's in that year :

Skulda, v. 1. Ich lernt es im innersten Hain. This line is also interesting because of the striking similarity of its phraseology to verse 41 quoted above : Lern des innersten Hains Ausspruch.

v. 8. Das bis hinauf in des Hains Wipfel es scholl!
v. 29. Die Neune betraten den Hain.
Der Bach, v. 1.
Bekränzt mein Haar, O Blumen des Hains
Unsre Fürsten :
v. 1. dem Hain Siona's.
v. 5. Hier in dem Hain.
v. 9. Wall' ich im Hain der Palmen.
v. 29. Aus dem Hain Thuiskons.
v. 33. O wie festlich rauschet der Hain!
v. 36. Und der Hain rufts in den Schatten.
v. 48. Denn es schweigt euch in dem Haine.
Braga, v. 23. Ich sah

Fern in den Schatten an dem Dichterhain Braga !

v. 46. Lehre, was ich singe, den Hain !

In the absence of any positive proof to the contrary (and except the dated manuscript I have been able to find none), it would seem from 1. that the poem could not have been written before 1756–1757, the date of the *Kriegslieder*, or perhaps better, 1758, the date of their publication; 2. would show that it could not have been written before 1763, the date when Gleim began to write the *Lieder nach dem Anakreon*, or more probably not till 1766, when they were published; from 3. it would seem to be of later origin than *Die beiden Musen*; and 4. would seem to fix the year 1766 as the earliest period in which the ode could have been written. These points form such an essential part of the ode that it is impossible to assume that an earlier version existed which did not contain them and from which the date could have been copied by Klopstock in revising his work. Hence there seems to be good reason for denying that the ode, *An Gleim*, was written in 1752, and the second part, at least, could not have been composed before the year 1766.

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JOHN DONE'S *Polydoron.*

In Dr. C. M. Ingleby's *Centurie of Prayse*,[1] a foot-note under Thomas Fuller reads: "We find Shakespeare treated as a name of 'high qualitie' (*i. e.*, a heroic name) in a work called *Polydoron*, mentioned by C. B. Carew in *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Ser., vol. I, p. 266. [*Polydoron* is perhaps the secondary title, no work appears to be known under that name.—L. T. S.]."

The work is, of course, John Done's *Polydoron*, (1631) most remarkable, perhaps, for the persistence with which it has been attributed to Dr. John Donne, dean of St. Paul's. At the cited passage in *Notes and Queries* is the quotation which should undoubtedly have found a place in the *Centurie of Prayse* or in the *300 Fresh Allusions*. Mr. Carew spoke of *Polydoron* as "a curious miscellany of apophthegms and table-talk, evidently the work of one of Shakespeare's contemporaries." As his copy of the book lacked the title-page, he asked if any one could name the author. There was no response until twenty years later (1882) the subject was revived[2] by another correspondent who knew the name of John Done, but sought information about him. Dr. Augustus Jessopp answered vaguely that he believed Done was an obscure school-master employed by the booksellers, but he was unable to verify this impression.

Whoever Done was, he remained sufficiently obscure to escape the notice of the editors of the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Besides the *Polydoron*, the British Museum possesses the first edition (1633) of his translation of *The Ancient History of the Septuagint* by Aristeas, an officer of the court of Ptolemy Philadelphia, and a revised edition published in 1685. Mr. Edmund Gosse[3] observed that this volume was likewise attributed to Donne, though the preface shows that it was written two years after the death of the Dean of St. Paul's.

Lowndes[4] accredited the *Polydoron* to Dr. Donne and has been followed blindly ever since by booksellers and collectors. The error has even crept into the admirable *Auction Prices of Books* (1905), recently published[5] by Mr. Luther S. Livingston.

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[1] Second edition (1879), edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith for the New Shakspere Society, p. 247.

[2] *Notes and Queries*, 6th Ser., VI, pp. 47, 95.

[3] *Life and Letters of John Donne* (1899), II, p. 306.

[4] *Bibliographers' Manual*, ed. Bohn, p. 661.

[5] *Op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 35.

THE SIMPLIFICATION OF FRENCH ORTHOGRAPHY. II.

II. The Decisions of the French Academy.[1]

What strikes one most is the deliberately negative attitude towards the conclusions reached by the "Commission."

The "Commission" was in favor of matching, as much as circumstances will allow, pronunciation to orthography. But the Academy "repousse le principe même sur lequel s'appuie et d'où est comme partie la commission . . . rapprocher le plus possible . . . la parole écrite de la parole parlée." [2]

The "Commission," although—or better because—composed of great scholars, is ready to give up the etymological principle as being of no particular value for spelling. The Academy, on the contrary, "se confesse très attachée à l'orthographe étymologique."

The "Commission" thinks that the much talked about "physionomie des mots" is a myth.[3] The Academy wishes to keep the idea that each word has its "individualité" and, as the poet says, is "un être vivant."

Besides, the French Academy adds a few reasons of its own to justify rigid conservatism, reasons which are either bad or childish. *E. g.*, I, 4: "L'Académie croit que la raison la plus forte qui s'oppose à l'adoption des réformes proposées est encore le bouleversement qu'elles apporteraient dans toutes les habitudes des Français . . ." [4]

Or this, that it would hamper the work of French writers: "Il est incontestable, au moins, qu'un changement profond dans l'orthographe embarrasserait les écrivains et leur serait une peine en quelque sorte matérielle qui pourrait aller jusqu'à les paralyser dans leurs travaux . . ." [!!!]

Or again, reforms now would be likely to open the door for further reforms, which by all means must be avoided.[5]

Of course it would. This is exactly the question whether it is not wise to enter resolutely the path of reform. And the Academy lacks consistency, both in theory and in practice, when after this it accepts some reforms, as we will see soon. Why, if they hold such theories, why not at least stand by them and try to enforce them? Simply because they do not care to be looked upon as the enemies of progress; in other words, because they are afraid of public opinion.

The bulk of their report is made out of thirty-two "*L'Académie repousse . . .* " or "*L'Académie rejette . . ,* " and fourteen "*L'Académie accepte . . .* " Here are the fourteen paragraphs of acceptation:

1° *Déja* (pour *déjà*).

2° *Chute* (pour *chûte*), *joute* (pour *joûte*), *otage* (pour *ôtage*), modifications que l'Académie a déja fait entrer dans son dictionnaire; et de plus *assidument* (pour *assidûment*), *dévoument* (pour

[1] The committee elected by the Academy to consider the "Rapport de la Commission" was composed as follows: G. Boissier, Fr. Coppée, A. Mézières, F. Brunetière, J. M. de Hérédia, A. Theuriet, E. Ollivier, M. de Vogüé, E. Lavisse, H. Houssaye, G. Hanotaux and E. Faguet.

[2] A sensible theory, indeed! Why have we a "parole écrite" anyway, if not to represent as faithfully as possible the "parole parlée"?

[3] It is really a myth, even as regards poetry. We read all French classics in modern orthography, and yet we are not disturbed in the least; but we are when we take the original. M. Renard has recently recalled the fact that Brunetière, the almost violent champion of the "physionomie des mots," has edited Bossuet in modern orthography—a proof that the argument was invented for the special purpose of defeating reform. M. Havet remarks that V. Hugo's first verses were published *by their author* in three different orthographies, first according to the spelling of the beginning of the nineteenth century, then with the changes brought to the dictionary of the Academy in 1835, then again in 1878.

[4] M. Havet answers very well: "J'admire l'égoïsme de tant de mes concitoyens qui se hâtent de décider au nom de leur vague agacement d'une minute, et qui, sans remords, se dispensent de peser les deux intérêts séculaires de l'avenir, j'entends l'intérêt humain et l'intérêt français." (*Revue Bleue*, 11 mars, 1905.)

[5] As an example of such miserable arguments in the part of the Report containing the examination of the work of the "Commission," read this (II, 8): "Elle [l'académie] a rejeté la proposition d'écrire *fame* pour *femme*. Elle croit qu'il n'est pas mauvais de conserver un souvenir de l'étymologie, et aussi que si le mot *fame* (réputation) n'existe plus, le mot *fameux* existe, qui semblerait être l'adjectif du substantif *fame* et paraîtrait dès lors signifier *féminin*; et l'on pourrait en dire autant du mot *famélique*." As Clédat says, this "mérite d'être enchassé."

dévoûment ou *dévouement*), *crucifiment* (pour *crucifiement* ou *crucifiment*).

3° *Ile* (pour *île*), *flute* (pour *flûte*), *maitre* (pour *maître*), *naitre* (pour *naître*), *traitre* (pour *traître*), *croute* (pour *croûte*), *voute* (pour *voûte*) et autres mots où l'accent circonflexe ne sert qu'à rappeler l'*s* étymologique.

4° Elle admet que l'on écrive *confidentiel* ou *confidenciel* et les adjectifs analogues, c'est à dire ceux dont le substantif est en *ence* ou en *ance*.

5° Elle accepte l'identification ortographique de *différent* et *différend*, de *fond* et *fonds*, de *appats* et *appas*, en ce sens que l'on écrirait : "Un *différent* s'est élevé ; un *fond* de terre ; la retraite a pour vous des *appats*."

6° Elle accepte qu'on écrive, *ad libitum*, *enmitoufler* et *emmitoufler*, *enmener* et *emmener*, *enmailloter* et *emmailloter*, et autres mots analogues où l'*n*, rencontrant *m*, est devenue *m*.

7° Elle accepte *ognon* pour *oignon*.

8° Elle ne voit aucun inconvénient à ce que l'on écrive *pied* ou *pié*.

9° Elle accepte que les sept substantifs en *ou* qui prennent un *x* au pluriel : *bijou*, *caillou*, *chou*, *genou*, *hibou*, *joujou*, *pou*, rentrent dans la règle générale et prennent un *s* au pluriel.

10° Elle accepte *échèle* au lieu de *échelle*, conformément à la prononciation et à l'étymologie.

11° Elle a décidé de régulariser l'ortographe des mots venant de *carrus* en écrivant *charriot* par deus *r*, comme s'écrivent tous les autres mots dérivés de *carrus*.

12° Elle est disposée, en examinant chaque cas, à ne pas s'opposer à la suppression de l'*h* dans les mots, dérivés du grec, où se rencontre la combinaison *rh*.

13° De même, notamment, pour les mots de création scientifique, elle aura pour tendance de favoriser l'*i* plutôt que l'*y*.

14° Elle est favorable à la proposition d'écrire *sizain* comme on écrit *dizain* et *dizaine;* elle estime que l'on pourrait étendre cette réforme à *dizième* et *sizième* (au lieu de *dixième* et *sixième*) par conformité avec *onzième* et *douzième*.

Everywhere the reluctancy of the Academy to yield is apparent. And yet they seem to be extremely anxious to look very generous ; they write as if everybody was to be a dupe of their solemn academic style. There are fourteen points where reform is accepted, but not one of them really amounts to anything.

See No. 1 : The "Commission" proposed to do away with all the grave accents over *a* ; the Academy gravely makes a paragraph of acceptance for one whole word : *déjà*.

See No. 2 : Out of the six words which they propose to change, three were spelled this way long ago ; but apparently it swells the list of concessions.

No. 9 : The "Commission" proposed that all the plurals in *x* be from now on in *s*. The Academy reforms the six in *ou* only.

Then again, Nos. 7, 10 and 11 . . .

There is in the whole way of proceeding a painful lack of dignity. The Academy behaves like a nervous woman who will make a tremendous fuss about a trifle, while ignoring the really momentous question. Paul Meyer, among many others, pointed out those inconsistencies "que si oignon devient ognon, moignon doit logiquement devenir mognon : en limitant la réforme au seul oignon, on ne fait que créer une exception nouvelle !—que si échelle devient échèle, conformément au latin *scala*, où il n'y a qu'un *l*, il n'y a pas de raison de continuer à écrire quelle, telle, puisqu'il n'y a qu'un *l* dans *qualis* et *talis*."

It is difficult, even for antagonists of the reform, not to feel like M. Clédat, who begins his pamphlet with these words : "L'Académie vient de faire magistralement la démonstration de son incurable incompétence en matière de grammaire et d'orthographe." The word "incurable" may possibly be omitted ; but it is the only one.

III. The Article of Faguet.

Faguet had been selected by the committee of the French Academy to act as secretary. But he is an independent thinker and the ultra-conservative attitude of the Academy did not altogether please him. He did not want the public to believe that the report composed by him represented his personal opinion. Therefore, he accepted to give his own ideas, at first in the *Gaulois* of Febr. 18, and then with more details in *La Revue* of March 1, 1905. The argumentation in the latter was so completely different from that of his official writing that it has become the opinion of many that

Faguet had really mystified both the public and the Academy, and that his official report from alpha to omega was nothing but a daring joke. The writer feels very much inclined to share this view. Faguet begins, it is true, by approving the Academy in refusing to consider the principle of phonetic spelling—because, he says, the pronunciation is not fixed and it is a fixed orthography which is wanted. Moreover, he considers the concessions of the Academy—he calls them "concessions"—as "non sans quelque importance." The chief part of his article remains none the less devoted to the refutation of the academic report, which he had himself drawn. Let us pick out three of the most striking passages :

As an Academician secretary, he opposes the simplification of certain words on the ground that confusion would arise between such terms different in meaning but spelt alike. "Elle [l'Académie] a rejeté *cors* (pour *corps*), *ni* (pour *nid*), *las* (pour *lacs*), *doit* (pour *doigt*) . . . , considérant qu'il n'y a pas d'exemples qui fussent mieux choisis pour montrer la difficulté et les périls d'un système de simplification qui aboutirait à une foule de confusions, c. à. d. au contraire même de la simplification véritable, et qui ferait qu'on devrait écrire "son *doit doit* être coupé," "il *vint vint* fois," "*ni ni ni* fleurs," etc. And a few lines above : "Elle a rejeté la proposition d'écrire *fan*, *pan*, *tan* (pour *faon*, *paon*, *taon*). Il y aurait amphibologie . . . entre *pan* (animal) et *pan* (terme de polythéisme) et *pan* (morceau) et *pan* onomatopée exclamative . . . "

Faguet answers, laughing at his own words : "L'auteur du rapport de la Commission académique triomphe de ce que si *paon* s'écrivait *pan*, il y aurait une confusion entre *pan* oiseau, *pan* de mur, *pan* personnage mythologique, et *pan !* onomatopée. Mais mon ami (il m'est permis de le traiter familièrement) c'est précisément par ce qu'il y a déjà trois *pan* entre lesquels on ne fait aucune confusion qu'il n'y en aura pas davantage entre quatre *pan* ayant quatre sens . . ."

Faguet, the secretary, writes with regard to etymology : "L'Académie française se déclare très attachée à l'orthographe étymologique . . . Le moment est-il bien choisi pour travailler à effacer le souvenir des origines de notre langue ? Non, sans doute, car cette parenté de notre langue avec la langue latine . . . fait plus facilement comprendre notre langue aux gens bien élevés de tous les pays." To which Faguet, as a private man, answers : "Sainte Beuve a répondu d'avance assez à propos . . . : Cette raison qu'il faut garder aux mots tout leur appareil afin de maintenir leur etymologie est parfaitement vaine ; car pour une lettre de plus ou de moins, les ignorants ne sauront pas mieux reconnaître l'origine du mot, et les hommes instruits la reconnaîtront toujours."

Faguet, the Academician, borrows Brunetière's often quoted words in order to preserve the "physionomie des mots." "Ceux qui considèrent une langue comme une œuvre d'art continueront de croire que dans une langue élaborée par cinq ou six siècles de culture esthétique, le mot a sa valeur en soi, qu'il a son "individualité," qu'il est selon l'expression du poète "un être vivant" ; qu'on le mutile donc en en simplifiant l'orthographe . . . que la *scintillation* des étoiles s'éteindrait, si l'on écrivait désormais *cintilation* . . ." Now, here is what Faguet, the independent thinker, has to say : "Quant à la "physionomie des mots" elle m'est absolument indifférente. C'est l'argument à la portée des simples, des très simples, et c'est pour cela qu'il est celui dont les journalistes ont abusé et presque le seul dont ils se soient servis . . . Seulement la physionomie des mots a changé dix fois depuis trois cents ans et si l'on s'était arrêté à la physionomie des mots on écrirait encore *cholére* et *charactère* et *chymie* et *advocat* et *escole* et *abysme* et *argille* et *bienfaicteur* et *déthrôner*. La vérité est qu'on s'habitue très vite à la physionomie des mots. Qui est-ce qui regrette *françois*. Il n'est écrit *français* officiellement que depuis soixante-dix ans. Qui est-ce qui regrette *phthysie* et *rhythme ?* Ils ne sont écrit plus simplement que depuis vingt-cinq ans . . . Tenez, je me rappelle *hermite*. Il n'avait pas le sens commun ; car *h* indique un esprit rude" dans le mot grec et il n'y a pas le moindre esprit rude dans le mot grec. Mais quand il s'est agi de l'écrire normalement et simplement à la fois *ermite* il y eut soulèvement. Il y eut des gens pour dire, non sans esprit du reste (je ne me rappelle plus qui, mais mon père me l'a souvent raconté). "Oh ! la physionomie des mots ! *On le voit*, cet *hermite* portant devant lui son long bâton et s'appuyant sur lui . . "—"Pas mal ! Seulement ç'a n'a pas le sens commun."

Faguet thinks that, in fact, any kind of orthog-

raphy will require five or six years of study for children and that the best reform will not save more than three or four weeks. He sees two chief difficulties which can be remedied easily in French spelling: the Greek words and the double consonants. He concludes his discussion: "Je propose donc la francisation de tous les mots grecs et la suppression de toutes les lettres doubles (sauf les quelques cas où il me serait démontré qu'une suppression de lettre double crée une véritable et dangereuse confusion entre deux mots, ce qui me sera démontré bien rarement."

(This is also the opinion of O. Gréard, and was accepted by many people, amongst others by the powerful "Ligue française de l'enseignement," headed by its president, F. Buisson.)

The decisions of the French Academy raised a general outcry, especially on the part of the scholars. P. Meyer, Brunot, Clédat and others have spoken very serious words. The "beau-rôle" does not remain with the Academy.

The most embarrassed person in France, in the meanwhile, was the Minister of Public Instruction. He was urged to simply ignore the opposition of the Academy. This, however, was not possible, his predecessor having himself asked for the advice of the celebrated body. All that remained for him to do was to create once more a "Commission" to adjust the differences and make out a list of the simplifications that ought to be made in taking into account both the report of the first Commission and that of the Academy. M. Bienvenu Martin, the following Minister, was then to act on their recommendations. At least it seems so from the words spoken by him at a meeting of the "Conseil Supérieur d'instruction publique" last fall. This will be, he says, "moins une commission d'étude qu'une commission de coördination et de proposition ayant pour mission spéciale de préparer les solutions définitives sur lesquelles le conseil aura à se prononcer dans sa prochaine session."

The members are: Messrs. Brunot, Clairin, Croiset, Faguet, Gasquet, Hémon, Paul Meyer, Rabier.

We wish to add two remarks.

The first is with regard to the position of the Academy in the debates. What must—or rather what can be—their attitude? Few people seem to realize it, and generally err both in praise or in condemnation. It is an awkward position, and the Academy is only in part responsible for it. At the beginning, in the seventeenth century, it was decided that the select assembly would simply *constater l'usage*, but never *dictate* or *impose*. Over and over again, to the present day, the Academy has publicly declared that it would remain true to this principle. From an abstract point of view, this is well and good. But practically it proves infeasible. The function of *constater l'usage* carried with it a much greater influence for the Academy than was consistent with the original policy; and the Academy, even if it had tried to prevent it, could not help it if the public chose to consider its *constatations* as "orders." Ultimately it came to this, that now the public regulates itself on the Academy, instead of the Academy regulating itself upon the public. Innovations are bound to become very great exceptions; the Academy would not make them because it is not within its attributions, and the public would not, because the standard language is that of the Academy. Since education has become compulsory and the necessity of uniformity in spelling has grown still more important, there is no hope left. Now, as said above, the Academy is not responsible for the fact that the public accepts its decisions as absolutely authoritative, but the Academy is certainly responsible for accepting this situation and doing nothing to remedy it. On the contrary, they seem perfectly satisfied to act the part of tyrants at the expense of the language. It is perfectly right that the people be not asked to propose reforms; but, the Academy should make it a point to consult experts, to invite their coöperation so as to prevent French from getting to the state of a dead language. Exactly the contrary is done. And not only is there no example of the Academy ever asking such coöperation, but when, on the request of the Minister of Public Instruction, those scholars readily tender their excellent services, the Academy assumes an offended air, thanks them for their "good intentions" and pretends to make concessions which really amount to nothing.

Our second remark is of an even more general character. Concerning the reform itself, the con-

clusion which imposes itself after reading the "Rapport" Meyer is that, in order to do things right, now, after several centuries of a poor understanding of the needs of the language, would mean a very, very thorough reform—no less than the reform of the alphabet would really do. This, of course, makes one pause and think. Is this wise? is it possible?—We do not wish to answer, but only mention a solution that has been proposed. The chief purpose of the reform is to render French easier, and the reason why it ought to be made easier is, first of all, because it is a useful language for all sorts of people. There is now on foot a strong movement to introduce in the world an *international language*, which will by no means replace the other languages, but take in each country the place of foreign languages for practical purposes. Instead of learning French, German, Italian, Spanish, an English-speaking person, for instance, with only one tongne besides his own, will be able to get along in those four or more countries. Now, if a language like this was to make its way in this world, the reforms of spelling in the different languages would at once lose a great deal of importance ; in other words, all the characteristic and historical features of the national tongues, which seem as many beauties to most of us, would at once be safe against so-called improvements, which hurt so much the feelings of all those attached to traditions. Then, only those would study other national languages than their own, who did it for the sake of higher culture. (The time taken on the modern languages considered as a mere tool for practical purposes, would at the same time allow us to render to the classical languages, Latin and Greek, their old place in our college courses—a place which otherwise is bound to become smaller and smaller.)

Of course, in America, where the movement for the introduction of the I. L. (International Language) has not found any echo as yet, this may seem rather an odd idea. But for those who have watched its progress in France, in Germany and in England for the last two or three years—both as a question of principle (see *Conturat:* "Rapport sur les progrès de l'idée de la langue internationale" au Congrès international de Philosophie, Genève, 1904) and as a practical solution of innumerable problems of our time (see all the discussions aroused in Europe after the Esperantist Congress in Boulogne, last September), things look very different. Ideas are gaining ground fast in our days, and the time may come sooner than many of us expect, when the attitude of men like Michel Bréal will be the proper attitude, namely : be conservative in questions of national languages (orthography, and others), but hasten the time of better understanding among people of all nations by the adoption of a world language.

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BEOWULF, 62, AGAIN.

It is perhaps rather late in the day to object to the conclusions of Professor Klaeber in his notes[1] on l. 62 of *Beowulf*, but I have only kept silent because I had other important things on hand. I think that Professor Klaeber, unintentionally, has somewhat misrepresented matters; and if I may be pardoned for adding a few more straws to the already heavy burden of this poor line, I should like to make the attempt to straighten some things out. It may be that one or two of my additions may have a more general interest than my title would seem to promise.

I hope that Professor Klaeber will not take offense if I suggest that he has been at times a trifle overconfident : perhaps in my first note[2] on this line I was, in the same way, a little at fault,—however, I think he has sinned more than I. The points at issue are : the facts concerning the erasure in this line, the meaning of them, and the part played by *hyrde ic* in Old English literature.

Professor Klaeber agrees with me that there is an erasure after *ewen*, but according to him we are not to draw any conclusions from it. "The scribe had made a mistake, which he corrected. (!) That is all the erasure tells us. Whether that unlucky scribal blunder which has caused so much headache to modern scholars,

[1] *Modern Language Notes*, XX, p. 11 ; *Modern Philology*, III, p. 243.

[2] *Modern Language Notes*, XIX, 121.

occurred before or after *elan cwen*, cannot be learned from it. Nor do we know whether the (first) scribe of our *Beowulf* copy actually committed or merely transmitted it. Besides, can we really be sure that what he erased was not simply a blot of ink?" He also says that no letter underneath *heaðo* can be made out with certainty; and to my suggestion that *hyrde ic* possibly implies uncertainty of information on the composer's part, he returns a very decided and, I think, dogmatic negative answer. His only justification is the two-edged remark that "The stylistic and metrical functions of *hyrde ic* are clearly seen in line 2163" and he quotes the line. So much appears in his article in *Modern Language Notes*, xx, p. 11. In *Modern Philology*, iii, p. 243 f., he again takes up *hyrde ic* and treats it as a *gefrægn* formula. He says: "Now the phrase *hyrde ic* serves here (*Beo.* 62) practically as poetic formula of transition equal to 'further,' exactly as in line 2163, where the account of the presentation of the four gifts is connected in the same way with (its continuation, that is) the report of the donation of the horses" . . . He then quotes the line, refers the reader to his note in *Modern Language Notes*, and adds another reference, to line 2172.

This summer in the British Museum I took occasion to examine carefully this page of the *Beowulf* ms. I found there what my previous study of several copies of the facsimile had shown me, namely, that there has been an erasure, that it was the erasure of a word, and that there are the indisputable remains of an *s* just after the *o* of *heaðo*. But, I think it especially noteworthy that all copies of the facsimile are not equally efficient in what they disclose of the ms. If one takes two copies and compares them page for page he will find considerable variation in the plainness of the readings. The *s* just mentioned can be seen in the ms. itself. Both I and the attendant in the Manuscript work-room identified it. It can generally be seen in copies of the facsimile, and I think there are some specimens that show it even plainer than the original ms. But this variation is to me noteworthy. It seems rather remarkable that the mere difference in the strength of an impression can bring so much more out in one copy than in another. It suggests that by proper manipulation a ms. photograph may be made to give plainer readings than its original. Also, the fact that Zupitza has not mentioned this particular erasure in his edition suggests that it is a pity that he has not edited the autotype more thoroughly. It has been pointed out to me that there are several other erasures and suspicious places that he has said nothing about.

But to return now more narrowly to our subject, Professor Klaeber says that 'the phrase *hyrde ic* certainly does not point to the composer's uncertainty of information.' His only proof is an assertion about line 2163, which he later strengthens by adding line 2172. He also puts in a counter claim, so to speak, by bringing forward Schücking's suggestion that *hyrde ic* serves here practically as a poetic formula of transition. "The question," he says, "is not what modern logic expects, or subjective criticism declares possible or impossible, but whether such an expression accords with the practice, not to say the laws, of the old style." I agree with Professor Klaeber. This is very good doctrine, quite worthy of being followed. In point of fact, the terms poetic formula and epic formula, as I myself am prepared to prove, are used so loosely that they are practically meaningless. They class together locutions of quite different character; the locutions often mean what they literally say; and sometimes these terms are applied to expressions that are not even stereotyped. Now, what are the facts concerning *hyrde ic?* It occurs but three times in all Old English poetry, always in *Beowulf*. Schücking has tried to obtain a fourth or at least analogous case in the *hyrde we* passage in the *Fates of the Apostles*, line 70, but I think with no success. Such, then, is the extent of the practice mentioned by Professor Klaeber. Now, what are the metrical and stylistic functions of the phrase? First, in all three cases, *hyrde ic* introduces a passage metrically independent of the rest of the poem. In at least two of these cases the material is also logically independent. Let us consider lines 2163 and 2172: they are close neighbors and should be treated together. Their sections follow immediately in succession upon a long speech by Beowulf in which that hero tells of his experiences in the land of Hroðgar, and he closes by offering to Hygelac the treasure he has

received from the son of Healfdene. Several presents are mentioned specifically. "*Bruc ealles well!*" Then follows: *Hyrde ic þæt þam frætwum feower mearas . . . last weardode . . . .* that is, another present is mentioned that the author or scribe has heard that Beowulf gave to his lord. 'Thus should a kinsman do,' is the comment. Then he adds a second *hyrde ic* clause, introducing still other presents: *Hyrde ic þæt he þone healsbeah Hygde gesealde . . .* Now, either or both of these passages could easily have been added by any scribe. Much the same, also, can be said for line 62. The material is independent metrically and could have been added by any copyist. Suppose that a previous scribe had accidentally left out a line or two describing the fourth child of Healfdene, then it would not be at all unlikely that our copyist, noticing the omission, would try to supply the defect on the basis of his own probably uncertain information. Nor would it be strange if he became confused in the process. I say all this is possible, and that is all that I have claimed for it at any time.

Let us now take up another line of argument. Professor Klaeber says with reference to the erasure, that it tells us that the scribe had made a mistake which he corrected. Now, surely Professor Klaeber can not have meant this to be taken literally, for if the scribe had corrected his mistake, there would have been none of the "headache" referred to. But that is just the point: the mistake was not corrected. After the word *cwen* everything is peculiar. There is an erasure, a genitive ending in *as*, and a feminine nominative singular ending in *a*,—not to mention logical and metrical difficulties. Before *elan cwen* there is not the slightest internal or direct evidence to show that there is any error. It seems to me that the MS. testimony is thus fairly conclusive. Now, if we should accept Professor Klaeber's suggestion that what the scribe erased was a blot of ink, the MS. testimony is strong enough to be considered proof, because the scribe has shown by erasing just a mere blot that he at least thought there was no mistake before the blot.

Finally, if one does not wish to consider *elan* a woman's name, there is still another way of construing it, as Professor Schofield has suggested to me (it is also noted in Grein's *Sprachschatz*). It is entirely possible to take *elan* as the genitive of *Ela*, making this the name of the husband, and supplying after *cwen* the name of the wife and the verb *wæs*. The reconstructed line would be type E. Consequently, from either point of view, it is not at all necessary to make an emendation at any other place than after the word *cwen*.

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MARLOWE, *DOCTOR FAUSTUS* 13. 106–9.

The lines thus numbered (5. 1. 106–9 of W. Wagner's ed.) in Ward's edition are here quoted from Breymann's edition (1378–81, ed. of 1604):

> Brighter art thou then flaming *Jupiter*
> When he appeard to haplesse *Semele*;
> More louely than the monarke of the skie
> In wanton *Arethusaes* azurde armes.

The edition of 1616 has (1856–9) only trifling variations: 'appear'd,' 'Monarch of the sky,' '*Arethusa's*,' 'azure.' The edition of 1616 is the only one that has 'azure'; those of 1619, 1620, 1624, and 1631 have 'azurd' or 'azur'd.' 'Skye' is found in the editions of 1609, 1619, 1620, and 1631.

Wagner comments: 'Marlowe's mythology appears to be at fault here. *Arethusa* is never mentioned as the beloved of "the monarch of the sky," whoever he may be—Jupiter or Apollo. . . . *Azur'd* appears to be said in reference to Arethusa being a sea-nymph.' In his Critical Commentary, p. 98, he says: 'Is there any corruption in Arethusa?'

Ward refers to Wagner's comment, and adds, 'It would be a sorry attempt to spoil this lovely line by any crude conjecture. Van der Velde thinks that "the monarch of the sky" means the sky itself, which is mirrored in the spring Arethusa, and thus lends it an azure hue. Arethusa was a general name given by the Greeks to springs, and Marlowe may therefore be excused for using the name to signify "water-nymph" in general. F. V. Hugo has not improved the meaning of the passage by translating "the monarch of the sky" "le roi des mers."—If Marlowe was thinking of

the reflection of the sky, or of the character of Arethusa as a sea-nymph, the epithet "azur'd" has a special significance here ; compare *The Tempest* 43 :

> 'Twixt the green sea and the azur'd vault ;

but the word may be merely used as an epithet of the veins of the skin, as in *The Rape of Lucrece* 419, and in *Friar Bacon* 1. 83 . . .

It is not easy to see what authority Ward has for saying that 'Arethusa was a general name given by the Greeks to springs.' It is a particular name given by the Greeks to certain individual springs, some seven or so. While Marlowe would not 'therefore be excused for using the name to signify "water-nymph" in general,' it is yet quite possible that he may have confounded Arethusa with some other water-nymph. According to one account, Arethusa was the mother of Abas by Poseidon (Hyginus, *Fab.* 157 ; Stephanus of Byzantium s. v. Ἀβαντίς). If we accepted this—and the union of Arethusa with one of the greater gods is not otherwise recorded—the only emendation necessary would be to change Marlowe's 'skie' to 'sea.' However, this legend is obscure, and perhaps doubtful, so that Marlowe is not likely to have used it. If we attach any importance to it, it shows that Poseidon was conceived of, not only as the god of ocean, but also, on occasion, as a god of fountains and rivers (cf. Preller, *Gr. Myth.* 1. 457), as κρηνοῦχος and νυμφαγέτης (Cornutus, *Nat. Deor.* 22). This leads to the suspicion that Marlowe may have been thinking of a much more famous legend, one which was frequently illustrated in ancient art, that of Poseidon and Amymone. It will be observed that 'Amymone' fulfils the metrical requirements of the line, and that her story, being fully related in Latin, was accessible to all the poets of the Renaissance.

Hyginus has two versions of the legend. He thus begins in *Fab.* 169 (ed. Schmidt, pp. 31–2, with changes in punctuation and capitalization) : 'Amymone, Danai filia, dum studiose in silva venatur, Satyrum jaculo percussit. Eam Satyrus voluit violare ; illa Neptuni fidem imploravit. Quo Neptunus cum venisset, Satyrum abegit, et ipse cum ea concubuit, ex quo conceptu nascitur Nauplius. Id in quo loco factum est, Neptunus dicitur fuscina percussisse terram, et inde aquam profluxisse, qui Lernæus fons dictus est et Amymonium flumen.'

There follows immediately a second form of the story, as follows : 'Amymone, Danai filia, missa est a patre aquam petitum ad sacrum faciendum, quæ dum quærit lassitudine obdormiit. Quam Satyrus violare voluit ; illa Neptuni fidem imploravit. Quod cum Neptunus fuscinam in Satyrum misisset, illa se in petram fixit. Satyrum Neptunus fugavit ; qui cum quæreret in solitudine a puella, illa se aquatum missam esse dixit a patre. Quam Neptunus compressit, ex qua compressione natus est Nauplius ; pro quo beneficium ei tribuit jussitque ejus fuscinam de petra educere. Quæ cum eduxisset, [et] tres silani sunt secuti. Qui ex Amymones nomine Amymonius fons appellatus est ; hic autem fons Lernæus est postea appellatus.'

Apollodorus (2. 1. 4) exhibits familiarity with the second version, but varies from it in some particulars. Thus, he says : 'Danaus came to Argos,[1] where Gelanor, the king then reigning, abdicated the throne in his favor. At that time the country was suffering from drought, for Poseidon had caused the springs to dry up, being incensed at Inachus, because he had proclaimed that the land belonged to Athene. When Danaus sent his daughters to obtain water, one of them, Annymone, while on this quest, shot an arrow at a stag, which struck a sleeping satyr.' The rest of the story conforms to the account of Hyginus.

Propertius (2. 26. 45–50, ed. Baehrens) alludes to this legend, and from him Marlowe may have learned to couple the names, as lovers, of Neptune and Jupiter :

> Sed non Neptunus tanto crudelis amori,
> Neptunus fratri par in amore Jovi :
> Testis Amymone, latices dum ferret, in Argis
> Compressa, et Lernæ pulsa tridente palus ;
> Jam deus amplexu votum persolvit, at illi
> Aurea divinas urua profudit aquas.

The beauty of Amymone is suggested by the remarks in Lucian, *Sea-Gods* 6. Triton says (tr. Fowler) : 'There is such a pretty girl coming to Lerna for water every day ; I don't know that I ever saw a prettier.' And Poseidon : 'A charm-

[1] It is worth noting that Arethusa, too, had a fountain in Argos (*Schol. Od.* 17. 408).

ing child; the dawn of loveliness.' Poseidon soothes her by saying: 'Don't be frightened; no harm shall be done to you. Come, you shall have a fountain called after you; it shall spring up in this very place, near the waves; I will strike the rock with my trident.'

If, then, we should read,

> More louely then the monarke of the sea
> In wanton Amymones azurde armes,

we should have Marlowe reflecting a well-known legend in a line whose loveliness has perhaps not been wholly spoiled. 'Wanton' may still mean (Schmidt, *Shak. Lex.*) 'playful, sportive, frolicsome,' in accordance with Wagner's interpretation. 'Monarke of the sea' might easily have been derived, say, from Ovid, *Met.* 4. 797, *pelagi rector*, where another love-adventure of Neptune is related. As for 'azurde armes,' one is likely to do better, with Ward, to think of *Lucr.* 418–9:

> With more than admiration he admires
> Her azure veins, her alabaster skin,

than to go off in search of the Lat. *cæruleus*[2] as an epithet of water-deities. Other citations from Shakespeare, to the same effect, are *Lucr.* 407, 440; *Ven. and Adon.* 482; *Ant. and Cleo.* 2. 5. 29; *Cymb.* 2. 2. 22 (cf. Shelley's 'azure veins,' *Damon* 1. 14; *Q. Mab.* 1. 14; and Keats' 'azure-lidded,' *Eve of St. Agnes* 262).

Let us now attempt to give the reasons for considering these two emendations, 'sea' for 'skie,' and 'Amymone's' for 'Arethusaes':

1. The form of *Doctor Faustus* which we possess is not the original one (Ward, p. lxxxiv). 'We have the probability of three, and the certainty of two, revisions before the date of the printing of the play in its first extant edition of 1604. Of these three revisions it is clear that the last, that of 1602, must have contained extensive alterations' (Ward, p. lxxxv). There was therefore opportunity for corruptions to creep in.

2. It is pointless to make a twofold comparison with Jupiter. He would probably not be more lovely in the one case than in the other.

3. If two of the greater gods were to be successively introduced, the propriety of making Neptune the second is sufficiently evinced by Propertius' lines (cf. also F. V. Hugo's 'roi des mers').

4. In Propertius' lines it is Amymone, and not Arethusa, who is represented as the beloved of Neptune. Arethusa, while not absolutely excluded from consideration, is not likely to have occurred to Marlowe, (1) because the legend of her relation to Neptune is obscure, and (2) because, as Wagner has observed, there is no legend of her connection with either Jupiter or Apollo.

5. 'Azurde' and 'wanton,' however interpreted, would apply as well to Amymone as to Arethusa. In fact, if we attach any importance to Ovid's epithet *frigida*, as applied to Arethusa (*F.* 4. 423), 'wanton' would hardly fit Arethusa.

6. 'Sea' and 'Amymone' would suit the metre.

There remain to be considered the objections against all emendations; but these are too frequently urged to need rehearsal here.

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[2] Cf. Milton's 'blue-haired deities,' *Com.* 29.

NOTES ON SHAKESPEARE.

(1) *Mid. Night's Dream* 4. 1. 108–124.

In the *Nation* for June 23, 1904, I commented upon this passage, and gave extended quotations from Markham's *Country Contentments*. What follows is of a supplementary nature.

Other Shakespearean passages worth quoting are these:

T. of Shrew, Ind. 2. 47–8:

> The hounds shall make the welkin answer them,
> And fetch shrill echoes from the hollow earth.

Tit. And. 2. 3. 17–20:

> And, whilst the babbling echo mocks the hounds,
> Replying shrilly to the well-tuned horns,
> As if a double hunt were heard at once,
> Let us sit down and mark their yelping noise.

If the latter, as Cunliffe (*The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, pp. 69–70) supposes may be the case, is influenced by Seneca, *Hippolytus* 37–38, we may find in the latter an

ancient source or parallel, along with Ovid and Virgil. In general, the ancients preferred dogs that were silent, at least till the game was started (thus Oppian, *Cyneg.* 1. 448–9 ; Gratius, *Cyneg.* 106, 207–210 ; Lucan, *Phars.* 4. 437–441, and even Seneca, in the lines just preceding those cited above). The Celtic dogs were free of tongue, however, according to Arrian, *Cyneg.*, chap. 3 : 'In pursuit these give tongue with a clanging howl like the yelping Carians, who are usually classed with the Cretan dogs.' 'Sometimes, indeed,' Arrian adds, 'they gladden so outrageously, even on a stale trail, that I have rated them for their excessive barking.' An interesting passage is that from Ovid, *Halieut.* 76–9 :

> Quæ nunc elatis rimantur naribus auras,
> Et nunc demisso quærunt vestigia rostro,
> Et produnt clamore feram, dominumque vocando
> Increpitant.

Cf. *Met.* 3. 207 ff. ; Virgil, *Georg.* 3. 43–5, 345, 404 ff.

According to 'Stonehenge' (J. H. Walsh), in his treatise, *The Dog*, published in 1859 (pp. 49–50) : 'The music of the pack is also much neglected, and most men nowadays prefer even that of "the squeaking bitches" if they give a good gallop, to the full-toned and bell-like tongues, one below the other, which were formerly considered to be a part of the sport, and without which a full cry was not listened to with pleasure. . . . Not having a musical ear myself, I cannot enter into the feelings of those who have.'

Somerville's *The Chase*, published in 1735, seems to owe certain expressions to Markham, and a few to Shakespeare, though much of the poem is no doubt true to the writer's own experience. One of the best is this (1. 278–291) :

> But above all take heed, nor mix thy hounds
> Of different kinds ; discordant sounds shall grate
> Thy ears offended, and a lagging line
> Of babbling curs disgrace thy broken pack.
> But if the amphibious otter be thy chase,
> Or stately stag, that o'er the woodland reigns ;
> Or if the harmonious thunder of the field
> Delight thy ravished ears ; the deep-flewed hound
> Breed up with care, strong, heavy, slow, but sure,
> Whose ears down-hanging from his thick round head
> Shall sweep the morning dew, whose clanging voice
> Awake the mountain echo in her cell,
> And shake the forests ; the bold Talbot kind
> Of these the prime, as white as Alpine snows.

Another is this (2. 185–291) :

> The hunters shout,
> The clanging horns swell their sweet-winding notes,
> The pack wide-opening load the trembling air
> With various melody ; from tree to tree
> The propagated cry redoubling bounds,
> And winged zephyrs waft the floating joy
> Through all the regions near.

A third is (2. 249–251) :

> Hark ! now again the chorus fills ; as bells,
> Silenced a while, at once their peal renew,
> And high in air the tuneful thunder rolls.

Still others are 3. 64–76, 410–413.

The long lips and ears are mentioned by Caius, as translated by Abraham Fleming in 1576 (Arber's *English Garner* 3. 233) : 'We may know this kind of dogs [harriers] by their long, large, and bagging lips ; by their hanging ears, reaching down both sides of their chaps ; and by the indifferent and measurable proportion of their making.' Indeed, the long ears of certain hounds are already noted by Arrian, *Cyneg.*, chap. 5 ; Nemesianus, *Cyneg.* 113 ; Callimachus, *Hymn to Artemis* 91 ; *Cynosoph.*, chap. 4 ; cf. Paul. ex Fest., p. 231 Müll. 'Stonehenge' (p. 49), discussing the ancient types of English hounds, says : 'Both [the northern and the southern hound], however, were large, bony hounds, with long falling ears, but the southern hounds had absolute dewlaps, or at all events such excessive throatiness as to make them rejected at the present day on that account alone.'

(2) *Romeo and Juliet* 2. 3. 3–4.

These lines run :

> And flecked darkness like a drunkard reels
> From forth day's path and Titan's fiery wheels.

This is paralleled by Nonnus, *Dionys.* 40. 381–2 :

> Νὺξ μὲν ἀκοντιστῆρι διωκόμενη σέο πυρσῷ
> χάζεται ἀστήρικτος ;

which may be roughly rendered :

'Night reels away from before the flashes of thy [the sun's] coruscating torch.'

Byron seems to have had the Shakespearean passage in mind when he wrote (*Mazeppa* 545) :

> I saw the trees like drunkards reel ;

but much earlier Drummond of Hawthornden had

written ('Phœbus, arise' 42–43; *Muses' Library* 1. 71):

> Night like a drunkard reels
> Beyond the hills to shun his flaming wheels.

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CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER OF CERTAIN SCENES IN GOETHE'S *FAUST*.

II.

If we try to remove the confusion in the chronology of the scenes of the Gretchen tragedy in Goethe's *Faust* by putting an interval between the Valentin scene and the Walpurgisnacht scene, we may meet a difficulty in the expression 'übermorgen' in Mephistopheles' allusion to the approaching witch sabbath. This expression seems to have reference to the following Walpurgisnacht scene, but I think that we must not attach too much value to it as a means of determining the time.

In the first place, indications of date are in the whole drama so vague—except when carrying dramatic significance, as does the introduction of the 'Easter morning'—and the sequence of the scenes is so loose, that an exact specification about a certain date and about the chronological relation between two scenes would appear strangely exceptional. Furthermore, if we take 'übermorgen' literally, the Cathedral scene would have to be placed on the day following the murder. But Gretchen's mind in that scene does not seem to be under the fresh impression of this crime. The death of her mother and that of her brother, both seem to be somewhat remote in her memory. Also, Mephistopheles' words and actions in the two scenes show some incongruity. In the Valentin scene he is filled with 'spring' and the anticipation of the approaching orgy, while in the Walpurgisnacht scene he says that he feels 'winterlich' and is altogether not very enthusiastic about the trip.

I consequently would prefer to think that no reference to the following Walpurgisnacht scene was intended by 'übermorgen.' The Valentin scene is certainly of early origin and apparently was written before the idea of the actual visit to the Brocken had taken form in the poet's mind. What Mephistopheles says of the Brocken festival was therefore merely intended to characterize in a realistic way the kind of feelings which spring is awakening in him and which he delights to exhibit when he observes the gloomy mood in which Faust is on account of Gretchen's threatening shame. By placing this scene on a very early spring day we may account for Mephistopheles' feelings and still save the conjuncture.

But, even if we take 'übermorgen' literally, we may find a way out of the dilemma. Since the poet is not definite about dates, we do not know the exact time of the beginning of the love story, nor the length of Faust's stay in the forest seclusion—his meditation at the beginning of the scene 'Forest and Cavern' rather suggests nature in the fall. We also do not know how long Gretchen, after having become a mother, has wandered about, nor how long she has been in prison when visited by Faust. We therefore are perfectly justified in assuming that Faust returns in the fall, that the murder of Valentin takes place at the end of April, that Faust, full of remorse, flees, not, however, to the Brocken, but to roam about for a year and to be gradually 'lulled in insipid diversions,' while Gretchen's misfortune takes its course, that after having forgotten his love and the wrong done by him he follows Mephistopheles to the witch sabbath of the following year, that he, in the midst of the orgy, has the vision of the beheaded Gretchen, which makes him find his better self, and that he comes to deliver her from prison just the night before her execution. Gretchen's words in that last scene, 'Mein Freund, so kurz von mir entfernt,' are naturally of no significance regarding the point in question. She has in her insanity lost all idea of time, as is shown by her reference to her people dead long ago, and her misconception about the length of Faust's absence gives all the more poignancy to her words.

If we, accepting the above supposition, attempt to determine the chronology of the scenes, we find:

'Easter Day,' in April.

Second Scene 'Study' and preceding visits of Mephistopheles, in May.

Scenes 'Auerbach's Keller' and 'Witch Kitchen,' in June.

First Gretchen scenes before Faust's forest seclusion, in July, August and September. Scene 'Street,' perhaps in July, first scene 'Marthen's Garden,' in August, other meetings in the garden, in September.

Scene 'Forest and Cavern,' in October.

Second scene 'Marthen's Garden,' some pleasant day in November.

Scene 'At the Well,' in December or January. (Lieschen speaks of spinning, an occupation for winter evenings.)

Now is an interval of several months, during which time Faust sees Gretchen until toward the end of that period her mother dies. Then follow the three scenes of Gretchen's agony :

Scene 'Zwinger,' a short time before the Valentin scene. (Spring flowers are well advanced at that time in South Germany.)

'Valentin' scene, at the end of April.

Scene 'Cathedral,' some time after that.

With Gretchen's swoon at the end of the cathedral scene, ends the first part of the love tragedy. There follows an interval of many months, during which time Gretchen becomes a mother, drowns her child, wanders about, is put in prison, tried and sentenced to death, while Faust roams about and is 'lulled in insipid diversions.' Then follows the second part of the love tragedy :

Scene 'Walpurgisnacht,' on the first of May of the following year.

Scenes 'Dismal Day,' 'Night' and 'Prison,' directly after the 'Walpurgisnacht.'

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NOTES ON PRUDENTIUS.

(1) A HYMN OF WATTS' AND ONE OF PRUDENTIUS'.

Watts' well-known funeral hymn, whose first stanza in the original edition (*Reliquiæ Juveniles*, London, 1734, p. 250) is,

> Unvail thy Bosom, faithful Tomb,
> Take this new Treasure to thy Trust,
> And give these sacred Reliques Room
> To seek a Slumber in the Dust,

seems somewhat like an echo of Prudentius (*Cath.* 10. 125–8, 133–140) :

> Nunc suscipe, terra, fovendum,
> Gremioque hunc concipe molli ;
> Hominis tibi membra sequestro,
> Generoso et fragmina credo.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Tu depositum tege corpus ;
> Non inmemor illa requiret
> Sua munera Fictor et Auctor,
> Propriique ænigmata vultus.
>
> Veniant modo tempora justa
> Cum spem Deus inpleat omnem ;
> Reddas patefacta necesse est
> Qualem tibi trado figuram.

Julian, *Dict. of Hymnology*, p. 291, speaks of a cento made from this hymn, beginning *Jam mœsta quiesce querela*, and consisting of stanzas 31 (30?), 15, 10–12, 32–36 (31–35?). He says : 'It was for generations a favorite funeral hymn among the Lutherans, and was sung in Latin in some parts of Germany till very recent times. Abp. Trench, in giving st. 31–44 in his *Sac. Lat. Poetry*, speaks of them as the "crowning glory of the poetry of Prudentius." It has been *tr.* into English direct from the Latin, and also through the German' (but no English translation that he cites is as early as the eighteenth century ; for an apparent exception, see p. 822).

Prudentius' *Cathemerinon* may now be found in the Temple Classics (Latin and English), the translation being made by R. Martin Pope and R. F. Davis.

Watts' hymn has been garbled in the hymn-books. The original of 2^{3-4} is :

> Can reach the lovely Sleeper here,
> And Angels watch her soft Repose.

Of 3^{3} :

> Rest here, fair Saint ; till from his Throne

Of 4^{4} :

> She must ascend to meet her Lord.

The reason for the changes made by the compilers of hymn-books is evident.

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(2) Browning's *Rabbi Ben Ezra* and Prudentius' *Epilogue*.

The figure of the potter, as applied to the shaping of man, and found near the close of *Rabbi Ben Ezra*, is expressed or suggested by various Biblical texts, such as Isa. 45. 9 ; 64. 8 ; Jer. 18. 1–4; Ecclus. 33. 13 ; 38. 29, 30 ; Wisd. 15. 7 ; Rom. 9. 21–23 ; and 2 Tim. 2. 20, 21, the last, perhaps, having special relevance to the poem.

It is interesting to note that the thought of 2 Tim. 2. 20, 21 has been developed by Prudentius in his *Epilogue*. As translated by Mr. R. F. Davis (Temple Classics : *The Hymns of Prudentius*, translated by R. Martin Pope), this portion runs :

The rich man's halls are nobly furnishèd ;
Therein no nook or corner empty seems ;
Here stands the brazen laver burnishèd,
And there the golden goblet brightly gleams ;
Hard by some crock of clumsy earthen ware,
Massive and ample lies a silver plate ;
And rough-hewn cups of oak or elm are there
With vases carved of ivory delicate.
Yet every vessel in its place is good,
So be it for the Master's service meet ;
The priceless salver and the bowl of wood
Alike He needs to make His home complete.

Therefore within His Father's spacious hall
Christ fits me for the service of a day,
Mean though I be, a vessel poor and small,—
And in some lowly corner lets me stay.
Lo, in the palace of the King of Kings
I play the earthen pitcher's humble part ;
Yet to have done Him meanest service brings
A thrill of rapture to my thankful heart :
Whate'er the end, this thought will joy afford,
My lips have sung the praises of my Lord.

May Browning have owed something to this passage ?

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NOTE ON *Hamlet*.

In *Hamlet* iv, iii, the King, apostrophising the King of England, says :—"Thou mayst not coldly set Our sovereign process." The commentators are bothered by this phrase, but no one has anything plausible to suggest. Pope, in his arbitrary fashion, changes it to "let." Mason and the Clarendon editors consider it equivalent to "set at nought." But to strain "set a process" until it means "set a process at nought," is, to my thinking, to crack the wind of the poor phrase.

I think it should be *sit*, "withstand," "disobey," perhaps from OE. *ætsittan*.

The word occurs in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries in the forms *atsit*, *asit* (instances in *Oxf. Dict.*), and in the fifteenth as *sit:* "durst scho neuer sit summoundis that scho hard him say" (*Rauf Coilzear*, 99) ; "He durst not sit anys my summondis" (Dunbar, *Twa Mariit Wemen*, 319). It was in use in Shakespeare's time, as we may see in Donne, *Serm.* el, where we have the identical phrase, "sit a process," for "disobey a command." "God turns their rivers into blood : Pharaoh *sits that process.*"

The collocation of the phrases "sit summons" and "sit a process" suggests a legal use of the word.

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SOME RECENT FRENCH PLAYS.

IV.

We have seen in *Notre Jeunesse* a light comedy where the old habit of pleasing by froth is confused—and not harmonized—with a desire to conform to the standard of the Théâtre Français by throwing in a dash of situation and streaks of character ; and in *Les Affaires* a drama of one interest, brutal, actual, unpleasing, but powerful ; we pass to higher ground in the *Duel* of Henri Lavedan.

This play was first performed in April, 1905, and Paris was prompt to award it a deserved admiration. Its author, an academician, was previously known by his *Prince d'Aurec* and his *Marquis de Priola*.

In *Le Duel* we are transported to a realm of lofty ideality ; we see character as it may be rendered noble, and high human action as it may be enfolded, permeated with spiritual essences. These souls are not finely moved but to fine issues. Yet

there is not a shade of dogma, of morality in the limited sense, of art-destroying didacticism. Nor is the realm so remote, so abstract, that we move confused amid unreal fancies and symbols. Here is the dramatist's first triumph. He has clothed each idea in living flesh ; and their conflict is very human action. He has conveyed the universal in the particular ; he has sought what is most permanent in actuality. The interest is at the same time psychological and scenic.

The play, as its title implies, figures forth a struggle, a contest. But the strife is fought with no material arms, upon no limited mundane field ; the forces of personality, of thought and feeling are the contestants ; and the battle rages in a woman's heart.

It is a manifold conflict. First and most obviously it is a duel between the Dr. Morey and the Abbé Daniel who combat, the one for the body, the other for the soul of the Duchesse de Chailles. But into what series and convolutions of strife is this apparently simple thesis elaborated !

There is between the Doctor and the Duchess, as varying poles of sympathy and antagonism, the natural duel of the sexes. There is, from the introduction of the Bishop Boland as personifying the Church, the earliest hint of discord, in the discussion between him and the Doctor.

So are the characters set in opposition. And when these contests are transmuted into symbols, it would seem that all the army of ideas takes part. If it is primarily a modern war between science and religion as illustrated in the two brothers, the one a sceptic, the other a pietist ; it is also a war of sacred and profane love, or, as one has put it, a war between the love of religion and the religion of love, around the figure of the Duchess ; it is a war of the Christian and the Pagan ideal, of the spirit and the flesh, heaven and hell, from the Abbé's viewpoint ; from the Doctor's it is a war between reason and unreason, between healthy human happiness and a sickly mysticism. In the Duchess, it is a war first between duty and the individual right, and later between her love for the Doctor, and her admiration, deepening into love, for the Abbé. In the Doctor, it is a war between his love for truth, and a certain stifled idealism shown in his passion for the Duchess. In the Abbé, we have at the last a conflict between his love for her soul and his love for herself.

Finally—and this is crucial—besides her own, all these battles are fought over again in the mind, in the heart of the disturbed and sorrowful Duchess.

It is, I think, in the analysis, and then in the harmonizing, the centralization of these somewhat bewildering *motifs*, in displaying, while subduing them, that the playwright has shown the highest mastery. Let us see the development.

The scene opens in the sanatorium of Doctor Morey. He is a distinguished alienist and has under his charge the broken and debilitated body of the Duc de Chailles, a *roué*, a victim of the morphine habit. The Duchess, with her life thus clouded, is spending her days in the Doctor's hospital, nursing her husband, despairing of her own individual happiness. She is "vouée au malheur"; her cradle was rocked between two coffins ; her disillusionment as to the Duke has been of the bitterest. Yet her pessimism is without rancor, and the noble harmony and charm of her character shows best in sorrow.

The Doctor appears as an "homme de bien," excellent in his calling, constant to his standard of saving humanity's waste ; but unattractive and ungracious ; a man of hatred and no loves ; a positivist without breadth, a free-thinker without real tolerance ; a peculiar type of the so-called scientific spirit in what we may hope is a transient and not universal form. He cannot see but that his mind is the measure of all things. He assumes that the universe is arranged in one straight line —the line of reason's ray. He discounts all opposition by begging the question—by postulating that scientifically there can be none.

Between these two there are friendly relations, as of people who see each other every day. We are treated with mutual confidences, and the personal note is insistently struck. The Duchess recurs to her earlier history, declares her friendlessness and her calm despair. The Doctor would be sympathetic, but in his questions he has the air of diagnosing her case. Has she religion ? No ! That is good. Neither has he. Her manifested incredulity does not shock him, since he is emancipated from the old ideas of femininity. The statement of the whole situation follows : "Rap-

pelez-vous ceci, madame. Il ne faut pas se mettre dans la main du prêtre!" "Et—dans celle du médecin?" "Non plus! Il faut rester soi, indépendant, maître de son esprit et de son cœur." There are no laws, save those of happiness, which is briefly—love. This to hear does the Duchess seriously incline, though verbally she declares that she will have none of this love, this "fléau du monde." The Doctor is her "admirable ami," the comrade of her affliction, who will now disclose *his* past—and shun these dangerous shoals.

The *tête-à-tête* is interrupted by the entrance of the old Bishop, the missionary to China, a noble figure, who has lived and suffered for his cause, and has remained kindly, naïve, and sensible, penetrative withal, most direct and unjesuitical in his methods. In a fine scene the Duchess is so wrought upon by the recital of his sufferings that she does him reverence by kissing his hand, thus provoking a gesture of impatience from the jealous Doctor. In this manner she reveals herself, despite her previous declaration of incredulity, as really standing with reluctant feet at the parting of the ways.

From this point the Duel is on. At first it appears only as an amiable passage at words. When the two are left alone, the Bishop quietly taxes Morey with loving the Duchess, and assures him that still she is a believer, an *âme d'Église*.

The Abbé Daniel, however, is the real antagonist. He and the Doctor are represented, somewhat conventionally, as being brothers, who had drifted apart in their widely dissimilar ways of life, and had not seen each other for years. He comes to the sanatorium in search of the Bishop, his old Master, by whom he is catechized and to whom he tells of the estrangement between the brothers, and discloses his own character—how he was pushed to religion by debauch, how he loves God in pagan fashion, from artistic and emotional impulses. But from the beginning he gives a fine impression, this fervent and mystic young Abbé, sincere for all his apologetic dilittanteism, holily conscientious and humanly tender. In filial relations, he presents by far the better figure.

The brothers are now *aux prises*. There is a cold greeting and a perfunctory hand-clasp. The Doctor receives his guest with marked disfavor—"C'est toi? Tu as à me parler?" He refuses the request to care for the Abbé's parish children, first with the banal excuse that he has not the time. But if the other *will* have it, then he objects to being concerned in Catholic priestly work. What use have these people for his services? Have they not a "docteur Dieu?" Yet, to avoid imputation of meanness, Morey will write out a check.

The second request, more significant, is for an introduction to the Duchesse de Chailles, that she may aid the Abbé in his charities. The Doctor, who would seem to have prevision of the *rapprochement* between these two, who, at any rate is jealous of clerical influence around the susceptible woman, irritably refuses.

Up to this point, there has been manifested no hate, no personal rivalry between the brothers. There is simply lack of common ground, a conflict of ideals and of professions. The Doctor feels a mixture of anger and pity, "quand je songe à la médiocrité et au néant de ton existence. Tu ne vis pas. Tu ne sers à rien." The other retorts that, on the contrary, his life is all compact of service and movement. Is not the very confessional, judged so restricted, the place where one learns all, where the human heart is disclosed in its strongest and deepest struggles? And the situation is finally posed when each in turn tells of a woman, a penitent for the one, a desired object for the other, who is torn between her love and her duty. So we learn that the Duchess has in secret sought the Abbé's confessional to replace her earthly by a heavenly passion. But between the men, each is ignorant of whom the other is speaking, each triumphantly claims his woman in the name of the Church, in the name of human law. And on this they part.

The battle is appointed. The forces are arrayed. The Duchess appears again, more dejected, more susceptible to the argument and the power of love. The Doctor seizes his opportunity and declares himself. Will she not let him help her, let him be ever near her; more than an admirer or amiable comrade—as her lover in short? It is her right and her need. That is why he speaks, and he speaks with conviction.

She seeks to parry. She seeks even to flee. Womanly indignant at first she exclaims, "Then

you are no longer my friend!" She laments her love. The illusion he gave her of trustworthiness is gone. He has lied! With refinement of feeling, she preferred her former aspiration towards him, almost sanctified as it was, sweeter because unattainable, to this hotly felt, earth-born desire. She preferred the image she had forged of him to this real pleading man, now transformed into her enemy. She trembles in her exaltation, and the Doctor, ever ready, catches her up: "Nous sommes emportés par quelque chose de plus fort que nous." He presses forward. She pleads still, but more feebly, more despairingly. She consents at last to a rendezvous—the consent being forced from her.

Here indeed is a duel. But though there is obviously the sexual combat, the deeper interest, the more power lies, I think, in the war waged in the Duchess's own soul. The successive waves of impulse on which she is rushed towards the fatal rock; the undercurrent which sweeps her bewilderingly back; the crest she surmounts and the hollows in which she seems engulfed; the beacon-light of religion seeming useless on the strand and the quaverings of conscience finally unheard in the tempest's tumult—here lies the appeal, the psychology, the dramatic exposition.

The second act is the most beautiful, the nearest perfect, the most stirring. The two scenes between the lovers and between the brothers call for almost unlimited admiration.

The Abbé is alone when his penitent comes to his house for the first time. She has sought him in her sore distress. She tells him how first she was brought to his confessional, many days ago. She was on her way to her lover then, when by haphazard or moved by some vague saving impulse, she entered the church, and the odor of her candid youth came back, ardors and adorations, stars and tears, canticles and communion. Seeing her kneeling there, the Abbé called her into his box, she confessed and was comforted. He has been her only stay and defence ever since. Now his letter asking for charity comes as again she was on her way to the rendezvous. She takes it as a sign.

Only then is the Abbé aware that this unknown penitent was the Duchesse de Chailles. He has hardly begun to give her consolation, when he is called away, just as the Doctor, who has divined the situation, enters in search of the Duchess. There is a short pregnant dialogue of explanations and recriminations. The Duchess declares herself safe and demands to be left with her lover. The Abbé sees strength in her confidence and leaves them.

The Duchess now seems transformed from her recent helpless and dejected state. Under the immediate influence of her religious feeling, aroused and indignant, she battles magnificently for her honor, for her freedom from the chains of love. She braves Morey's reproaches, and admits no longer his right or his power. Has she broken her word as to the appointment? Her consent to come to him was extorted from her in a moment of weakness. Had she spoken falsely in declaring herself an unbeliever? No, for she *is* an unbeliever still. She prays for faith but possesses it not. Yet her poor piety is a sufficient defence, for thereby has she conquered herself. In the religious light her desires drop like dead serpents.

The Doctor, for his part, had divined her resistance even when she consented, had felt the impalpable force of the priest. He taunts her with her fondness for the *prie-Dieu*. It were far better for her to show a natural human devotion to her lover, rather than such morbid artificial devotion to such antique superstitious mummery. He blames her weakness, her inconsistency. With her, "c'est le dernier qui parle qui a raison."—"Oui, mais c'est toujours Dieu le dernier." He stoops to hint, in his mad jealousy, that it is the man behind the priest who has tempted her, who has dominated her. He uses without effect the ancient Epicurean argument of "gather ye roses," with its accompanying horrors of a loveless old age and a wasted life. But she suffers from the idea of his pain, she grieves that she should trouble, even wreck his existence. She is moved to pity, and love is in the next degree. By the magic of his looks, the sorcery of his words, he is once more on the point of conquering her—when the Abbé reënters and saves the situation. The Duchess leaves in time.

Now, indeed, it is war to the knife between the men. There is the flash and clatter of naked steel. There are angry threats and recriminations, accusations and hot replies. The Doctor openly

declares his feeling, which is now hatred, pure and simple. Let the other take care for himself! The Abbé proudly returns, "Tant que cette âme se réfugiera en moi, je la défendrai." It is his mission to guide the heavenly spark from terrestrial pollution. The Doctor defends himself, boasts of the quality of his love. "Je l'aime toute entière —son âme et son corps." It seems true that his love, while natural, is not sensual. The Abbé feels his trust none the less; he fervently declares that his interference in this matter, the coincidence of the Duchess finding him, her lover's brother, in the confessional box, is nothing less than a miracle, that the divine hand is in it, and the divine will shall be performed. The Doctor laughs at his piety, unworthily descends to threats. He will disclose to the Duchess the Abbé's earlier life of debauchery. He affects to believe, as just now with the Duchess, that the two are drawn together by a less holy bond, that the Abbé himself would corrupt her, that the spiritual claim is a mask for the mundane affection. He almost blasphemes, and is forced away crying that for the possession of the woman the other would throw his scruples and his priest's robe to the winds. Our scientist is not here displayed in a very prepossessing light.

The main episodes in the contest are before you. But certain subjective phenomena are still to be shown, certain inner battles to be won, before the victory can be decided. These are exhibited in the third act.

The evil leaven which the Doctor has instilled into the spirits of the other two begins to work and swell. Each in turn comes to the old Bishop, confessing the beginning of a mutual affection, the Abbé for the Duchess, she for him. Each in turn, in an agony of renunciation, a passion of penance, implores purification and cleansing from this incipient sin. The impulse of both is to flee from the world. The wise Bishop—who has been informed of the opportune death of the Duc de Chailles—sees that no crime has been committed and that no wild resolves should be taken. To the Duchess's desire to get her to a nunnery, he suggests that she wait a little. He holds the solution for her problem; but the Abbé's is now the more serious, for besides this unholy affection, he fears that he is losing his faith. The Bishop, reassures him, in a charming scene of reminiscence, where they recall their days as scholar and master. Then . . . and then . . . "vous aviez la foi." Daniel eagerly assents. And he has it still, asserts the other, but slightly clouded by these trials. The Abbé is sobered and steadied. Yet, the Bishop consents to take him to the East as his companion, provided he will have a final interview with the Duchess, for the spiritual chastisement of both, and that he may now recommend her marriage with his brother, for which the way is cleared.

Concerning the conduct and issue of this scene, one need have no fear. The characters of both are too well tried. They approach the subject with a delicacy of feeling, they mount through the treacherous ground to the summit with an *élan* of mysticism, of ideal rapture, which leaves the reader or the hearer far behind. Their souls have met and parted with the sense of a last meeting on heights where none can follow them. For the victory is won. The Abbé and the Duchess have each conquered circumstances and themselves. She will marry the Doctor, but as a free gift, not as an abandonment, and into their relation she will bring the higher elements. The brothers embrace before the curtain falls. We are left with our ears lulled by Daniel's parting counsel to his lady: "Les dix petits doigts d'un enfant, voilà la dizaine, les grains de rosaire que je recommande à vos lèvres,"—a ground of agreement between religion and science of which Spencer for one never dreamed.

I shall expend but few more adjectives of admiration upon the play. It has the *souffle*, the soaring, the divine fire. And it is hard to say more than that. The language is pure, uncolloquial, at times lyrical and always harmonious. It is a pleasure to hear such beautiful prose. There are doubtless some faults of construction and characterization. M. Doumic points out that "les evènements paraissent trop arrangés, trop combinés." So for the juxtaposition of the two brothers, which the Abbé called a miracle. Again, there is no adequate reason why the Doctor should seek his brother's house. For the third act, the dramatic interest fails early. The best scenes there are emotional and lyric, too high-pitched for practical acting. But the same reproach will not apply elsewhere.

As to the characters, the old Bishop is fine and

wholesome, and he was excellently interpreted by Mounet-Sully. The Abbé, flawlessly rendered by Le Bargy, is an eager, unquiet spirit, haunted by his former sins, but conscious of a strong uprightness and daring in his cause. His is an artistic religion. "Ne lui demandez ni la simplicité ni l'onction : il est de son temps."

And as for the Duchesse de Chailles, that "proud and troubled spirit which greatens and mounts in her *abattement*"—one needs to see her. Her dignified and noble charm is inexpressible. Hers is the true aristocracy, which knows its obligations. In her much unhappiness, in the bewilderment of her conflict, she keeps our sympathy and respect. Mme. Bartet in the rôle was profound and exquisite. "Simple et toujours vraie, immuablement tragique, figure émue de douleur et de tendresse humaine," one calls her. She is "l'interprète absolue de la tragédie moderne, vibrante et admirable toujours."

M. Doumic finds that the principal fault of this play is in the character of the Doctor Morey. One is displeased and embarrassed to think that the Duchess can love this *rébarbatif* doctor of madmen, who is neither seductive nor sympathetic. Love needs to account for itself on the stage. In his very passion, he presses the triumph of his doctrines. This last seems true. He is far from being adorable, he is not even likable. He is "une espèce *d'âpre sectaire* et de farouche anticlérical. Il est tout à la fois brutal et fat." He is a *butor* and a bear. His deficiencies were shared by his interpreter, who is "continûment raide, dûr, maussade."

This seems a trifle too strong. The Doctor does his duty in his way. Even the Abbé admits that he is good, laborious and devoted to his calling. One is not conscious of being repelled by his personality. But it is true that one can hardly love him. His egoism is prominent. When the Duchess speaks of the infinite esteem she has for him, he thanks her and agrees that he deserves it. Worst of all is his bitterness and violence towards his brother, and his position in the whole affair is quite remote from scientific calm.

If the characters are not rendered equally attractive, the ideas at least for which they stand—and we can draw the discrimination—are presented with an impartiality which shows the master-mind. We may not love the Doctor. But in so far as he represents and pleads for individual rights and human happiness and freedom of thought or will, in the highest sense, we are glad to see him triumph in the end. And who shall say that religion is not given her just dues? It is the present state of the question in France which has perhaps inspired the play, which has certainly largely contributed to its actual popularity. But the whole problem, the mighty warfare is nineteen centuries old and older. We are aware that "of all forms of mistake, prophecy is the most gratuitous." Yet in view of the grasp with which the drama, in its leading situations, has been conceived, of the charm with which it has been presented, of the nobility with which it has been invested, one would be tempted to predict for it more than a temporary position on the modern stage. It possesses the robust art which should survive the city, the strong idea facing towards the eternal.

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A RECENT FRENCH DICTIONARY.

If simplicity of definition, correctness of pronunciation, and clearness of impression are the essential features in a school dictionary, the ideal type is now offered us in the new *Uniform International Dictionary of French and English.*[1] As the editor says in his preface, the volume is intended primarily for the use of English-speaking people, hence all explanatory words and phrases are in English throughout the work. This fact is noticeable, also, in the character of the explanations, which are directly intended to help the English student, though, as a rule, they are sufficient for the foreigner as well. In looking over the distinguishing features of the dictionary, the reviewer was first of all struck by the attractive appearance and arrangement of the word-list.

[1] Published by Hinds, Noble & Eldredge, New York, Paul Passy, Editorial Critic of French Pronunciation, George Hempl, Editorial Critic of English Pronunciation, Preface signed by Robert Morris Pierce.

Each word is given in the form which it has on any printed page, undisguised by fanciful signs to save space for the publisher; each word is differentiated from the following pronunciation and definition by clear, bold-faced type, of a size in keeping with the text of the definitions; finally, all the words in the list are carefully aligned in the column so that they may be rapidly run over without interruption or fatigue to the eye. The pages, also, are so wide that there is usually room enough for the translation on the same line, and the book will lie open at any desired place. The adoption of the customary form of the word has necessitated a transcription to indicate the pronunciation, and for this purpose the alphabet of the *Association phonétique* has most properly been used. However, as it is still too soon to expect everyone to have mastered this alphabet in its entirety, keywords are given at the bottom of each page, thus obviating the necessity of constant reference to the table of sounds in the introduction. With regard to the definitions, the words are directly translated rather than defined, but in all cases where confusion might arise, or where no equivalent expression exists in the second language, ample notes are given to ensure a clear understanding of the term in question.

The contents of the word-list are in every way sufficient for the usual study of French literature, in order the more closely to show its exact scope, a series of comparisons has been made with other standard dictionaries of the same class. In the French-English division the section s–saie has been compared with the *Dictionnaire général* of Darmesteter-Hatzfeld-Thomas and the section g–galerie with *Gasc's Student's Dictionary*, giving the following results:

In *Uniform International*, not in *Dictionnaire général:* sabbataire, sabbatisme, sabéen, sabéisme, sabin, sabisme, sableur, sabordement, sabotage, saboteur, sabuleux, saccatier, sacchareux, saccharifère, saccharification, saccharifier, sacciforme, sacerdotalisme, sacerdotaux, sachem, sacrebleu, sacrificatoire, saducéen, saducéisme, safrané, safrerie, saga, sagination.

In *Dictionnaire général*, not in *Uniform International:* sabbatine, sabrenaud, sacramentalement, sade, sadinet, safranier, sagoutier, sagum.

In *Uniform International*, not in *Gasc:* gaban, gabet (worm), gâchage, gaillcteric, gaillctin, gainière, galéobdolon.

In *Gasc*, not in *Uniform International:* gabarer, gabari, gabariage, gabarit, gabarot, gabian, gabie, gabionnage, gabionneur, gabronite, gadolinite, gaduine, gaguie, gaïacène, gaïacine, gaïacique, gal, galactagogue, galactite, almost all galacto-compounds, galago, galanthe, galate, galatée, galauban, galbanon, galbanoner, galber, galbeux, galbule, galéiforme, galéopithèque.

In the English-French division a comparison is made with the *James and Molé Dictionary*, section c–cad, and with the *Gasc*, section r–racy.

In *Uniform International*, not in *James and Molé:* cabala, cabalism, cabbage-head, cabby, cabin-boy, cabinet-size, cable-car, cabriolet, cacao, cachou.

In *James and Molé*, not in *Uniform International:* cab (verb), caballer, cabined, cabinet-council, -making, -photograph, caburns, cachet, cack, cackling, cacochymic, cacophonic.

In *Uniform International*, not in *Gasc:* ra, raceway, racial, racially.

In *Gasc*, not in *Uniform International:* rabbin, rabbinship, rabbinism, rabbinist, rabbit-burrow, rabbit-hole, rabbit-fish, rabbit-skin, rabbitry, race-calendar, racing and compounds, rachis, rack-ladder, rack-rent, racketing, racoonda.

In the matter of pronunciation, the editors have endeavored to follow the best popular usage rather than arbitrary rules, the following list of words with varying pronunciation will show the result of their efforts[2]:

In the English-French section the standard is the customary usage in the United States, *r* is a recognized sound, and in words of more than one pronunciation the popular form is almost invari-

[2] Letters in italics are alone referred to; silent letters are indicated by parentheses, close vowels by acute accent, open vowels by grave accent, l' is for l mouillé. Abbreviations as follows: Un. I., Uniform International; D. G., Dictionnaire général; M. P., Michaelis et Passy, Dictionnaire phonétique, Hanovre et Berlin, 1897; Nyr., Kr. Nyrop, Manuel phonétique du français parlé, 2e édit., Copenhague, Leipzig, Paris, 1902; Pltz., K. Ploetz, Systematische Darstellung der französische Aussprache, Berlin, 1897; Rous., Rousselot et Laclotte, Précis de Prononciation française, Paris, Leipzig, 1902; Les., M.-A. Lesaint, Traité Complet de la Prononciation française, 3e édit. revue par C. Vogel, Halle, 1890.

	Un. I.	D. G.	M. P.	Nyr.	Pltz.	Rous.	Les.
août	àu	u	àu	both	u	u	u
as	á	á	à, á			á	á
avri*l*	l	l, (l)	both		both	both	both
ci*l*	l	l	l		l, (l)		l, (l)
cer*f*	(f)	f, (f) old	both	f	both	f	f
ner*f*	(f)	f	both	f	f	f	f
ner*fs*		(f)	(f)	(f), f	(f)	(f)	(f)
j*adis*	à-s	à, s, (s) old	á-(s), à-s	à-s	à-s	s	à-s
le*gs*	g(s)	(gs)	both	both	both	g(s)	g(s)
l*au*rier	ò	ó	ò	ò (Laure)	ó (Laure)	intermediate	
m*au*vais	ò	ó	both	ò	ò		
*au*rore	ò	ó	ò	ò			
*au*jourd'hui	ò	ó	both				
*aum*óne	ó-ò	ó-ó	both		ó-ò	ó-ó	ó-ò
hôtel	ò	ó	both	ò	ò	ó	
os, sing.	ós, òs	òs	òs, ós	òs	ó, ós, òs	òs	òs
os, pl.	ós, òs, ó (ergot)	o	ó, ós	ó	ó, ós, òs	o	
gen*s*	s	(s)	both	(s)	s preferred	(s) preferred	(s) preferred.
linceu*l*	l'	l, l'old	both			l	l
po*ign*ard	wàn'	òn'	both	on'	wàn'	both	wàn', òn' fam.
poêle	wà	wá	both	wà	wà	both	wá
p*ays*	éj	èj	é, éij	éj		éj	éi
r*ail*	áj	àj, èl	áj, èl		áj		aj
q*uai*	é	è	both	é	é	é	é
sa*is*ir	è	é	è			e intermediate	
d*amn*ation	á-à	á-à	à-á		á-á		á-à

ably cited, for example, con'template, peremp'tory, visor (*i* as in like), squirrel (*i* like *u* in but), squalor (*a* as in far).

The only section of the work open as a whole to adverse criticism is the list of French proper names which the student of French would certainly find much more helpful if it contained a greater proportion of names famous in French history and letters, such as Mme de Sévigné, Colbert, Victor Hugo, rather than Classic names almost identical in French and English, or those of such foreigners as Scaliger and Sforza. The omission of the names of so many great Frenchmen is not only a serious defect in the dictionary, but a distinct loss to the student world, for the writer knows of no good, concise list of French proper names, with pronunciation, and surely no names are more often mispronounced by the average American college-man.

With the foregoing exception, the *Uniform International* may be called a perfect dictionary for school and college use and the reviewer may say that he has already had the pleasure of recommending it to his own classes.

Murray P. Brush.

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Étude sur la langue de Frère Angier suivie d'un glossaire de ses poèmes, par Mildred K. Pope, docteur de l'Université de Paris.

The work of Frère Angier consists of a translation of the Dialogues and a Life of Gregory the Great. Paul Meyer published in the *Romania* (Vol. xii, pp. 145–208) a study of the Life. I myself published a study of the Dialogues and the original parts of the work, which consist of the introductions to the four books of the translation. Miss Pope, by a comparative study of the language of the Dialogues and the Life, has endeavored to determine the native country of Frère Angier. The following are in brief her conclusions :

(1) The orthography is a blending of the Anglo-Norman and Continental.

(2) The versification of the Dialogues is almost as correct as that of purely French authors of the time, while in the Life, dated two years later, the usual incorrectness of Anglo-Norman authors commences to appear.

(3) The vocabulary contains words which show the relations of Frère Angier's language with the

dialects of the West of France and the French of England.

(4) The study of the phonology, morphology, versification and vocabulary shows that the two dialects which have contributed to form Frère Angier's language are : the dialect of the West of France, which is the basis, and the Anglo-Norman, which is only an adventitious element added later.

(5) The fact that the language of Frère Angier combines the linguistic characteristics of Bretagne and Touraine seems to indicate Anjou as his native country.

Miss Pope says that the deformation of the Poitevin in *affar* and *seignar* must be ascribed to a writer who lived near enough to Poitou to have some knowledge of the language. The isolated occurrence of *affar* and *seignar* (for the sake of the rime) is probably a reminiscence of the Provençal of which he may have had some knowledge through literary sources. It is possible that Frère Angier derived a large part of the extremely variegated language through literary channels, or from the society which he frequented in England. The Continental characteristics of Frère Angier's language are beyond question. But the artificiality of the language, amply attested by elements from so many different dialects, renders difficult the determination of his native country with any degree of certainty. The evidence does not seem sufficient to justify the conclusion that he was born in France.

In matter of detail, there is nothing of importance to add.

Timothy Cloran.

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CORRESPONDENCE.

Notes on Sidney's *Defense of Poesy*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs :—It has long been recognized that in the *Defense of Poesy* Sidney drew rather liberally upon Scaliger's *Poetics*. The following cases of slight indebtedness, however, seem thus far to have escaped notice. In evidence that history borrows from poetry, Sidney says : 'So Herodotus entituled his history by the name of the nine Muses ; and both he and all the rest that followed him either stole or usurped of poetry their passionate describing of passions, the many particularities of battles which no man could affirm, or, if that be denied me, long orations put in the mouths of great kings and captains, which it is certain they never pronounced' (*Defense*, ed. Cook, 4. 8–15). With this passage compare the following : 'Nam quemadmodum Tragici rem ipsam denarrant veram : personis actiones, ac dicta accommodant : sic Livius & Thucydides interserunt conciones, quae nunquam ab iis quibus sunt attributæ, cognitæ fuerunt' (Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem* 1. 2) ; that is : 'For as the tragic poets base their plays upon true events, but adapt the actions and speeches to the characters, so Livy and Thucydides insert orations which were never recognized by those to whom they were attributed.'

Again, in maintaining that the morals taught by Plato were by no means superior to those inculcated by the poets, Sidney writes : 'But who should do thus, I confess, should requite the objections made against poets with like cavillations against philosophers ; as likewise one should do that should bid one read *Phædrus* or *Symposium* in Plato, or the *Discourse of Love* in Plutarch, and see whether any poet do authorize abominable filthiness, as they do' (41. 26–32). In like vein, Scaliger says : 'Respiciat ipse (Plato) sese quot ineptas, quot spurcas fabellas inserat : quas Graecanicum scelus olentes sententias identidem inculcet. Certe *Symposium* & *Phaedrum*, atque alia monstra operæpretium fuerit nunquam legisse' (1. 2) ; that is : 'Plato should remark how many impertinent and low stories he himself employs ; what filthy thoughts this Greek rogue often forces upon us. Surely the *Symposium*, the *Phædrus*, and other such monstrous productions are not worth reading.' See *Yale Studies in English* 26. 15, 17.

We may further observe that Sidney follows Scaliger in giving the epic the supreme place in poetry. Thus Sidney writes : 'But if anything be already said in the defense of sweet poetry, all concurreth to the maintaining the heroical, which is not only a kind, but the best and most accomplished kind of poetry' (30. 25–28). With

this passage compare the following: 'Dicebamus supra, omni in re unum quippiam esse rectum ac primum: quod aliorum norma sit, ita ut ad id cætera omnia referantur. Tota igitur in Poesi, Epica ratio illa qua Heroum genus, vita, gesta describuntar, princeps esse videtur: ad cujus rationem reliquae Poeseos partes dirigantur' (Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem* 3. 96. 'We have already remarked that for objects of every kind there exists one perfect original to which all the rest can be referred as their norm and standard. In epic poetry, which describes the descent, life, and deeds of heroes, all other kinds of poetry have such a norm, so that to it they turn for their regulative principles'). See *Yale Studies in English* 26. 54.

Frederick Morgan Padelford.

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Ingomar.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes,

Sirs:—The following parallel to the well-known lines of *Ingomar*,

> "Two souls with but a single thought,
> Two hearts that beat as one,"

has not hitherto been noted, I believe:

> Et fecit duo corda unum, duo traxit in unum
> Pectora; sensus inest nobis et spiritus idem.
> —Mantuan, *Eclog.*, III, fol. cxiiii.

R. T. Kerlin.

New Haven, Conn.

Guido Guinicelli's Simile.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—As a further instance of the use of that simile which was the subject of the paper, *A Simile of Guido Guinicelli's*, by Professor Cook in the March number of *Modern Language Notes* for 1905, may be included these lines from Middleton's *More Dissemblers Besides Women* (I. 3. 35–8):

> The world shall witness
> That, like the sun, my constancy can look
> On earth's corruptions, and shine clear itself.

George B. Tennant.

Yale University.

Far Between.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—I came lately upon a curiously isolated early instance of this adjectival phrase. The prevailing use of (*few and*) *far between* presumably springs from Campbell's well-known line,

> Like angel-visits, few and far between,
> (*Pleas. Hope* ii. 372.)

echoing one of Blair's, as shown in the New English Dictionary. In *Sir Isumbras* (*Thornton Romances*, ed. Camden Soc.) we read (ll. 168–170)

> Thay entirde thane a water kene,
> The bankes were full ferre bytwene,
> And waters breme als bare.

In the text printed by Professor Schleich (Berlin, 1901), the words do not occur, but the editor cites as variant readings,

> The bankys wer fulle wyde (ferre T)
> betwen (a twynne E) ATE.

H. E. G. Rope.

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Julius Cæsar 2. 2. 104.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—In *Julius Cæsar* 2. 2. 104, Cæsar, who has just been greeted by the conspirators as he issued from the house, asks Brutus, 'What is' t o' clock?' and Brutus responds, 'Cæsar, 'tis strucken eight.' Is there not a double meaning in this reply of Brutus? Now that the assassination has been determined upon, the mind of the sensitive Brutus is feverishly schooling itself to the crime, and his words may well mean that in spirit the eight conspirators have already murdered Cæsar. It is to be noted that in a speech immediately following, Shakespeare puts irony into the mouth of Trebonius. Cæsar says:

> Remember that you call on me to-day:
> Be near me, that I may remember you.

Trebonius replies:

> Cæsar, I will:—(*aside*) and so near will I be
> That your best friends shall wish I had been further.

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THE CHILDREN'S RHYME USED BY GOETHE IN THE *WEINZAUBER* IN *AUERBACH'S KELLER.*

After the publication of my first paper on this subject, in the *Modern Language Notes*, XIX, 153, Professor Wülker in Leipzig, who some years ago gave us the benefit of his intimate knowledge of his native city, Frankfurt, in an admirable edition of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*, was good enough to supply me with the missing Frankfurt version of the children's rhyme in question. I deferred its discussion until I could avail myself fully of the Weinhold Library, the purchase of which had just then been consummated.

Professor Wülker wrote: "Das — Frankfurter Kinderlied lautet, wie ich mich aus meiner Jugend ganz deutlich erinnere, folgendermassen:

Guten Abend, meine Herrn,
Äppel sin kein Bärn,
Bärn sin kein Äppel,
Die Wurscht, die hat zwei Zäppel,
Zwei Zäppel hat die Wurscht,
Der Bauer, der leid't Durscht,
Durscht leid't der Bauer,
Das Leben wird ihm sauer,
Sauer wird ihm das Leben,
Der Weinstock, der trägt Reben,
Reben trägt der Weinstock,
Hörner hat der Ziegenbock,
Der Ziegenbock hat Hörner,
Im Wald, da wachsen Dörner,
Dörner wachsen im Wald,
Im Winter ist es kalt,
Kalt ist's im Winter,
Da friert's die kleine Kinder,
Die kleine Kinder friert's,
Wer's nit glauben will, probier's."

This version is uncommonly interesting, not only because of its use by Goethe, but from the folklore point of view as well. It consists of elements which occur separately, with different contexts, in a number of localities, but which, so far as I am able to ascertain, are not found anywhere else in the same combination. These elements are contained, in the main, in two kinds of *Kettenreime* which from their wide geographical diffusion and the general uniformity of their respective versions appear to be fixed types of considerable age. Representatives of both types may be found in Simrock, *Das deutsche Kinderbuch*,[2] nos. 281 and 162, in Drosihn, *Deutsche Kinderreime*, nos. 370 (371) and 373, and in Böhme, *Deutsches Kinderlied*, nos. 1507 and 1518 (foot-note).

Type 1. *Kinderpredigt*, essentially identical with lines 1–11 incl. of the Frankfurt rhyme, but from there on generally continuing, with considerable variations, as follows:

(Ein) Kalb ist kein Ziegenbock,
(Ein) Ziegenbock ist kein Kalb,
Nu ist meine Predigt halb.
Halb ist meine Predigt, etc.

This type is very common in practically all parts of Germany and in some of the adjoining German-speaking territories; it has been found in Westpreussen (Treichel, *Volkslieder und Volksreime aus W.*, p. 120; Drosihn, *l. c.*, no. 370), Pommerania (Drosihn, no. 371), Kiel (Müllenhoff, *Sagen, Märchen und Lieder der Herzogtümer Schleswig, Holstein und Lauenburg*, p. 477), Quedlinburg (Sprenger, *Zfdd U*, VI, 784), Anhalt-Dessau (Fiedler, *Volksreime und Volkslieder in A.-D.*, p. 85), Saxony (Dähnhardt, *Volkstümliches aus dem Königreich Sachsen*, p. 58), the Vogtland (Dunger, *Kinderlieder und Kinderspiele aus dem V.*, no. 125; Böhme, *l. c.*, no. 1507), Thuringia (Böhme, *ib.*; Schleicher, *Volkstümliches aus Sonneberg*, p. 98), the Lausitz (Böhme, *ib.*), Suabia (E. Meier, *Deutsche Kinder-Reime und Kinder-Spiele aus Schwaben*, no. 39), Basel (Brenner, *Baslerische Kinder und Volksreime*, no. 148), Bohemia (Hruschka und Toischer, *Deutsche Volkslieder aus B.*, p. 399), and Austrian Silesia (Peter, *Volkstümliches aus Österreichisch-Schlesien*, p. 40). To this list is to be added Simrock, no. 281, the dialect of which distinctly assigns it to Middle Germany.

Type 2. *Knieliedchen*, essentially identical with

lines 8–17 incl. of the Frankfurt rhyme, but differing in the beginning and in the last three lines:

Tross, tross, trülle,
Der Bauer hat ein Fülle,
Das Fülle will nicht laufen,
Der Bauer wills verkaufen,
Verkaufen wills der Bauer,
Das Leben wird ihm sauer,
. . . . . .
Kalt is der Winter,
Vor der Stadt, da wohnt der Schinder,
Wenn der Schinder gessen hat,
So ist er satt.

This type has been found, with some variations in the last three lines, in the neighborhood of Leipzig (Drosihn, *l. c.*, no. 373), in the Elsenz valley, southeast of Heidelberg (Glock, *Alemannia*, xxv, 229), in the neighborhood of Bruchsal near Karlsruhe (and "*in ganz Mitteldeutschland*": Heilig, *ZfddU*, vi, 497), and in Suabia generally (E. Meier, *l. c.*, no. 38), *i. e.*, in central and southwestern Germany.[1] Simrock (no. 162) and the *Wunderhorn* (ed. Birlinger & Crecelius, ii, p. 741) give High-German versions, without stating the localities where they were found; Böhme merely quotes from the *Wunderhorn*.

These two types account for lines 1–17 of the Frankfurt rhyme. But there is another form of the *Knieliedchen*, which agrees with Type 2 in all but the last three lines, where it coincides with the Frankfurt rhyme. It has been recorded for Hessia by Böhme, *l. c.*, no. 1518 ("*vielfach mündlich aus dem Nassauischen*"), and, in a somewhat shorter form, for Siegen, immediately to the west of Hessia, by Eskuche, *Siegerländische Kinderliedchen*, no. 57. This territory being compact and limited in extent, we may consider the Hessian form of the Knieliedchen as a mere variant of Type 1 above, though such inferences are necessarily hazardous so long as our knowledge of the geographical distribution of popular rhymes remains as fragmentary as it is at present.

The Frankfurt rhyme seems, then, to be a combination of elements from two distinct types of *Kettenreime*, or, more exactly, from an old *Kinderpredigt* and a modification (peculiar to Hessia and the adjoining regions) of an old *Knieliedchen*. In view of the incoherence of these rhymes and the identity of their structure such mixing of types was natural, if not inevitable; lines 8–11 of the Frankfurt version are actually found in everyone of the rhymes of both types.

With regard to the precise wording of the lines used by Goethe, it is noteworthy that while six of the versions enumerated above have "Reben *trägt* der Weinstock," as against ten with "Reben *hat* der Weinstock," the following line, where it occurs at all, is invariably "Hörner *hat* der Ziegenbock"; the omission of this *hat*, with the resulting parallelism between the two lines in *Faust*, is therefore to be ascribed to Goethe himself.

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[1] A High German version from Bringhausen on the Eder in Southern Waldeck is found in K. Bauer's *Waldeckisches Wörterbuch*, Norden u. Leipzig, 1902, p. 292, nr. 34.—(*Editor's Note*).

THE INFATUATION OF RUY BLAS.

It has been asked by critics and spectators, Why does not Ruy Blas, in the climax of Victor Hugo's *Ruy Blas*, either slay Don Salluste on his return or have him arrested. The leading critics who have expressed an opinion on the conduct of Ruy Blas at this critical moment of his career are inclined to sneer at the weakness displayed by the all-powerful prime minister upon the sudden and unexpected appearance of his former master. The object of the present paper is to offer an explanation of the strange conduct, in a great crisis, of the brilliant lackey who has, within the brief period of six months, been advanced from the position of valet to Don Salluste to that of prime minister of Spain. The central thought of this explanation is the suggestion that the will and intellect of Ruy Blas have been infatuated by the powerful personality and fascinating presence of his villainous master, Don Salluste.

The situation, an explanation of which I propose to offer, is found in Victor Hugo's *Ruy Blas*, Act iii, scene 5. It is as follows: Ruy Blas, the lackey of Don Salluste, the exiled prime minister of Spain, is an orphan, educated out of charity in a "college of science and pride" to be a work-

man; but instead of a workman, he has, like Hamlet, become a dreamer. While living in this dreamland, his fancy is active but his hands are idle. While he passes his days in watching the duchesses go in and out of their splendid palaces and his nights in dreaming of the queen with whom he is madly in love, he is dying of hunger on the pavement. While he is thus passing his life in idleness and ignominy and in building a "mountain of projects," he is at last compelled to seek employment as a servant: he becomes the lackey of Don Salluste, the prime minister of Spain.

A time comes when the master is banished from the kingdom. Before he leaves the court he compels his faithful and obedient valet to sign two papers, in one of which Ruy Blas binds himself to serve his master faithfully as a good servant, on every occasion, secret or public. Ruy Blas, who "entertains beneath the habit of a valet the passions of a king," is later disguised by Don Salluste as Don César de Bazan, a cousin of the exiled lord. In this disguise Ruy Blas is introduced at court and commanded to please the queen and to be her lover.

During the absence of Don Salluste, Ruy Blas is rapidly promoted by the queen until he becomes prime minister. In the meantime, his love for the melancholy queen grows, and his secret attentions to her in her hours of loneliness and neglect, and his splendid achievements as minister, succeed in winning her admiration for his genius and her love for himself. For six months they carefully avoid each other's presence, though he often risks his life to provide her with bouquets made of her favorite German flowers, and which he places on a bench in the park where she will be sure to find them. In one of these bouquets he even dares to put a letter, in which he declares his love, telling her that he loves and suffers, "an earthworm in love with a star." Later, in a dramatic or rather melodramatic recognition scene, the queen discovers that her lover is none other than her recently appointed equerry. Not long afterwards he becomes her powerful and accomplished prime minister.

In the third act, the Councillors of the kingdom are represented as in the act of systematically robbing the state of its treasures and income. At a point where they have agreed upon a division of the spoils of the tottering state, Ruy Blas, who has been in hiding where he could overhear their nefarious plans, suddenly makes his appearance and throws the councillors into a state of consternation. In a political and patriotic harangue, Ruy Blas rebukes them for their wicked and selfish designs upon their unfortunate country. Resignations and dismissals follow. After the lords leave the council chamber, and Ruy Blas declines to transact official business with certain ambassadors, the queen unexpectedly enters, clothed in white and wearing her crown.

In the presence of this resplendent apparition, the hero remains as if petrified. The fair queen commends his speech, to which she had listened with her whole heart. She declares that she cannot forego the pleasure of shaking that loyal hand, so firm and so sincere. She then described to him the effect of his eye, his voice, and his wisdom upon herself, to whom he appeared as terrible and great as if he had been God himself. In beautiful words he tells her of his love for her, and his desire to save her from those who were trying to destroy her. He speaks of the depth of his love, of how he loves her from afar, from below, from the depths of darkness, of how he thinks of her as the blind man thinks of light, and of how she dazzles him as an angel upon whom one gazes. In equally beautiful and rapturous terms she reveals the purity and depth of her love, and ends by kissing him on the brow. After her departure, Ruy Blas, as if absorbed in an angelic contemplation, indulges in a soliloquy.

In poetical lines Ruy Blas endeavors to picture the effect of the queen's appearance, words, and conduct upon his heart. With lyric fervor he exclaims that it is heaven that he sees opening up before him, and that this is the supreme hour of his life. This new world of light is to him, he declares, like those paradises we see in a dream, flooding us with life and light. He is filled and surrounded with joy, ecstasy, mystery, intoxication, pride, and that which approaches nearest to divinity—love in all its power and majesty. The fact that the queen is in love with him dazzles him, transfigures him, and makes him more than a man. Now he walks, a living man, in his starlit dream. Now, in solemn, ironical words, he

declares himself to be all-powerful and without fear, and that the queen can trust his arm as a queen and his heart as a woman.

It is at this supreme moment of joy, ecstasy, self-sufficiency, and infatuation that the implacable Don Salluste, the dark figure of destiny that has been hovering in the background, makes his appearance and abruptly puts his hand on the dreamer's shoulder. All at once Ruy Blas' past life rises up before him like a ghost, and he begins to realize that his life is only a dream. However he may struggle, he cannot get rid of his past, he cannot, in a moment's time, recover fully from his dream and its effects. Whatever faculties, physical powers, or appliances he may possess, like the bird under the influence of the serpent, he is powerless to act. Before he can shake off his drowsiness, before he can recover his equanimity, before he can completely discriminate between dreaming and reality, he finds himself dazed, hypnotized, infatuated by the powerful and irresistible personality of his former master. And a cold, calculating critic dares ask, Why does not the all-powerful prime minister kill the exiled master and lord? Well, he does not kill him, because he cannot. To kill him would violate nature's law. It would be impossible and unnatural for him to do so.

Before I proceed to give further arguments in favor of this interpretation of the situation in question, I shall indicate and cite the most important criticisms and interpretations that have hitherto been offered.

Doumic says[1]: "Comment! Ruy Blas est devenu ministre tout-puissant et il n'a pas profité de sa toute-puissance pour mettre Don Salluste dans l'impossibilité de nuire! Il est tout-puissant, et quand Don Salluste revient, ce Don Salluste qui n'est plus qu'un ancien ministre exilé et disgracié, il ne sait que baisser la tête, se désespérer, et enfin s'aller promener par la ville. Ce héros est par trop niais."

Biré states[2]: "Quand Ruy Blas courbe la tête devant don Salluste, ramasse le mouchoir de don Salluste, ferme la fenêtre sur l'ordre de don Salluste, lui qui porte une épée, lui qui est ministre tout-puissant et n'a qu'à appeler ses valets pour faire mourir le misérable sous le bâton, Ruy Blas est odieux et ridicule."

Brunetière, after granting that the rapid and extraordinary career of Ruy Blas might be possible, says[3]: "Mais alors comment s'expliquer sa conduite, lorsque tout à coup don Salluste réapparaît devant lui? Comment croire que cet homme, que nous venons d'entendre quelques instants auparavant discourir avec tant de compétence sur les questions économiques et sociales les plus ardues, qui s'est si rapidement mis au fait des affaires publiques, ait été assez imprudent pour n'avoir pas prévu le danger que pouvait lui faire courir un jour le retour à Madrid de don Salluste et pour ne pas avoir conjuré ce danger d'une façon quelconque? Comment admettre surtout que ne l'ayant pas prévenu et se voyant tout à coup menacé par don Salluste de révélations compromettantes, il ne trouve pas le moyen, en toute une journée, lui qui est ministre tout-puissant et qui se sait par surcroît sûr de l'appui de la reine, de déjouer la ruse, pourtant si maladroite de son ancien maître? Ce sont là autant de défis à la vraisemblance, et l'on ne saurait afficher plus ouvertement le mépris où on la tient."

Marzials says[4]: "As to Ruy Blas, I go even further, and express disbelief in him altogether. What! here is a poet of fine intellect and noblest sentiments, though wearing, for the sake of contrast, a lackey's coat; he is in love with the queen; he is left behind at Court by his master, for wicked purposes, in a position of power, and displays in that position the highest qualities of a statesman and a patriot: and yet, when his master comes back—a step which even imbecility might have anticipated—and declares an intention of dishonoring the queen, he, the poet and man of action, can find nothing better to do than whine like a whipped cur—no more effective way of defending his love than praying in churches and wandering about the streets! Bah! any man with a spark of manhood—having such advantages on his side, too—would have made short work of Don Salluste de Bazan. . . . The best criticism on his character and conduct remains

[1] "Le Théâtre Romantique," in vol. VII, p. 376, of Petit de Julleville's *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature Française.*

[2] *Victor Hugo après 1830*, vol. I, p. 245.

[3] *Victor Hugo*, vol. II, pp. 104–105.

[4] *Life of Victor Hugo*, pp. 95–96.

that of the spectators in the gallery when the play was first produced. They, we are told, used to cry out in their jargon, as he stooped down to pick up his master's handkerchief 'Don't pick it up, you fool; have him run in.'" [5]

My purpose is not to explain away the improbabilities contained in Ruy Blas' failure to anticipate the return of his master or his inaction after he gets out from under the immediate influence of Don Salluste's presence. These improbabilities are inherent in the melodramatic plot adopted by Hugo, and are permissible in a romantic drama. This particular plot required that Salluste should not be disposed of at this particular time, but that there should be a delay of the retribution. In the same manner, Hamlet must not kill the king when he had an excellent opportunity of doing so. The audience might just as well have said to Hamlet, "you fool, you, why don't you kill him now?"

My contention is that the dreamer, Ruy Blas, was so infatuated by the presence of his master, who had returned so unexpectedly, that the hero could not recover his self-possession in time to take vigorous measures against the villain at this particular moment. Before he can have time to recover from the fascinating influence of the remarkable interview he has just had with his lover, this young dreamer, whose life, like that of Hamlet, is half a dream and half a reality, is suddenly startled and overpowered by the magnetic spell cast over him by the presence of his master. Waking, as it were, but gradually from his ecstatic dream, as one dazed, he becomes embarrassed and excited, loses his self-control, fails to collect his thoughts, shows his lack of decision when action is most needed, and reluctantly obeys the commands of his exulting master. For the moment, the superior power of evil triumphs.

A close examination of the text reveals the fact that as long as Don Salluste is directing the movements of Ruy Blas the latter is helpless, but as soon as the marquis turns his back (l. 1467) to go and close the window, which Ruy Blas had failed to close tight, Ruy Blas gets out from under the fascinating spell of Don Salluste's eye and presence, and determines to have the exile arrested. For the moment he plans wisely and intelligently, but as soon as he catches his master's eye again, the lackey's infatuation returns, though never in such force as before. It is evident that the exiled lord has a stronger intellect and a more powerful personality, and personality counts. Influenced by the fatality of his own past life, by the recent fascination of the charming presence of the queen, and by the more immediate contact with the greater personality of his master, Ruy Blas succumbs. It will be observed, nevertheless, that it takes the whole of the master's powerful personality to hold the servant in awe. In a mental conflict, in a combat of wit and intellect, Ruy Blas is vanquished and compelled to yield. The master is superior to the servant, the lord to the plebeian. Don Salluste speaks the truth when he says that he is the hand, while Ruy Blas is only the glove (l. 1479), and that the unfortunate parvenu is only a child (l. 1476). It must be remembered, furthermore, that in this infatuation scene Ruy Blas is disguised, but that this disguise is for the court and the queen and not for Don Salluste. To Don Salluste he is still the lackey. In his mental make-up our hero is still Ruy Blas and not Don César. His actions, therefore, are those of the dreamer who has, for six months been fascinated by the power of his exalted position and by the charms of the beautiful queen, and is now naturally and irresistibly overpowered by the insinuating influence, the magnetic presence, and the powerful personality of his master. In short, the infatuation of Ruy Blas is complete and fatal.

The question now naturally arises, Is this infatuation true to life and therefore true to art? In a romantic drama, it is not absolutely necessary that all the actions of a given character be universally true or even probable; it is sufficient that they be accidental or possible. Unusual or extraordinary actions are permissible in such a drama. It is true that such actions often partake of the nature of the melodrama; there is no doubt also that Hugo's method of forming plots and of

[5] Marzials does not give his authority. In *Victor Hugo raconté*, vol. III, pp. 216–17, there is given an account of a *claqueur* from another theatre hissing, or rather whistling at, Ruy Blas when he stooped to pick up the handkerchief. It is somewhat doubtful, however, if one can absolutely trust this account, given among statements that have been proved to be untrustworthy.

portraying characters is frequently that of the melodramatist.

Nor is Victor Hugo alone among the poetical dramatists in the employment of melodramatic methods. Even the incomparable Shakespeare has made use of the same *motif* as that of the infatuation of Ruy Blas. The wooing of Anne in his *King Richard III*,[6] is an instance in point.[7] Richard's will exercises a fascinating influence upon the weaker will of Anne, who is utterly unable to resist his captivating personality, his "fascination of irresistibility." His mere presence is enough to overpower the unfortunate widow. A somewhat similar fascination operates in the case of Antony and Cleopatra. The brilliant but weak Antony is drawn irresistibly to the "serpent of old Nile," and, under the spell of her fascination, he is allured to his ruin.

Instances of a similar infatuation are found in history and real life as well as in literature. In his preface[8] to *Ruy Blas*, Hugo tells us that Ruy Blas is intended to represent the people, the struggling, aspiring people. Now, just as the peasant serves the nobleman, and bows down before him when he makes his appearance, so Ruy Blas obeys and serves Don Salluste. The master still has power over his former slave. The law may make them equal, but personality, intellect, and character make them different. The servant is still overpowered by the authority of his master's presence, by the superiority of his master's mind. In our war between the States, the negro was freed politically. According to the laws of the land, the slave was no longer subject to his master. Let us draw upon our imagination for a scene which often occurred about the close of this war. The old darkey, as he wended his way towards the old plantation, pictured to his own mind how he would show his independence of his former owner, how he would make his recent master feel the newly acquired importance of the freedman. With a feeling of almost ecstatic joy and exultation, the emancipated slave enkindled his imagination with the scene of his meeting the lord of the plantation and the various members of the latter's household. With quickened pace and elated feelings he approaches his former home, when suddenly he hears the familiar step and voice of his master. At once and unconsciously the negro removes his hat and falls down upon his knees, thanking God that he can once more see his master and his mistress. The powerful charm of the former relationship and the irresistibility of the presence of his superiors and benefactors are too much for the old darkey. He succumbs to personality. He is infatuated. So in the presence of Don Salluste, Ruy Blas (ll. 1316–17, stage directions), the infatuated lackey, remains with his head uncovered.

Natural history, furthermore, affords a striking example of this insinuating power of infatuation: the dove is charmed by the serpent. Though the dove has wings, the purpose of which is to enable him to fly, it remains helpless as long as the eye of the serpent remains fastened upon the bird. It may struggle to get out from under the spell of the reptile, but its struggles are in vain.[8] One might say: "You fool, you, why don't you fly away? What have you got wings for, anyhow?" The bird cannot fly away. It is charmed, fascinated, infatuated. Why does not Ruy Blas kill Don Salluste in the acme of the climax? The former is all-powerful. The machinery of the government is in his hands. He can call the whole police-force of Madrid or the whole army of Spain to his assistance. Well, just at this particular moment, he cannot. He is charmed, fascinated, infatuated, and this infatuation is true to life, to nature, and, therefore, to art.

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[6] Act I, sc. 2.

[7] See R. G. Moulton, *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist*, p. 97.

[8] Édition définitive, p. 5.

[8] Cf. Byron's *The Giaour* (Crowell and Co.), p. 385:

"And like the bird whose pinions quake,
But cannot fly the gazing snake,
Will others quail beneath his look,
Nor 'scape the glance they scarce can brook."

AN ELIZABETHAN REVIVAL.

So far as I know, the Elizabethan May-day Fête given at Bryn Mawr College on May 1, was the largest celebration of the kind ever attempted in America. It was an open-air, all-day performance, participated in by about 500 students and witnessed by several thousand spectators; and it included in its festivities, not only the more common pageant and May-pole dances with some scenes from the life of Robin Hood and his men, but a large group of the old plays,—*The Revesby Sword Play* and the two *St. George Plays* found in Prof. Manly's *Pre-Shaksperian Drama*, *The Shoemakers' Holiday*, the two parts of *Pyramus and Thisbe* taken from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Masque of Queens*, *Hue and Cry after Cupid*, and *The Masque of Flowers*. The regular texts of the plays were used practically without changes, except such changes as were made for abbreviation—these chiefly in *The Shoemakers' Holiday*—and very slight expurgations here and there throughout the plays.

To a technical student of the drama, *The Revesby Sword Play* and the *St. George Plays* were perhaps the most interesting, being highly specialized in type and very strikingly illustrative of the accession of interest which the stage may contribute to plays hopelessly dull in the reading. The detail work of both plays, too, was well done, and one saw plainly what a tremendous appeal the Hobby-Horse and the Dragon might have made to their early audiences. *The Shoemakers' Holiday*, though well presented, was, from a modern point of view, the least satisfactory of the plays; since the economic and social conditions which made it appeal most strongly to the lower orders in an Elizabethan audience do not obtain now, and the personality of Simon Eyre is not sufficiently interesting to compensate for the lack of dramatic vitality in the plot. On the whole, the Masques and the *Pyramus and Thisbe* scenes were the most generally popular of the presentations; the first, because of their strong æsthetic appeal; the second, for its grotesque realism. There was no attempt at introducing modern mechanical contrivances for staging and the outdoor setting made in every way for Elizabethan simplicity of presentation. Most of the plays gained distinctly, too, by being played outdoors,—*Pyramus and Thisbe* being appropriately performed in a dell; Robin Hood, on the edge of a bank in direct view of a long avenue down which mounted horsemen came at the proper time; while the Masques were given in the courtyard of a cloister, with the royal patrons looking down from a low balcony. The celebration, as a whole, tended greatly to strengthen one's belief in the resources of the early drama—its variety, its stage effectiveness and its romantic charm.

Fifty programs were reserved, according to request, for those especially interested in Elizabethan drama. A few copies have already been sent out and other single copies may be had by application to myself.

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SEBASTIAN MEY'S *Fabulario*. I.

Sebastian Mey's *Fabulario*[1] was published at Valencia, 1613. Of the author little is known. Antonio's conjecture (repeated by Ximeno)—*typographi forsan filius*—has been confirmed by Serrano y Morales, (*Diccionario de las imprentas . . . en Valencia*, p. 322), who published the will, made in 1598, of Juan Felipe Mey (Mei),—printer, poet, humanist and professor,—in which reference is made to three sons, Andreu Aurelio, Pau (Pablo) Sebastia, and Frances Phelip.—The will is in Catalan.

The *Fabulario* is extremely rare. Serrano y Morales, for example, refers to it only at second-hand.[2] At least four storiologists have, how-

[1] *Fabvlario* | *en qve se con-* | *tienen fabvlas y* | *cuentos diferentes, algunos nueuos, y* | *parte sacados de otros autores:* | *por* Sebastian Mey. (Monogram: M: bird in centre, wings extended.) En Valencia. | En la impresion de Felipe Mey. | A costa di Felipo Pincinali a la plaça | de Vilarasa. | On next folio, license, veynte de Henero, del año 1613 | El Pauordre (*sic*) Rocafull. On *verso*, Valencian coat of arms. 8°. 184 pp. *Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris, *Bibl. nac.*, Madrid.

[2] The following catalogues do not mention it: Gallardo; Salvá; Brunet; Ticknor; Brit. Mus.

ever, cited it: Robert, *Fables inédites*, 1825, vol. I, p. ccix; Papanti, *Dante secondo la tradizione . . .* 1873, p. 160; Ristelhuber, *L'Élite des contes du sieur d'Ouville . . .* 1876, p. 90; Amalfi, *Zeit. d. V. f. Volkskunde*, 1897, p. 377.

The work consists of fables and stories (all in prose; some are preceded by woodcuts). As frequently in Spanish, and other collections, the anthology was to serve a moral purpose. Thus each story, or fable, is followed by a moralizing couplet, as in Juan Manuel's *Lucanor*; in Climente Sánchez's *L. de l. exemplos*, such couplets precede. Although the *Fabulario* was designed to "*aprouechar . . á la republica*," as is stated in the prologue, through the "*amas del entretenimiento*," for whom it was compiled, one or two stories could hardly serve *ad usum Delphini!* In the closing chapter there are, however, visions of angels, and an admonition to children to do good works.

For some of the stories Mey undoubtedly drew from Italian collections: *tiene* [*el libro*], he says in the prologue, *cuentos nueuos, que no están en los otros* [*libros*], *e los que hay viejos están aquí por diferente estilo.* But he fails to indicate his sources. If any conclusions may be hazarded, they would be, that Mey used, in addition to Avianus and Æsop (*passim* in the fables): Firenzuola (II, ix); Zabata (III); Massuccio Salernitano (XVII); Poggio (XX); Sansovino (XXI). That others (*e. g.*, XII) are, likewise, of Italian origin, there can be no doubt.[3] It is, moreover, incredible that the son of Felipe Mey, and a Valencian, should be ignorant of Italian. As is well known, and as the present series of studies will show, with specific references, the *novellieri* were resorted to very freely by Spanish writers of the seventeenth century.

The changes introduced by Mey are: (*a*) With few exceptions the stories are nationalized, the heroes being Martín Sánchez (IV), Luis Campuzo *de tierra de la Mancha, y pariente de Don Quixote* (VII), and so on; the scenes are Alcalá de Henares, [*villa*] *famosa por su nombrada vniversidad* (VI), or Bilbao (XXII), etc.[4] (*b*) The author, or compiler, has consciously endeavored to develop the psychology of the schematic originals. All in all, therefore, what with a felicitous use of local coloring, variety, ranging from simple anecdote (III) to gasconade (IV), witty repartee (XIX) and the more complex novel of the Italian type (XI),—not to mention the fables, all of which are well told,—Mey has produced, or compiled, an interesting anthology.

On the present occasion all the stories and some of the fables (thirty-three animal fables are omitted) are summarized. The notes have been compiled at first-hand. The indication of the sources is, in some cases, merely tentative. For convenience of reference, the stories have been numbered.

I.

El Mochacho y el Ladron.

A thief came to a well where a boy, who was weeping, averred that, while drawing water with a silver bucket, the rope had torn. The covetous thief undressed and went into the well. On coming out after an hour's search, seeing neither his clothes nor the boy, he became aware of the trick that had been practised upon him. (pp. 11–12.)

Source. Avianus, *De Fure et paruo*, (*ed.* Hervieux, pp. 278–9). That Avianus was known in Spain by 1613 is proved—if proof be needed—by Mateo Alemán's reference to one of his fables, in *Guzman de Alfarache, ed.* Rivad, p. 282. See also Keidel, *Zeit. f. rom. Phil.*, 1901, p. 724.

Bibliography. Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes latins* (see index); *Kirchhofs Wendunmuth, ed.* Oesterley, VII, 132 (some of the references are incorrect); *Esopus, von B. Waldis, ed.* Kurz, 2, 9. In all the versions, except Mey's, the bucket is of gold.

II.

El Amigo Desleal.

A merchant leaves two thousand quintals of iron with a friend, who afterwards alleges that mice have eaten it. The merchant, pretending to believe, next day hides his friend's son and avers that a kite (*milanazo*) has carried it off. The

[3] As negative results are of interest here, it may be noted that none of Mey's stories occur in Trueba, Fernán Caballero, Maspons, Coelho.

[4] There may be some satire in the fable of, *El lobo, la raposa y el asno*, for the fox *hauia estudiado leyes en Salamanca y rebuelto muchas vezes á Bartulo y Bartuloto, y aun á Galeno: y se preciaua de ser muy buen juristico y sofistico* (p. 63).

friend confesses, makes restoration and receives his boy again. (pp. 16–23.)

SOURCE. The *Exemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo*,[5] (accessible to me only in Derenbourg's variants to John of Capua's *Directorium vitæ humanæ*), or Firenzuola, *Discorsi degli animali*, *ed.* Bianchi, 1864, p. 54. The story likewise occurs in the *Calila é Dymna*, *ed.* Gayangos, p. 33b. But the source must be sought in the fuller versions which descend from John of Capua. Doni, *La moral filosophia*, Vinegia, MDLII, pp. 113–116, may be excluded. Minor changes have been introduced deliberately, *e. g.*: Mey, *milanazo*; both the older Spanish versions, *azor*; Firenzuola, *uccellaccio*; Doni, *passerino*. The amount of iron also varies.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. This story, of Oriental origin, entered Europe through the *Kalila and Dimna*. See, *Pantschatantra*, *ed.* Benfey, I, 275; II, 120; *Valentin Schumann*, *Nachtbüchlein*, *ed.* Bolte (1893), No. 11, but especially the *Zweite Zugabe zu V. S's N.*, likewise, in the *Stuttgarter Verein*, Vol. CCIX, p. 279; Kirchhof, I, 191; Köhler, *Kl. Schriften*, II, 592–3; *La Fontaine*, *ed.* Régnier, IX, 1; *The fables of Bidpai* (*North's trans. of The Moral Philosophie of Doni*), *ed.* Jacobs, 1888, p. lxxviii; Crane, *Ital. Popular Tales*, p. 353; *The Jâtakas*, *ed.* Cowell, 1895, Vol. II, pp. 127–9; Basset, *Rev. des traditions pop.*, VI, pp. 70ff., Chauvin, II, 92. For the *Kalila and Dimna* in Spain, see Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígines de la novela*, 1905, chap. II.

III.

El Dotor y el Capitan.

Doctor Calderon and Captain Olmedo were eating partridges from the same dish. The captain would take the best pieces, saying, *este bocado me ahogue, señor dotor, sino le digo uerdad.* The doctor's patience was finally exhausted and he exclaimed: "don't swear, captain, for I believe you; if in future you wish to swear, let your oath be that the first shot from the enemy may kill (*derribe*) you,—an oath more befitting a captain and old soldier like you." (pp. 24–5.)

SOURCE. Christoforo Zabata, *Diporto de' viandanti*, . . . *in* Trivigi, 1599, p. 118, tells this same story of "*il Capitan Piero da Nepi*" and "*M. Paolo dell' Ottanaio*" (not a doctor).

IV.

El Mentiroso Burlado.

Martin Sanchez was an inveterate liar; hence his friends called him Martin Truthful. He was in the habit of calling to witness anyone with whom he happened to be. One day he told some companions of his marvelous hound, which not only held a hare in its mouth, but would come with a goodly number strung across its back—at least half a dozen. "And here," he said, "is Anton Ruiz, who would not let me say an untruth." "Yes, I would," replied Anton; "lie at your pleasure, for as you are free to lie as much as you like, so these gentlemen are free to believe, or disbelieve, such unparalleled falsehoods (*tan descompañadas mentiras*)". (pp. 30–31.)

V.

El Pintor de vn Retablo.

(*a*) Cristoval (Christopher) de Vargas, devoted to the saint of his name, asked an artist to paint a St. Christopher. The artist insisted that it would be better to paint a St. Anthony; he would even paint two of them. And so Christoval de Vargas had to seek another artist.

(*b*) Likewise, some gallants (*galanes*) asked Juan de pie de palo to sing certain *letrillas*. But he insisted upon singing:

La mañana de San Juan
Al punto que alboreaua. (*cf.* Durán, no. 1045.)

He, too, would even sing two *mañanas de San Juan*. *Parece á lo del ratón que no sabe sino vn agujero.* (pp. 36–7.)

VI.

La Muger Ahogada y su Marido.

Marina Gil, while washing clothes in the Henares, at Alcalá, was suddenly carried down the stream and drowned. Her husband, Pero Alonso, on learning of the accident set about looking for Marina,—but up-stream, averring that as his wife had been contrary all her life she would doubtless remain so after death. (pp. 40–42.)

SOURCE. It would be difficult to determine Mey's direct source, as the story was such a familiar one that it must have been unnecessary to recur to a printed version. For Mey's introduction and setting I have found no parallels. The story is found frequently in Spanish: Arcipreste de Talavera, *ed.* Pérez Pastor, 1901, p. 157; Timoneda, *El sobremesa* . . . No. 1; Remigio Noydens, *Historia moral del Dios Momo*, Madrid, 1666, pp. 33–4. Among Latin

[5] It is possible that the *Exemplario* may be excluded as a direct source; see no. IX.

and Italian versions may be noted: Poggio, LX; Gast, *Convivialium*, 1561, I, p. 309; Domenichi, *Facetie . . .* Venice, 1574, p. 57; Zabata, *Diporto de' viandanti*, Trivigi, 1599, p. 77.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, 142; Köhler, *Kl. Sch.* I, 506 n.; *Jacques de Vitry*, *ed.* Crane, No. CCXXVII; *La Fontaine*, *ed.* Regnier, III, 6; Kirchhof, IV, 186; *Montanus*, *Schwankbücher*, *ed.* Bolte, 1899, p. 622 (No. 89 b); *Pasquil's Jests*, *ed.* Hazlitt, 1864, p. 27; Wright, *Latin Stories*, No. X; *Mery Tales*, *ed.* Hazlitt, LV; Robert, *Fables inéd.*, I, pp. 212–13. Dr. Pietsch calls my attention to a version in *Egbert von Lüttich*, *Fecunda ratis*, *ed.* Voigt, 1899, ll. 1378–1384. Marchesi, *Sulla novella ital. del sec.* XVII, p. 92.

VII.

Luis Campuzo of La Mancha, a relative of Don Quixote (*aunque blasonaua de hidalgo de secutoria*), was a very poor hidalgo and strove to conceal his poverty by pompous speech. Whenever he had guests he would announce, before proceeding to the dining-room, that the chickens and partridges were ready. He likewise taught his servant to pluralize; thus instead of saying "chicken" he must say "chickens," and so forth—even though there were only one. On a certain evening Campuzo, having certain hidalgos as guests, asked his servant, in their presence: "What is there for dinner this evening?" "Vacas," he replied. The guests laughed, and the irate host remarked: "This simpleton doesn't know that there is no rule without an exception." "Why," retorted the servant, "do you blame me? You ought to have taught me more grammar." (pp. 44–47.)

> Quien mas se entona de lo que conuiene,
> sin pensarlo, á quedar burlado viene.

VIII.

El Auariento.

A miser concealed a bag of money in a solitary place. It was stolen by a neighbor, and when the miser became aware of the theft he filled the air with his lamentations. One who was passing by sought to console him, assuring him that as he made no use of the money he might bury a stone in its stead, and imagine that it was money. (pp. 52–53.)

SOURCE. Aesop, 59.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. *La Fontaine*, I, 20, *ed.* Regnier; Robert, *Fabl. inéd.*, I, p. 295.

IX.

El Hombre Verdadero y el Mentiroso.

Two companions found a bag of gold. One suggested that they divide it; the other insisted upon hiding it at the root of a tree, lest they incur some risk when entering the city. The false companion returned and stole the money, and when the matter was brought before a judge, he declared that the tree would bear witness. The judge and the litigants proceeded thither, but the false companion had, in the meanwhile, induced his father to get inside the tree and accuse the other. The judge marveled at the miraculous words which issued from the tree and to the end that such a miracle might be investigated, he had some dry wood placed at the root and fire set to it. Thus the fraud was discovered, the old man crying out, "*misericordia, misericordia.*" (pp. 65–75.)

SOURCE. Probably Firenzuola (*cf.* No. II, for this and other derivatives of the *Kalila and Dymna*, in all of which it is found), pp. 48–50. Mey has, as usual, filled out the accessories; one of these he seems to have in common with Firenzuola, who says, for example, "il buon uomo, o pur come dicemmo, lo sciocco" (Doni, "il buono pisellone, per non dir minchione"), which Mey translates, *el hombre bueno, o si se sufre llamarle bouo.* This touch is not in John of Capua, and if Derenbourg's variants are complete, not in the *Exemplario.* Doni's version, as is known, is an enlargement of Firenzuola's.

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Benfey, *P.* § 96; for other versions of the *Kalila* see II; Kirchhof, I, 179; *Doni*, *Lord North's trans.*, *ed.* Jacobs, pp. 190–202. It is to be found in the *Jātakas*, No. 98, either in the Cowell, or Steinthal (*Zeit. f. vergleichende Litt.*, XII, p. 414) translations. Part of the tree motive, with a happy turn, is in Vón der Hagen's *Gesammtabenteuer*, XXIX. Von der Hagen's and Liebrecht's (*Geruasius von Tilbury*, *Otia Imperialia*, p. 63) remarks have no justification in fact, as tree-worship is world-wide. (Chauvin, II, 91.)

X.

Los Labradores Codiciosos.

Luis Manchego once arrived at an inn, wet and very cold. A fire was made, but some peasants took the best places at the hearth. The innkeeper, on seeing that Manchego looked sad, asked whether some misfortune had befallen him on the way. Manchego replied that he had lost ten *escudos* and more, about a league and a half distant, near a walnut tree, hard by the road. As

it was night, he would not return to look for the money until morning. The covetous peasants, thinking that he spoke truly, sneaked off one by one,—and thus Manchego had an opportunity of warming himself at leisure. (pp. 81–83.)

XI.

La Vieja las Moças y el Gallo.

A good old woman was wont to call her maids at cock-crow. In order that they would not have to get up so early, they killed the cock; but, contrary to their expectations, the woman called them even earlier. (p. 76.)

Source. Aesop, 79.

Bibliography. *La Fontaine*, v. 6, *ed.* Regnier.

XII.

El Emperador y su Hijo.

The emperor of Trapisonda resolved to marry Florisena, daughter of the King of Natalio; she was under twenty, he over seventy. Arminto, his young son, was sent to fetch her. Florisena became enamoured of the prince. This love was reciprocated, but knowing the severity of his father the prince restrained himself, feigning withal not to understand her advances, and avoiding her presence as much as possible. She wrote to the emperor, complaining because he had sent one who was so rude toward her, and who declined to do her behests. The princess even hinted that the son's indifference might be indicative of the father's little love for her. The emperor bade the prince be more obedient to Florisena. On the way to the court, she continued her attempts to win Arminto. One night she feigned sickness, dismissed all her retinue save one servant, whom she bade call the prince. She then told him how she had learnt that one of her maids was seeking to betray her, by giving admission to a lover, disguised as a woman. She further told Arminto that if this occurred that night she would call him. The prince resolved to act as sentinel. Meanwhile Florisena went out, unnoticed, and returned at night. The prince saw a woman enter; but he waited until summoned. Then he entered her quarters. Florisena embraced him, and thereupon cried out that he had dishonored her. While attempting to escape, the prince was caught by the guards. When brought before the emperor, Florisena confessed that she was to blame, not Arminto; she had forced the prince, averring that she mistook him for her husband. Her wiles were successful and she was given the prince to wife. (pp. 97–110.)

Source. This story is akin to the type represented by the history of *Antiochus and Seleucus*[6]; but a closer parallel is not known to me.

XIII.

La Enferma de los Ojos y el Medico.

A widow had sore eyes and offered to pay a certain doctor a fixed sum if he cured her. The doctor took advantage of the continued absence of her only servant and at each visit stole something. When the widow was cured, he demanded his pay, but, as she could see less in her house than before, she assured him that she was under no obligations to pay him. (pp. 115–6.)

Source. Aesop, 21.

Bibliography. Kirchhof, I, 112; *Certayne Conceyts . . . ed.* Hazlitt, 1864, p. 7; *Mery Tales, Wittie Questions . . . ed.* Hazlitt, No. lxxxix.

(*To be continued*).

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THE MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE FIVE PRINTS OF THE TESTINA AND THE TERMINUS POST QUEM OF THE ORIGINAL PRINT. I.

The edition of Machiavelli's works of 1550,[1] which from the head of the author on the main title and some or all of the sub-titles generally goes by the name of the Testina, is the first collective edition of all the writings of the author printed in the sixteenth century, *i. e.*, 1) the

[6] See also Landau, *Decam.*, § 12.

[1] Tutte le Opere | di Nicolo Machiavelli | Cittadino et Secretario | Fiorentino | divise in V Parti | et di nuouo con somma accuratezza | ristampate | picture of the author | M.D.L.

Historie Fiorentine, 2) the *Principe* and what goes with it, 3) the *Discorsi*, 4) the *Arte della Guerra*, and 5) the *Asino d' Oro* with the minor works of fiction including the *Mandragola* and *Clitia*. It obtained greater renown and enjoyed it longer than any other, for down to 1782 all following editions of these writings were based on it exclusively, the Accademia della Crusca made it the standard text of the author and its influence has not yet ceased to be felt.

Critics have been more actively engaged in trying to determine the place where the Testina was printed than in the other questions connected with it. To be sure Gamba in his *Serie dei Testi di Lingua*, etc., 4th ed., Venice, 1839, pp. 193–195, partly building on the investigations of predecessors, distinguished and described five different prints, but neither he nor any one after him made a serious attempt to fix their mutual relations. On the contrary, Gamba No. 1 came tacitly to be accepted as representing the Testina,[2] and only a few years ago Lisio in his critical edition of the *Principe*[3] condemned the entire Testina on the strength of some twenty specified errors and arbitrary alterations found in No. 1, while almost two-thirds of these charges and the very gravest ones do not apply to the original print.

As for the place of the Testina it became pretty well established, both for typographical and other reasons, that some of the later prints were made in Geneva, and not in 1550 or thereabouts, but during the first part of the following century. No one, however, has expressed serious doubts concerning the correctness of 1550 as the date of the original print except Bongi, who in an article in the *Archivio Storico Italiano* of 1897[4] casually remarked that the five prints belonged to the first half of the seventeenth century. Yet as this assertion of his was not supported by any evidence, it was simply passed over, and two years later Lisio spoke again of the Testina as having originally appeared in 1550.

Now a critical examination of the five prints of the Testina in connection with the preceding editions of the separate writings of Machiavelli yields the following results. The original print is not Gamba No. 1 but Gamba No. 5, which also by its general make up far surpasses the others. Of the remaining four only No. 2 derives directly from No. 5. No. 1 and No. 3 both rest on No. 2, while No. 4, as might have been expected, is a reprint of No. 3. The first print can actually not belong to 1550, but its *terminus post quem* is 1588. This is proved by the fact that it has made use of the edition of the *Arte della Guerra*, Palermo, 1587, and of that of the *Asino d' Oro*, etc., including the *Mandragola* and *Clitia*, Roma, 1588.

I. The Mutual Relations of the Five Prints.

The most striking difference between Gamba No. 5 on the one hand and Gamba Nos. 1–4 on the other is found in the seven 'Figure' or drawings and their explanations which accompany the *Arte della Guerra*. In No. 5 the 'Figure' follow after the text; in Nos. 1–4 they are inserted at the places to which they refer. In No. 5 the 'Figure' are immediately preceded both by the explanations which concern all and by those which relate to each in particular; in Nos. 1–4 the former are placed between preface and text, the latter attached to each separate 'Figura.' In No. 5 the various kinds of troops and officers are designated by o, ó, X, r, s (misprint for t), C, Ↄ, Φ, ω, S, Z, ϕ, Y; in Nos. 1–4 by o, n, X, *V*, u, C, T, D, A, S, Z, r, e. In No. 5 finally 'Figure' 1–6 are essentially different from the corresponding ones in Nos. 1–4, and 'Figura' 7, though similar, is more elaborate. Now No. 5 agrees in every point mentioned save the last with all the separate editions of the *Arte* of the sixteenth century,[5] and in the last, *i. e.* in 'Figura'

[2] A note in a copy of No. 1 in the Library of the University of Leipzig says: *Celle ci est la vrai* (!) *édition originale du 1550—et la plus correcte, ainsi citée par les Academiciens de la Crusca.*

[3] Il Principe di Niccolo Machiavelli. Testo Critico con Introduzione e Note a cura di Giuseppe Lisio, Firenze, Sansoni, 1899. For the Testina see here and later pp. xxxiii f.

[4] Serie 5, vol. XIX, pp. 126–135: *Un aneddoto di bibliografia Machiavellesca.* The Testina is mentioned pp. 129 f.

[5] These editions are: Florence, Giunti, 1521, 1529 and 1551. Venice, 1537, 1540 and 1552; Sons of Aldo, 1540 and 1546. Comin de Trino, 1541. Giolito, 1550. Giglio, 1554. Palermo, Anton(i)ello degli Anton(i)elli, 1587. I have examined all of them except Giunti, 1521 and 1551, with regard to every point touched upon in this

7, with the edition of 1587, while Nos. 1–4 stand all alone and represent a new departure. No. 5 therefore is the original print, and Gamba[6] should not have said that in the case of No. 5 the 'Figure' were all transferred to the end but that they had been allowed to remain there.

The conclusion which has just been reached is confirmed by other evidence. All of the five prints, *e. g.*, bear on the title-page of the *Asino d' Oro*, etc., the statement: '*la contenenza delle quali* (*i. e. operette*) *haurai nella seguente carta.*' As a matter of fact, however, only No. 5 has the contents on the next leaf; Nos. 1–4 print them on the following page. Or take a few examples from the *Principe*. No. 5 retains *Golpe* wherever it occurs (chapter XVIII); Nos. 1–3 (No. 4 was not examined in the case of the *Principe*) substitute *Volpe* for it. No. 5 invariably preserves *contennendo* (*contennendi*), once in chapter XIV, three times in XVI, five times in XIX, once in XXIII; Nos. 1–3 replace it by *disprezzare, vile, abietto* or *disprezzato*. No. 5 prints in XII correctly: *giudicorno non potere più vincere con lui, perche non voleua, ne poteano licentiarlo*; Nos. 1–3 put *voleuano* in the place of *voleua*, an error which according to Lisio is still marring some of the most recent editions. Examples from the *Principe* and the other writings might be multiplied, but I trust that this evidence will be regarded as sufficient to establish the conclusion that Gamba No. 5 is the original print and that at the same time the complete agreement of Nos. 1–4 (3) in all of these points has made it all but certain that only one of them can be directly derived from No. 5 and that the remaining three must be derived from that one directly or indirectly instead of resting immediately upon No. 5.

The discovery of the print which is directly based upon No. 5 is simplified by the fact that the four remaining ones form two groups, inasmuch as No. 1 agrees with No. 2 page by page and mostly even line by line, and No. 3 corresponds to No. 4 to almost the same extent. At the same time it can easily be shown that No. 4 is a poor reprint of No. 3, and that No. 1 is a somewhat independent reproduction of No. 2, so that the problem is narrowed down to the question as to whether it is No. 2 or No. 3 that directly derives from No. 5. I shall first corroborate the evidence which tended to show that Nos. 1–4 are so closely connected among each other that only one of them can be based on No. 5, then dispose of the relations of No. 4 to No. 3 and No. 1 to No. 2, and finally prove that only No. 2 goes directly back to No. 5.

The close connection which we have seen to exist between Nos. 1–4 is confirmed by the following common deviations in the *Novella*. First, all four omit *per lui* in *fù deliberato per lui, ne* in *esserne stato cagione la moglie, tutti i* in *capace di tutti i tuoi Baroni* and once more *ne* in *se ne ritornò* at the close. Second, all change in the argument *mogliere* to *moglie* and in the text proper *per l'adrieto* to *per l'adietro* and *tutti quelli disagi* to *tutti gli disagi*. Third, all correct the double *r* in *à gli orrecchi*. Fourth, all make the mistakes of printing *quante richezze, sopra tutte, farai, arrichito* and *vn capello* in place of *q. ricchezze, s. tutto, farei, arricchito* and *vn cappello*. If these things are added to the evidence furnished above from the *Arte*, the title-page of the *Asino d' Oro* and the *Principe*, it must be granted that only one of the four can directly rest upon No. 5.

The dependence of No. 4 upon No. 3 is so self-evident that I have compared of No. 4 only the general explanatory remarks on the 'Figure' and the *Novella*. In the former No. 4 adds to two misprints of No. 3 *possitate* in place of *possiate;* in the latter there is quite a list of additional errors without the compensation of a single correction. *ianta, veleua, grando* for *tanta, voleua, grado;* the omissions of *lo* before *costringeua* and of *se* before *giouerà*; *e' ei sono, solemne, pericolo, che'il* in place of *e' ci sono, solenne, pericoli, che'l*; finally the unnecessary substitutions of *buon partito* and *la quale fù* for *buono partito* and *la qual fù*. None of these errors and substitutions recur in No. 3 or in any of the other prints of the Testina, but *pericolo, buon partito, la quale fu* and the omission of *lo* are found in the edition of Genova of 1798 which had the misfortune of using No. 4 for

article. The others were not accessible to me lately, but from former consultations I feel sure they do not differ from the edition of 1529 in the matters at issue.

[6] *L. c.*, p. 195—*le sette figure appartenenti all' Arte della Guerra, in vece di essere inserite a' luoghi loro, furono tutte trasportate al fine della medesima . . .*

its basis in the *Novella*, and the first three expressions also in the most sumptuous of all editions of Machiavelli, that of Milan of 1810–1811 in eleven large quarto volumes, which in its turn rests on that of Geneva of 1798. No. 4 therefore cannot have been the basis of No. 3, but must be a reprint of it, probably made by a publisher and compositors not familiar with the Italian language.

The dependence of No. 1 upon No. 2 is revealed by the following examples from the *Novella* and the *Principe*. In the *Novella* No. 1 alone contains the misprints *honorissimamente, nondimento,* and once *honesta* for *honoratissimamente, nondimeno* and *Honesta*. Only No. 1 changes *vsuraia, in casa Roderigo, à casa Gio. Matteo, nimici, benefitio* and *sapiendo* to *vsuraria, in casa di R., à casa di G. M., nemici, beneficio* and *sapendo*. No. 1 alone corrects *trarnerlo* and *siene* into *trarnelo* and *sieno*. While no special weight shall be attached to *honorissimamente* and *honesta, nondimento* and some of the alterations actually do recur in later editions, *e. g.* those of London of 1747 and 1772 and surely would have crept into other prints of the Testina if any of them had used No. 1 for its basis.

The *Principe* manifests the same solitary and independent position of No. 1. Nos. 5, 2 and 3 (No. 4 was not compared) offer *doi modi* (IV), *giouorono* (VII), *strasordinaria* (VII), *tuorre* (IX) where No. 1 has the more modern forms *due modi, giouarono, straordinaria, torre*. Nos. 5, 2 and 3 have in common the misprints, *honoramente* (VIII), *rifugirse* (X), *la natu* (!) *de' fiumi* (XIV), *guadarsi* (XV) where No. 1 reads correctly *honoratamente, rifugirsi, la natura de' fiumi, guardarsi*. On the other hand Nos. 5, 2 and 3 print correctly : *tirarsi dietro i popoli* (IV), *tutti quelli che de gli ordini nuoui farebbono bene* (VI), *vi si fondi* (IX), *à loro pare esser equali à lui* (IX), *durare poca fatica* (XII) where No. 1 has *trarsi dietro i p., tutti quelli che gli ordini, etc., vi si fonda, à loro per esser, etc., dare p. f.* Since No. 1, therefore, can not possibly have been the source of No. 2, but on the contrary derives from it, just as No. 4 from No. 3, it remains only to determine whether No. 2 or No. 3 directly depends on No. 5. Here evidence is more scarce, but it appears nevertheless on close examination.

The first clue that No. 2 and not No. 3 is based on No. 5 was furnished to me by a misplaced comma in the *Novella*. Only Nos. 5 and 2 punctuate *Fratel, mio io ho teco* ; No. 3 does not punctuate here at all. For the rest the *Novella* yields no evidence unless it be the wrong punctuation *che alcuna donna, fusse spiritata* in No. 3 which is repeated *e. g.* in the editions of 1679 and 1680 and 1726 but not in No. 2. In the explanations of the Figure, No. 2 has no error ; No. 3 prints *mostraui* and *à caratteri* in place of *mostrarui* and *ò caratteri*, mistakes repeated again in the edition of 1726. In the heading over the text of the *Principe* No. 2 in accordance with No. 5 reads *Segretario* ; No. 3 has changed this to the usual spelling *Secretario*. No. 2 gives the main title exactly like No. 5 ; No. 3 erroneously adds *Al Santissimo et Beatissimo Padre, Signore Nostro Clemente VII. Pont. Mass.* which properly belongs to the *Historie* only. No. 2 puts the general table of contents in its due place ; No. 3 inserts it between the *Proemio* and the text of the *Historie*. No. 2 reproduces the privilege concerning the print and sale of the *Historie, Principe* and *Discorsi* granted by Clemens VII to Blado ; No. 3 omits both. These points in favor of No. 2 are not many in number, but I trust they will be sufficient, all the more so, because in spite of some ornamental initials and the like, the whole make up of No. 3 is inferior to that of No. 2.

No. 5, therefore, is the original print and should be called A. No. 2 = B is based upon No. 5. It shows a certain independence in making, as we have seen, the more radical alterations that distinguish the four other prints from No. 5. Besides it is the only one that at least in a few cases in the *Principe*—I refer to most of the substitutions for *contennendo*, to which *parato à resister alli suoi colpi* in place of *parato à resisterla* (!) (close of XIV) may be added—consulted another edition besides No. 5. No. 1 = C makes some more changes but mostly only of an orthographical nature, modernizing antiquated forms ; at the same time it corrects not a few typographical errors without however failing to commit some new ones of its own. No. 3 is upon the whole a faithful, almost a slavish reprint of No. 2 ; as a rule it does not even correct the most obvious misprints but is guilty of quite a number of new ones. The confusion which reigns from the main title to the

beginning of the text of the *Historie* may be partly due to the use of a copy of No. 2, the first leaves of which were mutilated or misplaced. No. 4 = E is an often faulty reproduction of No. 3, of which no good of any kind can be said and which should be carefully guarded against.

No. 5 seems gradually to have lost reputation. For while the original compilers of the *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* had used it by the side of No. 1 and No. 3, in the fifth edition of 1863 only the latter two are specially cited. Jacques Charles Brunet in his *Manuel du Libraire*, etc., of 1862, Tome III, p. 1275, goes so far as to class it among the prints of the Testina that have '*très-peu de valeur.*' This investigation, I trust, has shown on the contrary that No. 5 is the only one among the five that can have any sort of value for the constitution of the text[7] and above all the only one by the aid of which the relation of the Testina to previous prints can be studied. No. 1 perhaps contains fewer ordinary misprints than any other, but it shows at the same time the most numerous intentional modernisations and deviations from No. 5 and therefore is by no means qualified to stand as the representative of the Testina in any question of text criticism. It has both the excellencies and the shortcomings of an old picture that at one time was touched up to suit the taste of a younger owner.

(*To be continued*).

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BEOWULF 30, 53, 132, 2957. I.

þenden wordum wēold wine Scyldinga,
lēof land-fruma, lange āhte. 30 f.

In a most kind and helpful review of my translation of *Beowulf*—the justice of his corrections in the main I gratefully admit—Professor Klaeber recently (*Anglia Beiblatt*, 16, 225) dissented from my rendering of these lines, with the comment that "whatever our interpretation of line 31 may be, *wordum wēold* is 'wielded his word' (W. Morris)." This certainly is one possible interpretation, providing the MS. reading is accepted. But should it be?

The MS. reading may well be preferred to a baker's dozen or more of the many emendations or interpretations which have been offered. Professor Kock (*Anglia*, 27, 221–223) has summarized a number of these: Thorpe and Grein, *āhte* used absolutely; Bugge, place line 31 after 32; *Heyne-Socin* supply *geweald*, as object of *āhte*, out of *wordum wēold;* Rieger, read *līfe* for *leof;* Kluge, *lændagas* or *land* for *lange;* Lübke, *land* for *leof;* Cosijn, *lange þrāge* (cf. 54) for *lange āhte;* Trautmann, *langre ēhte*, the long possession; Sievers (*Beiträge*, 9, 136), *lacuna*. Kock himself proposes *lān geāhte* (cf. *lān* in *lānlade*, *Codex Dipl.*, ed. Kemble, 3, 165. 52, perhaps originally *lēn* as in *lēnland*, *lēne līf*, *lēndagas; geāhte*, not in Bosworth-Toller but recorded in Ælfric's *Homilies*, Sweet's *Reader*, p. 65, l. 122). *Lange* occurs at the end of the line in the MS., and Kock contends the *ge* should be read with *āhte* in the next line (cf. *mange| þēon*, same page, and *nege |feah*, second next page).

A suggestion of Professor Sievers, later than that summarized above, which he urges apparently with conviction (*Beiträge*, 29, 308), is that *wordum wēold* should be translated "der worter woltete," adding "d. h. nicht etwa 'der gebote waltete,' d. h. 'befahl, regierte' (so z. b. noch Heyne-Socin,[6] 285), sondern wörtlich 'als er noch sprechen konnte,' d. h. kurz vor seinem tode (damit wäre denn auch zugleich die änderung von *lange āhte* in *lange þrāge* abgelehnt, an die ich selbst einmal Beitr. 9, 136 zweifelnd gedacht hätte; vgl. auch Cosijn, *Aant.* 1.) Die stelle erinnert dann an *meaht þū meðel-cwidum worda ȝewealdan?* Guthl., 989, 'kannst du noch sprechen,' von einem todkranken . . . und, wenn auch etwas entfernter an solche wie . . . . *swā hē latē meahte elnes unclȳðiȝ arēðe ȝewealdan* Guthl. 1199, und ähnlich *þēah hē late meahte . . . orēðe ȝebrēdan* ib. 1138."

Though some of these emendations are suggestive, none are satisfactory. Kock's is as im-

[7] The value of T 5 for a constitution of the text is limited by the fact that it rests solely on previous prints of very different merit and not on any manuscript authority. In cases, however, where the latter is scarce or wanting the sometimes very bright emendations of T 5 should not be left unheeded.

possible as Kluge's. The interpretation of Sievers, apart from other considerations, leaves l. 31 unexplained, and it is impossible, moreover, to see how the two lines could ever be brought into accord, if l. 30 is explained as he explains it—barring such an emendation as Kock's with its use of **lān* (or *læn*) in so violent a pregnant sense.

It would, of course, be desirable to leave the MS. unaltered, but no possible expenditure of ingenuity seems able to provide a satisfactory interpretation. The only constructions possible would seem to be: (1) *wēold* intransitive, *wordum* instrumental; (2) *wordum* object of *wēold;* (3) *āhte* used absolutely; (4) *ahte* with implied object, either *gewealdd* from *wēold* or *land* from *landfruma.* As regards (1) there is no difficulty in assuming that *wēold* is used intransitively; cf. *gif hē wealdan mōt,* 442. The use of the instrumental *wordum* with it must be justified, however; for this see below. As regard (2), setting aside Sievers's interpretation as inadmissible, there remains what I suppose to be Klaeber's view, namely that the phrase means "wielded words," irrespective of a particular time, *i. e.,* "made use of words," in quasi-figurative analogy to "*wæpnum wēold.*" When (2) in this interpretation is taken with (3) or (4), parallelism involves an awkward juxtaposition of ideas, "wielded his words, held possession—*or* possessed the land"—"held sway" must be excluded as involving zeugma, if *wēold* is taken in this sense, or an impossible pregnant use of *āhte.* Moreover, it may be confidently urged (a contention that applies to this interpretation but with still greater force to that of Sievers) that the poet would have written *þenden hē wordum wealdan mōste;* cf. *þenden hīe þām wæpnum weāldan mōston,* 2038; *þenden hē burh-welan brūcan mōste,* 3100. With (3) and (4), we reach the fundamental difficulty. The use of *āhte* absolutely or with an implied object is, as Kock says in correction of Heyne-Socin, not supported by similar constructions in the poem.

If the MS. reading is not preserved, it is plain that the fact that there is a difficulty in each line (for *wealdan* in intransitive use is unusual) points to a resolution of these difficulties by taking the lines together. One emendation which does this is that on which my translation was based. It was proposed by Professor Bright in 1895 (*Modern Language Notes,* 10, 85), who reads:

> *þenden wordum geweald wine Scyldinga,*
> *lēof land-fruma, lange āhte.*

Bright notes March's *wordonweald* (*Anglo-Saxon Reader,* p. 88) as not far astray; also Heyne's suggestion to supply *geweald* as an object for *āhte* from *wordum weold.* Bright's emendation, through his change of *wēold* which brings *gewealdd* into the text, is a substantial advance upon these suggestions. It has not merely the *ad hoc* merit of meeting and disposing of all the difficulties of the passage, but approves itself when tested from every point of view.

Bright refers to the frequent use of *geweald* with *āgan* and uses in illustration *Orosius,* p. 288, ll. 9, 10, *þæt hē þæs ilcan rīces āhte geweald þe his wiðermanna ær āhte.* This passage is a close and interesting parallel, but it would have been well also to have cited the poem itself, *hē āh ealra geweald,* 1727, also 1088 b, and the excellent parallel (though with *habban* not *āgan* and with *word* in the genitive), *sē-þe his wordes geweald wīde hæfde,* 79.

A point in Bright's reading will be perceived, the construction of *wordum* as an instrumental, of which Klaeber probably does not approve; whatever our interpretation of line 31 may be, *wordum wēold,* he says, is "wielded his word," a statement which involves rejection of the possible use here, as in 442, of *wealdan* as intransitive and therefore of *wordum* as an instrumental. But this construction need not be viewed with suspicion; the frequent use of *word* in the instrumental with verbs of saying, asking, greeting, praying, praising, teaching, offering, etc., might readily occasion its use in reference to an act or function mentally pictured as involving the verbal delivery of commands or of judicial decisions. Moreover, in the present case, in the half-line immediately preceding, the word *bæd* is used, rendering the use of *wordum,* though in a subordinate clause, natural and possible (cf. *wordum bēdon,* 176; that *biddan* here = 'pray' is immaterial). The passages cited by Sievers cannot be accepted as defining an exclusive application of the phrase; the necessity for its use in the sense "still could frame words" would be too infrequent. There

is no difficulty, further, in the use of the instrumental as compared with the genitive despite line 79, *sē- þe his wordes geweald wīde hæfde.* In this passage the context renders use of the genitive natural, as implying power over, as well as by, his words in choosing a name for the hall.

Not only does Bright's reading need no defence from the stylistic standpoint, but on the contrary the passage as amended falls under one of the most frequent types of rhetorical structure in the poem, $a + x, / x^1, + a$ (x, x^1, indicating parallel clauses, $a + a$, a syntactic whole). The structure presented by the MS. reading, on the contrary, is one for which no precise parallel offers itself in the poem, which indeed makes use of but a few of its general type (*e. g.*, ll. 131, 180 ff., 484 ff.). The point has some force for the structure in question, $y + x, / x^1 + y$, is one that would have presented not the slightest difficulty, in managing the alliteration or otherwise, to the poet, had its use seemed to him effective or desirable. He does not use it, however, while that of the proposed reading occurs everywhere.

The MS. reading may be explained as due to accidental omission of *ge-* (as probably in 652a and 1783a), an omission which might readily occur owing to the frequent separation of the prefix from the word to which it belonged, and subsequent change of *wēald* to *wēold* (if the original indeed had not *eo* for *ea*). The question may here be answered why, if an emendation of the character proposed is under consideration, it should not possibly take the form *þenden worda geweald . . . lange āhte* instead of *wordum geweald* in order to accord with l. 79, *his wordes geweald wīde hæfde.* Apart from the difference of meaning already adverted to, a scribal error involving a change of *worda ge weald* (*weold*) to *wordum weold* is highly improbable, even supposing an unusually ill-written or illegible original.

(*To be continued*).

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THE UR-HAMLET PROBLEM.

Professor Cunliffe's reply to the article by Professor Jack on *Thomas Kyd and the Ur-Hamlet*—both of which appeared in recent issues of *The Publications of the Modern Language Association*[1]—makes superfluous the detailed refutation which the present writer had projected. There is one point in Professor Cunliffe's counter claims, however, which deserves greater emphasis and another upon which I venture to suggest that direct evidence is wanting.

Professor Cunliffe, in summing up his own conclusions, directly reverses the views set forth by Mr. Jack, and declares :—

I. "That Nash had a dramatist or dramatists in mind in this paragraph.

II. It is perfectly clear that Nash knew of a Hamlet drama and this paragraph does throw some light upon its authorship."

My own view as to the two issues may be summarized thus :

I. Nash had in mind not merely one dramatist, but a group, "a sort"—Kyd being among the number.

II. The paragraph may serve as corroborative testimony, if all other evidence indicates Kyd's authorship of an *Ur-Hamlet.* Taken alone, however, it proves nothing definite on this point and does not make it entirely clear either that Nash knew of a Hamlet drama then, or that such a play was then in existence—the last two points being for our purposes identical.

I. The claim that Nash had in mind not merely one but a group, or type, of dramatists seems to the writer borne out by every consideration. There is always, in the first place, some argument *prima facie* in favor of accepting the more obvious interpretation of a passage, so that it would be natural to assume that if Nash used the plural forms here, it was because he had more than one person in mind, It is easy, of course, to multiply instances to which, for various reasons, such an assumption would not apply and the supporters of

[1] Professor Jack's article appeared in the issue for December, 1905, and Professor Cunliffe's reply in the following number, March, 1906.

Kyd's claim have quite generally construed this as such an instance. It seems strange, however, that the interpretation of the plural form as a mere device should ever have suggested itself to critics when the whole meaning and force of the passage—taken in or out of its context intimately involve the idea of plurality. Besides the acceptance of the plural significance disposes of all difficulties of interpretation—allowing for all possible references to Kyd and accounting for those which are less obviously or correctly applicable to him.

A. The whole context bears out such an interpretation—if one more argument as to context may be ventured, since Nash, in spite of a highly digressive style as to details, is apt to keep to some of the larger relations of unity. The *Epistle* begins almost at once with talk of dramatists and drama and pursues the subject to the beginning of the fourth paragraph leaving it then with these words :—

"To leave these to the mercie of their mother tongue that feed on nought but the crummes that fal from the translators trencher, &c." Certainly the reference here is to dramatists and their inadequate handling of the classics, but why *one* dramatist rather than more when the description is capable of a wider application? Then follows a somewhat rambling discussion of Greene's merits, of the prevailing taste in fiction, and finally of the ignorance of Nash's opponents in the Marprelate controversy, with which Nash checks himself in the words, "But least I might seeme with these night crowes *Nimis curiosus in aliena republica*, I'le turne backe to my first text of studies of delight, and talke a little in friendship with a few of our triuiall translators." It was with the dramatists' irreverent treatment of the classics that he left off and it is to these dramatists that he now instinctively reverts, as to the worst among all the "triuiall translators," and so the ones to whom it is most fitting that he shall "talke a little" in the candour of friendship. What more trivial translator indeed could have been anywhere found than the typical Elizabethan dramatist — hard pressed as he almost invariably was by financial need, and always greedy for dramatic material, rushing unprepared into the sacred task of interpreting the classics and, if he found himself unequal to the production of even garbled versions, contenting himself with building upon the labors of others, even filching directly from the English versions of Seneca when the fine sentences to be found there served his especial need. Moreover, it is just these most flagrant offenders whom Nash chooses as offering the strongest contrast to "those men of import" whom, in the paragraph immediately following, he cites—lest he should "condemne all and commend none"—as having "laboured with credit in this laudable kinde of Translation" and "merueilouslie inriched the Latine tongue with the expence of their toyle." It is clear that, in this second paragraph, he has a group or type in mind ; for he names one man as being "in the forefront," and refers to "manie other reverent Germaines" several of them by name. Thus, the very accuracy and force of the antithesis lies in the contrasting of one group with another.

B. But aside from any inference derived from the context, and aside, too, from the employment of the more common plural forms, it should be noted that the more distinctive words in the passage point strongly to the literal plural. Thus, Nash explicitly says that he will talk with a *few* of the "triuiall translators" and then proceeds to characterize the group—a group not of necessity all Senecan, except so far as the Senecan influence was general at that time and naturally involved the intermeddling with the classics which he now meant to blame chiefly. These are his words : —

"It is a *common practise nowadaies amongst a sort* of shifting companions that runne through every arte and thrive by none, &c." Nothing could be more explicit than Nash's reference to a type as such and no reference more in point—as generalizations go—than this is, if applied to the Elizabethan dramatists ; whereas, as Professor Cunliffe points out, it is grossly inapplicable to the men whose labors were involved in the 1581 translations of Seneca. Both the facts in the case and the implications of the vivid phrasing suggest that Nash was hardly guilty of the anti-climax of limiting to one a reference clearly applicable to a considerable group.

C. The acceptance of a literal plural leaves undisturbed all possible references to Kyd, since

he may easily have been included in all and especially glanced at in some. As one of the most prominent dramatists of the day and the chief representative of the Senecan school, he would naturally have been in the forefront of reference and Professor Jack does not, at any point, prove the impossibility of his having been referred to.

1. Kyd is not yet proved to have been a scrivener; but his parent's occupation, his knowledge of legal terms, and especially his shifting career, suggest that he might have dipped enough into such an employment as to warrant his being included in Nash's reference.

2. No one can be quite sure whether Nash meant to play upon Kyd's name in the expression "Kidde in Aesop." Aside from the fact that, in citing Aesop and in drawing upon animal life, he was following his common vein of illustration, it is not clearly proved that he changed the name of the animal in order to play upon Kyd's name, any more that it is proved that he draws here directly from *The Shepherd's Calendar*. There is no obvious reason why a pun could not have been intended, whatever may be the probability.

3. Professor Jack does not sustain his argument that the students addressed would probably not have understood any detailed reference to Kyd's pamphlet from the Italian or to *The Spanish Tragedy*. It is possible, of course, that students at Oxford and Cambridge should not have known, three years after its publication, of a pamphlet on a subject of considerable interest and by one of the best known authors of the day. It is, of course, possible too, that they might not have seen or been familiar with one of the two or three most popular plays of that day. The question of probability, however, is at least an open one and in any case, one should hardly need reminding that conventional literary forms, such as *Epistles*, *Dedications*, &c., do not limit their range of interest to the persons addressed, but serve as mere mediums for the conveyance of literary opinion. Dryden, as well as the Elizabethans, abound in illustrations of this use. It may be inferred, then, that Kyd is not excluded from any of the references thus far suggested.

D. The plural interpretation of the passage—besides allowing for references to Kyd—explains those less obviously or accurately applicable to him.

1. Mr. Boas[2] claims that Nash, in his thrusts at Kyd's unscholarly handling of the classics, was guilty of "scurrillous depreciation of his rival's classical attainments," whereas Mr. Jack takes the comparative inaccuracy of the charge to mean that Kyd was not referred to at all. If, however, we recognize the reference as being not merely to Kyd, but to a group in which he was included, Nash's only injustice to him is that which inevitably comes to some with any sweeping adverse generalization as to a class. Moreover, this injustice is still further minimized by the fact that—as Mr. Boas admits—Kyd shows himself, in his efforts with both Italian and classic material, a careless translator.[3]

2. The same general explanation might apply to Nash's blame of those who filch sentences from the English *Seneca*, since Kyd seems not to be among the flagrant offenders in this connection.

E. Even the references commonly cited as strikingly applicable to Kyd—barring the questionable one in the pun, which will be discussed later—may easily be interpreted as wide enough to include a group.

1. Professor Jack is, of course, right in calling attention to the prevalence of Senecan influence among the dramatists of that time, but his inference from this fact that Nash, in calling attention to it, could not have had Kyd in mind, is untenable. Kyd would naturally be thought of, perhaps conspicuously, in any such generalization, but the prevalence of the influence is being emphasized along with its intensity, and without the literal plural this force would be lost.

2. The same general argument applies to those who "intermeddle with Italian translations," to those who "haue not learned . . the iust measure of the Horizon without an hexameter" and to those who "bodge up a blanke verse with ifs and ands." The prevalence of the fault is no argument against Kyd's being referred to, but furnishes another proof of the literal plural significance of the passage.

We may then assume that while Nash, in the

[2] *Thomas Kyd*, F. M. Boas, 1904, p. xlv-xlvi.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. xvii-xx.

disputed paragraph, might have had Kyd more or less in mind at every point, he was writing primarily of a group in which Kyd was naturally included. This conclusion by no means destroys the possibility of Kyd's being here indicated as the author of an *Ur-Hamlet*, but it suggests considerable need of caution as to the inference, and some re-examination of the evidence on that particular point. The writer's own view as to the question has already been stated, but is repeated here for clearness :—

II. That the paragraph may serve as corroborative of other testimony as to an *Ur-Hamlet*, but that taken alone, it proves little. The argument from probabilities may be considerable, but it must be distinguished from that of certainty.

1. For one thing, although the context and later references make it seem probable that Nash in speaking of "whole *Hamlets*" and "handfulls of tragicall speaches," has in mind a play, it is not impossible that he means merely *The Hystorie of Hamblet*, as illustrating the climax of the tragic or melodramatic. Certainly that tale, being newly translated into the English along with other tales from Belleforrest's *Histoires Tragiques*, and doubtless current among the dramatists of the day, abounds in "tragicall speaches" and so might reasonably be said to have "handfulls" of them, if length rather than number be taken as the measure. Moreover, Nash was, in any case, using the expression "whole *Hamlets*" in a figurative sense, since he must have known of the existence of the prose tale and its equipment of "tragicall speaches," and would not have inferred that a Hamlet play was taken directly from Seneca when he was blaming others for ignorance of the classics. Such loose phrasing must be carefully dealt with.

2. Then, too, as to the chief evidence from which Nash's declaration of Kyd's authorship is usually inferred, *i. e.*, the expression "the Kidde in *Aesop*." The present writer has already expressed some slight doubt that a pun was intended, though readily admitting such a possibility. Even granting the pun, however, it is a rash inference to conclude that it meant he was to indicate Kyd as the author of an *Ur-Hamlet*. The word *Hamlets* is used in one connection, whereas the possible pun on Kyd's name occurs several lines later in a different connection ; so that we are hardly justified in inferring between the two passages such interrelations of reference as would be necessary for a definite statement that Nash meant to indicate Kyd as author of a Hamlet play.

Fortunately, outside testimony, at least as to the existence of an early Hamlet, seems more definite, inasmuch as Henslowe has an entry in his *Diary*, "9 of June 1594, Rd. at hamlet . . . VIIJ," and Lodge in his *Wits' Miserie* [1596], mentions "the Ghost which cried so miserably at the theater like an Oister wife *Hamlet revenge*." Certainly Henslowe's reference here seems clear and Lodge's, taken with that, practically conclusive ; so that the two somewhat reinforce the possibility that Nash's reference was to a play, but it must be remembered, for accuracy, that Henslowe's record was five years later than Nash's *Epistle* (1589) and Lodge's *Wit's Miserie* still two years later ; so that their mention of a play at these later dates does not prove that Nash knew of it in 1589.

If, however, we accept all favorable possibilities as certainties,—conceding that a Hamlet-play did exist in 1589 and that it could not, in that form, or at that time, have been written by Shakspere—it seems highly probable that Kyd was the author of the early play and if so, that Nash had him vaguely in mind as such in his reference to "*whole Hamlets*." Kyd's strong claim to the authorship of an Ur-Hamlet however—granting its existence—rests, not on the reference in the paragraph, however valuable that may have proved as a clue, but upon the evidence furnished by the resemblance between the acknowledged works of Kyd and the 1603 quarto of *Hamlet*. Whoever denies Kyd's authorship of the assumed play must be ready to account for these strong resemblances, if not to suggest a more probable author.

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CHARMS TO RECOVER STOLEN CATTLE.

The two charms that follow have not been published, so far as I know, and have been gleaned from Cambridge MSS. in the swath of the industrious Cockayne. Though the first, as far as it

goes, is practically identical with the version in *Leechdoms*, 3, 286, the second exhibits important variations in the Latin formula and offers a better and clearer text.

(*A.*) Ms. C. C. C. 190, fol. 130 (Wanley, p. 110).

Gif feoh sy under fangen. Gif hit sy hors, sinȝ on his feteran oððe on his bridele. Gif hit sy oðer feoh, sinȝ on *þæt* fot[1] spor and ontend iii candela *and* dryp on *þæt* hofrec *þæt* wex þriwa. Ne mæȝ hit þe nan man forhelan. Gif hit sy innorf, Sinȝ þonne on feower healfe þæs huses *and* æne on middan : Crux Christi[2] reducat. Crux Christi *per* furtum *peri*it, inventa est. Abraham *tibi* semitas, uias, montes, *con*cludat ; Iob et flumina ; [Iacob te][3] ad iudic[i]um liȝatum perducat. Judeas Crist ahenȝan, —*þæt* heom *com* to wite swa stranȝan, —ȝe dydan heom dæda þa wyrrestan. Hy *þæt* drofe onȝuldon ; hælon hit to hearme micclum, for þam hi hit forhelan ne mihtan.

In Cockayne's version there follows a rhythmical formula of about eighteen lines, which sets forth the legal right of the original owner to the property, and which will be given in full further on in this article.

In the Cambridge MS. this charm follows immediately after a brief extract from *Ex Decretis Sancti Gelasii Papæ*. It also appears in B. M. MS. Harl. 438, fol. 128 (new numbering, in pencil, 138b), which is a transcript from MS. C. C. C. 190, made by Mr. John Richford and others, and donated to the Museum by D. George Hickes.

(*B.*) Ms. C. C. C. C. 41, fol. 227–228 (margin) ; new numbering, fol. 207–208.

Crux Christi reducat. Crux Christi *peri*it et inuenta est. Habracham tibi uias, montes, silua[s], semitas, flumina[s], andronas [andrones], [con]cludat ; Isaac tibi tenebras inducat ; Crux Iacob[4] te a[d] iudic[i]*um* ligatu*m* perducat. Iudei Christum crucifixerunt per simum ; sibi met ipsum perpetrauerunt opus ; celaureunt quod non potuerunt celare : sic nec hoc furtum celat*ur* nec celare possit per dominum nostrum.

[1] See Stopford Brooke's note on this heathen ceremony, *Hist. Early Eng. Lit.*, p. 473.

[2] Ms. always XPI. [3] See following MS.

[4] This gives the proper reading for A. It may be noted that B omits Job.

A fragment of this charm appears in Grimm's *Teutonic Mythology*, Stallybrass, 1880–1888, 4, 1849 :

Abraham tibi semitas vias, montes concludat Job et flumina, Isaac tibi tenebras inducat. Jacob te ad iudicium ligatum perducat.[5]

A later version of this same fragment appears in English in an Oxford MS. (seventeenth century), Bibl. Bodl. e Mus. 243, fol. 34 :

Abraham shutt y^e^ way to thee y^t^ y^u^ ronne no further/ Isaack send darknes to thee y^t^ y^u^presume to goe no further. Jacob be w^th^ thee & bringe thee to this place N. + returne returne in y^e^ name of y^e^ father & y^e^ sonne & y^e^ holy ghost. Amen.

Saye[6] this Orison afore sayd turning thee into y^e^ *4 parts* of y^e^ worlde & then goe to y^e^ church & cause a masse to be songe of y^e^ holy ghost *3* dayes together & y^e^ theefe shall come agayne without fayle by y^e^ grace of god. *probatum est.*

Now, as *A* and *B* agree in all essential details except in the passage, *Abraham tibi, ... perducat;* as this passage is inaccurate and corrupt in both versions ; as it is introduced abruptly, with serious interruption to the context ; as it is found both in Grimm and in a later English MS. independent of the *Crux Christi reducat;* it is evident that we have here two independent charms loosely and carelessly tacked together. I have not been able, however, to discover a fuller or more accurate version of this interpolated charm.

The conclusion of *A*, *Iudeas Crist ahenȝan*, etc., is evidently translated either from *B* or from some older Latin version. The original must certainly have been Latin, not English.

Both charms (disregarding the *Abraham tibi, etc.*) are clearly ritualistic, developing out of priestly ceremonies based on the well-known legend of the finding of the Cross by St. Helena. The form of the charm, —parallelism, or "similia similibus," —is one of the oldest and most widespread.[7] *A*, however, omits the application to

[5] Grimm's punctuation is reproduced. It might, however, make the connection of the separate clauses clearer by placing a semicolon after *concludat* and after inducat. The source of this fragment is not given.

[6] The italicized words appear in the MS. in red ink.

[7] See M. Müller, *Über den Stilform der altdeutschen Zaubersprüche bis 1300*, Gotha, 1901, pp. 36–39 ; O. Ebermann, *Blut- und Wundsegen*, *Palæstra*, XXIV, 131 ff. ;

the deed in hand, *swa næfre þeos dæd forholen ne wyrðe*, as in A and B of Grein-Wülcker.

Although in these two versions allusion is made to the miraculous finding of the Cross, there is no mention of St. Helena by name, as in Grein-Wülcker, I, 325, C, and in the two following versions,—one from an unpublished English MS. of the seventeenth century, the other a popular version common to the peasants of Pomerania. The English version, taken from Bibl. Bodl. MS. 116, fol. 71, exhibits a curious mixture of mediæval divination and of direct prayer to the saint.

Bibl. Bodl. Douce MS. 116, fol. 71, XVII century. Charme to find out a theefe.

The manr how to find out a theef, is thus, turn yr face to ye east & make a cross upon cristall wth oyl, & undr ye cross write these 2 words (Saint Helen) then a child yt is innocent, and a chast virgin borne in true wedlock, & not base begotten, of ye age of 10 years, must take ye Cristall in his hand, and behind his back, kneeling on thy knees, thou must devoutly, and reverently say ovr this prayr thriee, I beseech thee my Lady S. Helen, mother of King Constantine, wch did find ye cross whereupon Christ dyed: by this thy holy devotion and inuention of ye cross, and p ys ye same cross, & p ye joy wch thou conceivest at ye finding thereof & p ye love wch thou bearest to thy sonne Constantine, & p ye great goodness, wch thou dost always use, yt thou show me in this cristall, wht soevr I wish or desire to know; amen. & whn ye child seeth ye angell in ye Christall, demand wht you will, & the Angell will make answer thereunto. Memorandum, just as sun rising, whn ye wheather is fair & clear.[8]

The German version, though found among the peasants and betraying its popular origin by the corruption, "Sankt Hellmann" for St. Helen, retains pretty faithfully the original formula, which after all is simple, and offers little opportunity for variation. In Grein-Wülcker A and B we have the simple ceremony of turning to the four points of the compass and reciting the *Crux Christi reducat* towards each point; and in the German version the thief is solemnly adjured to return with the stolen property either before sunrise or before midday, sunset having been apparently omitted. There is the same parallelism as in the Anglo-Saxon versions.

Das Kreuz geschlagen:
"Wiederkehre der Dieb vor Aufgang der Sonne mit dem gestohlenen Gut."

Vaterunser sprechen, das Kreuz schlagen:
"Wiederkehre der Dieb vor Mittag mit dem gestohlene Gut."

Vaterunser sprechen, das Kreuz schlagen:
"Wiederkehre der Dieb [vor Untergang der Sonne] mit dem gestohlenen Gut."

Vaterunser sprechen:
"Das Kreuz Christi ward verborgen, ward wiedergefunden durch die Sankt Hellmann.—Also wahr muss der Dieb wiederkehren und sich wiederfinden mit dem gestohlenen Gut."[9]

Immediately following Cockayne's version, and joined on to it without a break, comes a peculiarly interesting rhythmical recital of the legal right of the owner to the stolen property, the whole being an independent, purely legal formula, borrowed from the solemn oaths taken or administered in case of stolen goods,[10] and here tacked on, with

Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*, Berlin. 1900, § 226.

[8] Cf. the "glass prospective" in *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*, Ward's edition, sc. v, l. 110; cf. Ward's note on the line and also his discussion of the magical glass in the Introduction, p. xxvi ff.

[9] Ulrich Jahn, *Hexenwesen und Zauberei in Pommern*, Stettin, 1886, p. 55, No. 12.

[10] See Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Records Commission, 1840, I, 184. The whole passage in Cockayne, with slight and unessential verbal differences, is identical with that in the *Ancient Laws*. On page 178, note, Price, the first editor, calls attention to the marked rhythmical character of the phrasing in these oaths: "It is impossible to read these oaths without perceiving at every turn their rhythmical quantity and alliteration. An ear any way accustomed to Anglo-Saxon poetry will easily detect the disjointed members of their poetic formulæ, and instinctively arrange them in the order in which they ought to stand." To this Thorpe adds: "It is, however, to be observed, that in these and similar pieces, neither metre nor alliteration is constant, and that the latter, when it does occur, is usually unlike the common poetic alliteration, having no 'chief letter' (höfuðstafr) in the second line. The use of this kind of alliteration in early laws and judicial documents, as well as of final rime, was common to all the Germanic and Scandinavian nations. Those who wish to see more on this subject may consult Grimm's '*Deutsche Rechts Alterthümer*,' page 6." Both Cockayne and Thorpe print the passage as prose. I have ventured to separate it into lines, as showing more clearly the rhythmical and poetic character.

no connecting words, to the religious ritual.[11] It is as follows :

Hit becwæð and becwæl se ðe hit ahte[12]
mid fullan folcrihte, swa swa hit his yldran
mid feo and mid feore rihte beȝeatan,
and lætan and læfdan ðam to ȝewealde
ðe hy wel uðan ; and swa ic hit hæbbe
swa hit se sealde ðe to syllanne ahte
unbryde and unforboden ; and ic aȝnian wille
to aȝenre ahte ðæt ðæt ic hæbbe,
and næfre yntan ne plot ne ploh,
ne turf ne toft, ne furh ne fotmæl,
ne land ne læse, ne fersc ne mersc,
ne ruh ne rum, wudes ne feldes,
sandes ne strandes, wealtes ne wæteres,
butan ðæt læste ða hwile ðe ic libbe
forðam [ðe] [n]is se man on life ðe æfre gehyrde
ðæt man cwiðde oððon crafode hine on hundrede
oððon ahwar on gemote on ceapstowe oþþe on cyricware
ða hwile he lifde. Unsac he wæs on life
beo on leȝere swa swa he mote. Do swa ic lære
beo ðu be ðinum and læt me be minum
ne ȝyrne ic ðines, ne læðes ne landes
ne sace ne socne. ne ðu mines ne ðærft
ne mynte ic ðe nan þing.

The logical process of development by which these independent charms were strung together might seem to have been as follows : The owner of the stolen property, having evidently determined to omit no step for the restoration of his cattle, first tries a purely heathen ceremony of dripping into the hoof prints of the stolen animals wax from three lighted candles ; next, by a sort of sympathetic treatment, he cites the loss and recovery of the Holy Cross,—as the Cross of Christ was stolen and was found again, so may this property be recovered and returned to the owner ; then, still further to hamper the movements of the thief, he calls on the patriarchs,—Abraham is to shut off all ways of escape by land, Job by water, and Jacob is to bring the thief bound to judgment ; finally, after employing these solemn heathen and religious ceremonies for the restoration of his property, he proceeds to invoke the aid of the law, by reciting his indisputable claim to his own.

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[11] Abrupt as the transition here is from the *Crux Christi* formula to the legal recital and also in the case of the *Crux Christi* and the *Abraham tibi . . concludat* above, it is characteristic of many of the charms, which, being sometimes meaningless collocations of words and phrases, are often made up of independent formulas, either whole or in part, strung together without any connecting links. For a similar example, see Ebermann, p. 47, where the Longinus formula for stanching blood is tacked on to the river Jordan charm.

[12] Cockayne prints from MS. Cott. Julius C 2, fol. 97b (a paper MS. of transcripts), collated with Textus Roffensis, p. 50. Thorpe's version is from MS. Corpus Christi 383 (tenth century). The following variants have been noted in Thorpe : 2 *folc-rihte.* 3 *beȝeaton.* 4 *letan.* 8 *æhte.* 9 *næfre þe myntan*, undoubtedly the correct reading. 10 *fot-mæl.* 11 *læsse.* 13 *wateres.* 14 *þe hwile.* 15 *forþam nis æniman.* 16 *hundræde.* 17 *ceap-stowe, cyric-ware.* 18 *lifede.* 20 *beo þe.* 22 *þearft.*

CORNEILLE'S DRAMA.

Die Dramatischen Theorien Pierre Corneilles. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte und Kritik des französischen Dramas, von Johannes Böhm, Dr. Phil. 8vo., 150 pp. Berlin : Mayer und Müller, 1901.

In the work before us, which is merely a reprint of the author's inaugural dissertation, we have a typical specimen of that kind of specialized historical research which is so characteristic of the German Universities. The subject under consideration is the dramatic theories of Corneille, as elucidated in the poet's prefaces, notices, "examens" to the various plays and in the three well-known "discours" which serve as introductions to the three-volume edition of his works published in 1660. But the author is here not so much concerned with a criticism and evaluation of these theories as he is to fix the interpretation Corneille put upon the teachings of Aristotle and to show how far, in actual practice, the French poet has observed and how far transgressed his own rules.

The narrow limitations thus set to the theme have, of necessity, confined the author mostly to the threshing out of old straw. And we fail to see that his work has resulted in anything new or illuminating. Corneille's attitude toward the traditional three unities, his misconception of the meaning Aristotle attached to the tragic emotions,

"pity and fear," his theory of the "catharsis," his introduction of martyr heroes into the tragedy, etc., are points which led the poet into some bitter literary disputes in his own day and were discussed in Europe for a hundred years after his time. Unless these points were to be set in some new light or joined together in some new synthesis, we do not see what good end Dr. Böhm's elaborate analysis and classification serve. As a typical example, take the case of Corneille's exposition of "pity and fear." That he misunderstood these terms, twisted them into "pity *or* fear," and then amplified the idea so as to admit other emotions as tragic, Lessing, without any show of scientific method, told us long ago. Just as little has the author advanced beyond Lessing's view of the "catharsis" or tragic purgation. His statement in his introduction that this serves his purpose is no adequate excuse. For, apart from the points in which Lessing is undoubtedly right and Corneille undoubtedly wrong, the author fails to note that the subsequent investigations of Bernays, Susemihl and Hicks, Butcher and others, have proved both Lessing and Corneille to be wrong in one very fundamental point. They both attach a *moral* instead of a merely *æsthetic* meaning to the purgation of the passions. It was this misconception which pushed into the foreground the idea of a moral end in tragedy and constitutes the most vulnerable point in pseudo-classic theory and practice.

But after all what Corneille thought Aristotle meant and his appeal to the Stagirite for justification, forms only one-half of any profitable discussion of his theories. Considered as an interpretation of life, poetry and especially drama, appealing, as it does, directly to the public, is bound to be strongly influenced by the political, social and religious forces of the age. That a reference to these forces would have thrown much light on Corneille's views and his attitude toward Aristotle seems obvious. But the narrow point of view which the author assumes, or was led by his mentor to assume, precludes all this and makes his work both unsuggestive and uninspiring.

Dr. Böhm has labored zealously and conscientiously to produce a contribution to the history and criticism of the French drama. Within the limits of his theme and the method employed, he has done in detail a thorough and accurate piece of work. But without illuminating ideas, without that subtle power of divination that enables the critic to detect the synthetic bond which unites the details into one well-proportioned whole, his efforts are a striking proof of how barren this scientific historical method may become. We are not enemies of analysis and classification, for we know that science has transformed the thinking of the world. We are not even hostile to systematic literary criticism, although no less a worthy than Matthew Arnold has declared that systematic criticism is bad because it is systematic. But yet with these one hundred and fifty pages of analysis, classification and tabulation before us, the question is forced home whether this method is not often applied in the wrong place. We are not at all certain that the results warrant the expenditure of so much time and effort. We have a decided feeling that the whole amounts to little more than a drill in classification for the benefit of the author of the thesis; that he has industriously gathered together and tabulated materials for a work, but has fallen short of a work itself.

Over one-third of the whole book is devoted to a tabular survey of Corneille's thirty-four dramas in chronological order. With great diligence Dr. Böhm has collected under each title such heterogeneous bits of information, as, the date of production upon the stage, the year of the first printed edition, the number of verses in each act, the number of characters, male and female, in each play, the time of the action, the motives, the sources and, finally, extracts from Corneille's own "examens" in regard to the observance of the unities, the success or failure of the piece, etc. In his introduction he naïvely tells us that this survey is to serve as "a picture of the development of the theoretical views of the poet." Of what real value such a collection of isolated and often irrevelant facts is, we fail to see. Of Corneille's theoretical views they give us no more conception than piles of lumber and bricks do of the architecture of a house. A few pages of solid prose, such as Dr. Böhm has shown us he can write in the excellent opening chapter on the part played by the three unities in the Italian, Spanish and French dramas before Corneille, would tell us far more about the development of

the poet's theoretic views than all these fifty-eight pages of industrious compilation.

To a less degree the same holds true of his main chapter, the third, where he comes to the real exposition of Corneille's theoretical views. Here, under those rather mechanical divisions which occur with tireless regularity in German school-texts, the purpose of the drama, the development of the action, the motives, unity of time and place, etc., each provided with its four or five proper sub-heads, the author gathers all the remarks which Corneille has anywhere made on the point under consideration, compares his exposition with the doctrines of Aristotle and notes whether the French poet in practice has observed or transgressed his own rules. In general, he has nothing new to offer, certainly nothing essential with which the student of Corneille is not already familiar. The attempt to treat the tragedies as serious dramas of character might have proved an original contribution if the author's method had permitted him to develop it. But, left in such fragmentary form, it is not at all clear just what is meant by the term.

The chief value that we see in Dr. Böhm's work is the arrangement of materials in a form convenient for reference. As such, it may be of some use to students of Corneille. But, as a whole, the work impresses us rather as a diligent collection of materials than a work that adds anything of value to the criticism or the history of the French drama. And, in conclusion, we should add that its defects are not so much due to the lack of scholarship and insight on the part of the author as they are to the point of view assumed and the method employed.

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INFLUENCE OF GERMAN LITERATURE IN AMERICA.

Translations of German Poetry in American Magazines, 1741–1810. Together with Translations of other Teutonic Poetry and Original Poems Referring to the German Countries. By Edward Ziegler Davis, Ph. D. Philadelphia: Americana Germanica Press, 1905. 8vo., ix and 229 pp., cloth $1.65.

Until a few years ago, little had been done in the way of tracing out exactly the beginning and growth of German literary influence in America. We knew in a general way that the Transcendentalists took up German Philosophy in some of its aspects, either directly or at second hand; we knew that Longfellow imported into American life the German lyric in its gentler phases, and, in *Evangeline*, something of the German idyll; beyond that little was definitely known, or at least was accessible. In England, the field had been pretty well explored by 1897. Professor Brandl's paper on "Die Aufnahme von Goethes Jugendwerken in England" in the *Goethe-Jahrbuch* for 1882, and his note on "Lenore in England" in Erich Schmidt's *Charakteristiken*, supplemented by Professor Süpfle's paper in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Litteraturgeschichte* in 1893, and much more thoroughly by Herzfeld's admirable monograph on William Taylor in 1897, had made clear the kind and degree of interest in German literature felt by the English public up to Carlyle's time. It seemed a safe inference that America reflected this interest before the thirties, but just how early and to what extent remained to be shown. A practically unexplored field, therefore, was open to the *Americana Germanica* when it was established, in 1897, for "the comparative study of the literary, linguistic, and other cultural relations of Germany and America." After running through four volumes as an irregular quarterly, it became in 1903 a monthly, under the title, *German-American Annals*, while the old name was retained for a series of monographs, of which the first number is the subject of this review.

In its career as a quarterly *Americana Germanica* contained, besides many valuable studies of individual indebtedness and relationship, at least one paper of unusual merit on the general subject here under consideration,—that of Frederick H. Wilkens in vol. III, 103 ff. (1899), on "The Early Influence of German Literature in America." His list of publications from the German (in book form) in the United States before 1826, while it does not claim to be complete, is probably very nearly so; each item is fully described bibliographically; the arrangement is strictly chrono-

logical (in striking contrast with Eug. Oswald's bibliography in *Die Neueren Sprachen* for the same year, "Goethe in England and America," the usefulness of which is half destroyed by its lack of system); and especially, all reprints of English publications, constituting the great bulk of the list, are marked as such with their English predecessors given and dated, enabling the reader to judge accurately (so far as printed books are an index) how much first hand knowledge of German there was in America at that time. The introductory essay deals with the German drama in America,—where, it appears, Schiller's *Robbers* and Kotzebue's plays had quite as great vogue as in England, and some pieces, *e. g.*, Zschokke's *Abällino* and Schiller's *Don Carlos*, were performed in Dunlap's American adaptations before they were acted in England—with German fiction, German poetry, and German philosophy, science, and theology, closing with an account of the beginnings of serious first hand study of German in this country in the second decade of the nineteenth century. Both essay and bibliography are marked by thoroughness, good method, and sound judgment.

Professor Wilkens's list deals only with published books, leaving untouched another and not less important channel of German influence in America, viz., periodicals; and it is to this part of the field that Dr. Davis has devoted himself. That his work is less satisfactory than Professor Wilkens's is due in part to the inherent difficulties of his material. Magazines were published not in the large towns of the country only, but in many small and obscure places. Complete files are not to be found in any one library and sometimes cannot be found at all. No adequate account of German translations in the English magazines of the period has been given. In part, however, the shortcomings of the monograph (which would be less important were not the monograph itself our only guide in this obscure field) are due to lack of thoroughness and mistakes in judgment.

The volume contains (I) Introduction, (II) Translations of German Poetry, (III) Translations of Dutch, Danish, Norwegian and Icelandic Poetry, and Original Poems referring to the German Countries, (IV) List of Translations of German Prose and List of Original Articles on the German Countries, and (V) List of Magazines Examined. The period covered is from the beginning of magazines in America down to 1810 inclusive. The *terminus ad quem* seems arbitrary, especially when we are told in the preface that the investigation has been carried down to 1840. The reason given is that there was a falling off of interest in German productions after 1810. The statement is borne out by Wilkens's list; yet neither Wilkens, nor Herzfeld, nor Brandl found a significant point of division in this date, but continued their investigations down to the third decade of the century, to the period of Carlyle in England and the beginning of the serious study of German in this country,—to a point of real historic change. If the results of research in the magazines down to 1826, the date to which Wilkens carried his study of published books, had been given, the way would have been made ready for the much more important study of German influence in the thirties and forties.

The Introduction explains the classification of the material and sets forth the difficulties in the way of the investigator. Certain centres of interest are pointed out: Frederick the Great in the time of the Seven Years War, *Werther* about 1787–90, and *Lenore* and the *Erl King*, for a few years beginning with 1798. Of this last we are told that "Another group treats the kings of the natural elements, *The Erl King*, . . . *The Erl King's Daughter*, . . . *The Water King*," &c. (follows a list of imitations and parodies, including reprints down to 1833). "This interest in the wierd element explains the popularity of Bürger's *Lenore*, which appears in translation" at different times from 1798 to 1840. From which one might infer that the taste for *Lenore* was due to the interest aroused by translations and imitations of the *Erlkönig*—a remarkable confusion of cause and effect!

Part II, pp. 21–93, contains the items of translation, in chronological order. Some are described, others, which Dr. Davis judged to be inaccessible except where he found them, are printed in full. The first entry is from Gessner, as was to be expected, and is dated 1774—some twelve years after the first translation of Gessner's *Idyllen* was brought out in England. The fifth entry is

"Letter LXI of the Sorrows of Werter. Versified," 1791. The twenty-third is "Leonora, a Ballad from Bürger," 1798 (William Taylor's translation). These figures will serve to show how completely the American magazines were dependent upon the mother country for their knowledge of German literature, and how faintly they reflected English interest in the subject. In the thirty-seven years from 1774 to 1811 there are eighty-one entries in all, including ten repetitions. Gessner is represented by twenty-five of them; Bürger by ten; Gellert by eight, Haller and Lessing by four each; Goethe by three only, Klopstock by two, Herder by one, Schiller not at all. This division, which the author seems to consider the most important part of his work, is that in which the shortcomings are most to be regretted. For what one wants to know is, How much of this reproduction proceeds from an American interest in and knowledge of German letters? And the question is not answered. There are two or three bits of translation by Dunlap, there is an original German poem by "Adelio" in the *Philadelphia Repository* for February 18, 1804, and there are some evidently first hand renderings of German idyllic and religious verse by "a gentleman residing in a distant part of the state" of Pennsylvania in the same periodical for May 7, 1803. Of the remainder, a small proportion (nineteen) are traced to English publications; for the rest, the German original is cited directly, leaving us to infer that they are in each case American renderings from the German. Now, as a matter of fact, they are probably in almost every case reprints from British publications. Dr. Davis is, of course, aware of this; and he offers as his reason for not tracing the sources the lack of any thorough account of the translations printed in British magazines. Yet he does give the British sources in some cases; Hooper's 1776 translation of Gessner, Lewis's *Monk* and *Tales of Wonder*, and Taylor's *Historic Survey* he seems to have had at hand and to have examined for correspondences, leaving unmarked, and so by implication American, all that he failed to find in these volumes. If the other translations in book form and the versions in British magazines were inaccessible, a note at least should have been made (such as could well enough have been drawn up from the investigations cited in the opening paragraph above) of all known British versions preceding any translation that appeared in American periodicals, so that the probability of English origin in each case would be apparent. Had he consulted, for instance, Professor Brandl's note on "Lenore in England" (to which Wilkens's article referred him) he would have seen that his second version of *Lenore* (*Baltimore Weekly Magazine*, April 29, 1801) corresponds exactly to Brandl's description of Stanley's translation (2d ed., 1796), the same as that of which he found two stanzas in his third *Lenore* item, from the *Port Folio* for May 26, 1804. The date of publication of Taylor's translation is, of course, 1796, not 1769. A slightly keener sense of humor would have led him to put the "translation" from "the prophetick metrical compositions of Van Vander Horder Clogeth" (pp. 83–4) in Part III, among the parodies rather than among the genuine translations from the German.

Part III, so far as it is concerned with German literature—much of it is taken up with panegyrics upon Frederick the Great—contains a small collection of *Werther* echoes and parodies on Bürger's and Goethe's ballads and Lewis's extravaganzas, mostly no doubt reprinted from English publications. Gray's *Odes from the Norse and Welsh Tongues* and Montgomery's *Wanderer of Switzerland*, received considerable attention from the American magazines.

The last two sections of the book, though the least bulky, are decidedly the most valuable. Part IV is a list of translations of German prose and of articles on the German countries in American magazines during the period considered. The subject deserves fuller treatment than it receives. The names should at least have been entered in the index of the book, so that if one wished to find out what was printed from or about, say, Wieland, one would not be obliged to go through the whole list entry by entry. Even as it stands, however, it constitutes a valuable guide for all who wish to study the growth of interest in things German among Americans. Part V is a list, fuller than has heretofore been printed, of American magazines published between 1741 and 1811. Dr. Davis has found and examined one hundred and thirty of these periodicals. Since in many

cases complete files could be examined only by going from one library to another, he has not attempted to tell where they may be consulted; but even without this the list is of great value to any one studying the beginnings of periodical literature in America, and will doubtless continue to be our chief reliance for the period covered until the great Evans bibliography comes down to the same date.

[Since the above paragraphs were written, two further studies have appeared in the *Americana Germanica* that bear upon the subject of German literature in America: "Friedrich Schiller in America," by E. C. Parry, and "The Influence of Salomon Gessner upon English Literature," by Bertha Reed. Each of these appeared as a series of articles in *German-American Annals* during 1905. The same periodical published in 1904 a paper by Professor Learned on "Herder and America" of unusual interest.]

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF GERMAN LITERATURE.

A Chronology and Practical Bibliography of Modern German Literature. Compiled by John Scholte Nollen, Professor of German in Indiana University. Chicago: Scott, Foresman and Company, 1903. 8vo., pp. 118. ($1.00.) [Lake German Series.]

This is a conscientious attempt to supply a simple and practical handbook for ready reference, and as such will prove very acceptable to many. It consists of a Chronology and a Bibliography.

"The Chronology is made comparative, with particular attention to French, English and American literature and history, aside from the German, as these will furnish the best setting to the German for American students." (p. 7.) Such mention of American events of course adds a certain concreteness to the data, but it is going very far in such a limited selection to record, for instance, the dates of the building of Faneuil Hall (1742), and of the births of Seward (1801), and of Mark Hopkins (1802). The selection of German works is also now and then open to criticism, and even allowing for individual preference, surely Voss's *Luise* (1784), Herder's *Humanitätsbriefe* (1793 fg.), *Wilhelm Meister* (1795–6), and Wolf's *Prolegomena* (1795) should have been included in a list which has room for Goethe's *Bürgergeneral*. Since the Chronology is intended to show the general course of the literature as a whole, rather than the internal development of particular writers, Nollen seems very properly to have aimed at giving not the date of composition of the various works, but the year of their appearance in print.[1] Yet when, as in the case of *Wallensteins Lager* and *Maria Stuart*, the date of production on the stage (before publication in print) is selected, that fact should have been expressly stated, as Scherer is careful to do. It is misleading also to give in some cases and *not* in others the date of completion in print of works whose publication extended over more than one year. That in such a long list extending from Dante to Tolstoy's *Resurrection* (1900) some positive errors should slip in is only to be expected; thus, to take but the greatest author of them all:—Goethe's *Triumph der Empfindsamkeit* appeared not in 1777, but in 1787, *Egmont* in 1788 not 1787, *Tasso* in 1790 not 1789, the *Venetianische Epigramme* not in 1796 but in 1795 and earlier, *Die Natürliche Tochter* in 1803 not in 1802. In short, this Chronology might be much improved by a judicious comparison with those in the literary histories of Scherer and R. M. Meyer.

In the Bibliography which follows, forming two-thirds of the book, "The aim of the compiler has been above all practical, with the thought that a few titles of books that are really authoritative will be of more value than a very long list of books, many of which are either out of date or of little value. For the same reason, the attempt has been made to indicate briefly the character and value of the works listed. Special

[1] When the date on the title-page is not that of *actual* appearance, the *latter* is usually given; thus, Goethe's *Von deutscher Baukunst*, dated 1773, is rightly assigned to 1772.

attention has been given here to the compilation of a representative list of collected essays and of works on the theory of literature, as these are less apt to be generally known than their importance warrants." (p. 6.) "References are given to articles in periodicals only in the case of a few recent authors, for whom little or no material is available in book form." (p. 6.) Similarly for practical reasons prices are given and care taken to include cheap but good editions and monographs. These last two features have of course some serious disadvantages not always avoided in the present work. Articles in periodicals are often of more value than the separate books on the subject, and reviews by authorities are almost indispensable in estimating the real importance and reliability of the work reviewed. Nollen was probably influenced by the practical consideration that many of his readers will have ready access to but few periodicals. Also the inclusion of many books to be recommended chiefly or solely for their cheapness necessarily takes up valuable space and adds to the number of uncharacterized works, which merely confuses one who has not seen the books themselves. But attention was rightly called to the excellent Hesse editions (No. 144), sometimes, in fact the best editions yet issued, though the print is small and their cheapness prevents their competing in appearance with, for instance, the pretty and well-edited volumes of the *Pantheon-Ausgaben*, published by S. Fischer in Berlin, under the general editorship of Otto Pniower.

The Bibliography, which is indexed, is very conveniently arranged as follows :—

I. General Bibliography :

A. History of Literature and of Literary Forms, Biography, Chronology.

1. In General.
2. For the Nineteenth Century.

B. Collected Critical Essays.

C. Theory of Literature and of Literary Forms.

1. General Theory, Poetics and Metrics.
2. The Lyric.
3. The Drama.
4. The Novel.

D. Bibliography and Journals.

1. In General.
2. For the Nineteenth Century.

E. Anthologies.

1. In General.
2. For the Nineteenth Century.

F. Uniform Collective Editions.

II. Bibliography of Individual Authors and Special Subjects [arranged alphabetically with cross-references to Essays, etc. The dates of the authors are given, the earliest being Brant (1457–1521)]. Its general scope thus appears with sufficient clearness. "The greatest pains have been taken to make the data of this book accurate and up-to-date, by the comparison of all available authorities, including the catalogues of about one hundred German publishers. But the compiler does not pretend to be either omniscient or inerrant . . ." (p. 7.) Though it is impossible here to go through the 369 numbers systematically, a few scattered notes of correction and suggestion are in order and may be welcome to some readers: A part of the second volume of Mrs. Conybeare's translation of Scherer (No. 22) was issued separately at Oxford in 1891 as: "*A History of German Literature from the Accession of Frederick the Great to the Death of Goethe*"[1]; (No. 58) the correct title of Herman Grimm's volumes is "*Fünfzehn Essays*"; before No. 109 should be inserted the incomplete but valuable "*Deutsches Anonymen-Lexikon*," 1501–1850, Aus den Quellen bearbeitet von Dr. Michael Holzmann und Dr. Hanns Bohatta (1902 fg.), of which three volumes (A-R) have thus far been published by the *Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen* at Weimar; No. 111 should have called attention also to Dietrich's "*Bibliographie der deutschen Rezensionen*" for 1900 fg.; No. 258, add Kurt Jahn's monograph (1899) on Immermann's *Merlin;* No. 329, A. W. Schlegel's *Kritische Schriften* (1828) is not a complete collection; No. 335, Schopenhauer's letters edited by Grisebach, form a volume *separate* from the *Sämmtliche Werke* in six volumes, in addition to which Grisebach has also edited, uniform with the rest, four volumes of Schopenhauer's *Handschriftlicher Nachlass;* No. 361, add *Wielands Leben* by J. G. Gruber, 1827–8, 4 vols.

In such a Bibliography the greatest difficulty occurs in the cases of Goethe and Schiller, where in a very limited space a selection must be made

[1] Price 5 shillings; not imported by Scribner.

from a very vast literature on the subject. Yet, allowing for differences of personal opinion, surely Kettner's standard editions[2] of Schiller's *Nachlass*, *Schillers Calendar* ed. by E. Müller (1893) and Müller's *Schiller-Regesten* (1900, cf. A. Leitzmann's review in *Euphorion* 10,690; 1903) are indispensable. Nollen's Goethe list requires several corrections and additions :—The four sections of the Weimar edition[3] may be had separately, as may also the *Gedichte* (5 vols. in 6) and *Faust* (2 vols. in 3); the Hempel edition, though usually bound in 23 vols., consists of 36 Theile not 33; volumes of the *Jubiläumsausgabe* can now be purchased *separately* at Mk. 2.00 bd. (*per contra* Werner's standard edition of Hebbel [No. 233] is sold only in sets, which should have been mentioned); the 44 vols. [in 12] Hesse edition, with Geiger's up-to-date, though rather lifeless introduction, is valuable for its very complete volume of indexes; *Der junge Goethe* is the work of Hirzel rather than of Bernays, who wrote the introduction; it is supplemented by Schöll's *Briefe und Aufsätze von Goethe* (1846); Goethe's *Unterhaltungen mit v. Müller*[4] should have been mentioned; the *Briefe an Frau v. Stein* were newly edited with important additions and a thorough revision of the notes, by Julius Wahle (1899–1900, 2 vols.). The very valuable *Schriften der Goethe-Gesellschaft* should have been mentioned as a whole, and the fact noted that, by joining the Society, for the price of the *Jahrbuch* alone (Mk. 10) any individual or institution may obtain *both Jahrbuch* and annual *Schrift* without further expense. The two volumes of indexes to the *Jahrbuch* are not found in many of our libraries, which have the books themselves. In any case, space should have been made for Max Morris's *Goethe-Studien* (2d ed., 2 vols., Berlin, 1902), and perhaps for Schöll's *Goethe* [1882: though the *Zauberspiel* (p. 491 fg.) is by Seckendorf not G.] and Düntzer's *Life*. Surely the edition of the *Gedichte* by v. Loeper and Blume's selection, and at least some editions and commentaries on *Faust* ought to have been given. Some reference might well have been made to the very judicious selection of Goethe literature[5] given in R. M. Meyer's admirable *Goethe* [3. ed. in 2 vols., 1904, dated 1905], a work of more real scientific significance than Bielschowski's often overlauded book now being translated into English by Professor Wm. A. Cooper of Leland Stanford.[6] In the cases of Goethe, Lessing, and Schiller at least, one might reasonably expect to find the titles of the standard bibliographies by Hirzel, Redlich, and Trömel respectively.[7]

Nollen's book is interleaved throughout for the additions and corrections, and though several improvements may be suggested, the conclusion of the whole matter is that it well fulfils its avowed purpose, and may be strongly recommended to all who wish a simple and eminently practical handbook to the subject, though for any more thorough work in literature it must, of course, be supplemented by the standard *Grundrisse* of Goedeke and R. M. Meyer,[8] giving the indispensable references to periodicals. For literature, Breul's little book,[9] more general in its scope, is not for a moment to be compared with Nollen's. In particular, Nollen's *Bibliography* may be commended to the attention of the editors of the *A. L. A. Catalogue*, so that they may not again, as in 1904,

[2] The very latest (3rd) is in the new *Säkularausgabe*, published by Cotta.

[3] Some fifteen volumes of *Briefe 1821–1832* (IV, 35 fg.) and the index to the *Tagebücher* will require about three years more; otherwise, the whole set will be completed, probably this year, by the publication of the remaining half-volumes of *Gedichte* (5^{II}), *Aufsätze zur Litteratur* (42^{II}) and *Farbenlehre* ($II, 5^{II}$).

[4] 3 ed. n. d. [1904] in Cotta's *Handbibliothek*. Soret's own version of *his* Conversations with Goethe has now at last been published also by Burckhardt (1905, in German, the original French to follow).

[5] Karl Hoyer's *Zur Einführung in die Goethe-Literatur* (Gelsenkirchen, E. Kannengiesser, 1904, Mk. 1.60) is a convenient guide.

[6] Cf. also, Harry Mayne's interesting essay: "*Die deutsche Goethe-Biographie, Ein historisch-kritischer Überblick*": (*Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, etc., XVII, 46–76, 1906).

[7] Now, too, Meyer's *Verzeichniss einer Heine Bibliothek*, Leipzig, 1905.

[8] Nollen's book was "practically completed" when Meyer's appeared in 1902. (p. 6.)

[9] *A Handy Bibliographical Guide to the Study of the German Language and Literature* for the Use of Students and Teachers of German, compiled and edited by Karl Breul (published by Hachette & Co., 1895, 2sh. 6d. [Nollen No. 112]), reviewed briefly by Sauer (?) in *Euphorion* 2,483, where the table of contents is given.

make such blunders as selecting the *Grote* editions of Goethe, Heine, and Schiller.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, publicada bajo la dirección del Excmo. Sr. D. MARCELINO MENÉNDEZ Y PELAYO. Madrid: Bailly-Ballière é Hijos. 8vo. 12 pesetas per volume.

The above mentioned collection is doubtless the most important, as well as the most extensive, literary undertaking that Spain has initiated in the present century. The original *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, consisting of seventy-one octavo volumes, still forms the most complete corpus of Spanish literature and history before the nineteenth century, even though many of its individual volumes have been superseded by more reliable texts and more critical studies. We see now in execution a continuation of the old *Biblioteca*, under the direction of Menéndez y Pelayo and a staff of editors who represent the best scholarship in modern Spain, and are well equipped to carry forward the work begun by such men as Hartzenbusch, Duran, Gayangos.

The *Nueva Biblioteca* does not aim to reprint the works contained in the older collection, except in the case where the earlier edition is so deficient or incorrect as to render it especially undesirable for modern readers. Each of the new volumes is to contain a critical introduction and the necessary explanatory material, but great care is taken not to make the contents unwieldy and undesirable in the hands of the general public for whom the collection is intended. As to typography, the texts of the pre-classic period will retain the original orthography; those of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will be treated, to a certain extent, according to the ideas of the individual editor; books of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries will conform to the modern system of orthography as set forth by the Spanish Academy. While something may be said against such an arrangement, the editors are influenced by a desire to meet the needs and wishes of a large body of their readers.

Three volumes of the *Nueva Biblioteca* have already appeared: *Orígenes de la novela*, Vol. I, by the editor of the series; *Autobiografías y memorias de españoles de los siglos* XVI *y* XVII, collected and edited by Manuel Serrano y Sanz; *Predicatores de los siglos* XVI *y* XVII, edited by Miguel Mir. Other volumes in press or in preparation are:

Crónica General de España, Dos tomos. Por Ramón Menéndez Pidal.—*Libros de Caballerías.* Dos tomos. Por Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín.—*Teatro* de *Tirso de Molina.* Dos tomos. Por Emilio Cotarelo y Morí.—*Historia Apologética de las Indias* de Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas, por Manuel Serrano y Sanz.—*Cantos populares españoles*, por Francisco Rodríguez Marín.—*Obras selectas de Ramón Lull*, por Mateo Obrador y Bennassar.—*Historia de la orden de San Jerónimo*, por Fr. José de Sigüenza, con introducción de Juan Catalina y García.—*Obras completas de Ramón de la Cruz*, por Emilio Cotarelo y Morí.

It is not the purpose of the present notice to give a critical estimate of the various volumes of the series that have appeared, since each is worthy of separate study. It may be of interest, however, to note the scope of the initial volume of the collection. In volume one of the *Orígenes de la Novela*, Menéndez y Pelayo gives a detailed history of the Spanish novel before Cervantes. This volume consists of more than five hundred pages, yet two chapters of the study are forthcoming in the second volume; namely, the *novela de costumbres* and the *cuentos y narraciones cortas.* The remainder of volume II will contain the texts of Montemayor's *Diana*, Diego de San Pedro's *Carcel de Amor*, the anonymous *Cuestion de Amor*, Villalón's *Crotalon* and a part of the *Transformaciones de Pitágoras*, Antonio de Torquemada's *Coloquios satíricos.*

The aim and scope of the *Nueva Biblioteca* is set forth in the introduction to volume I and more fully in the prospectus issued by the publishers. The prospectus, however, is not a mere advertisement, and is well worthy of preservation; the reader would not go far astray in having it bound as a part of the first volume of the collection.

C. CARROLL MARDEN.

Johns Hopkins University.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Chaucer's *Vitremyte* again.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—Tatlock, in *Notes*, xxi, 62, discusses Chaucer's *Vitremyte* with reference to Skeat's note and to Boccaccio's *galea vitrea*. The proverb of a glass helmet, or hood, in the sense of a cheat, a mock, is older, however, than Boccaccio or Langland or Chaucer. I stumbled upon it a day or two ago in the *Debate between the Body and the Soul;* see *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, 337/3, O. F. Emerson, *A Middle English Reader*, 56/14. I cite from Emerson:

> þat tou lovedest me þou lete,
> And madest me an houve of glas;
> I dide al þat þe was sete,
> And þou my traytor evere was.

The *Debate* is commonly assigned to the thirteenth century. See also *Celestin*, ed. Horstmann, *Anglia* i, 82/627; and the *Debate*, ed. Varnhagen, *Anglia* ii, 238/310. The *N. E. D.* sub *houve* discusses the proverb, I now see, but does not give the passages from Horstmann and Varnhagen.

J. M. Hart.

Cornell University.

A Greek Source of Milton.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—In Porphyrios *de Abstinentia* 1. 16–17, occurs a passage which seems to be the source of Comus' speech against "the lean and sallow Abstinence" in Milton. "*If all the world* | should in a pet of temperance feed on pulse," Comus argues, nature "would be quite surcharged with her own weight, | And strangled with her waste fertility; | Th' earth cumber'd, and the wing'd air dark with plumes, | The herds would over-multitude their lords, | The sea o'erfraught would swell," etc.

Similarly, Porphyry makes an opponent of vegetarianism argue: "*But suppose all men* to accept the doctrine. What, then, will become of the increase of animals? . . . For the sea and the rivers and the ponds will be choke-full of fish, and the air of birds; and the earth will be filled with all kinds of creeping things. φέρε δὲ καὶ πεισθῆναι πάντας ἀνθρώπους τῷ δόγματι. τίνα τοίνυν ἡ ἐπιγονὴ τῶν ζῴων ἕξει μοῖραν; . . . θάλασσα μὲν γὰρ καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ λίμναι ἰχθύων πεπλήσονται, ὁ δὲ ἀὴρ ὀρνίθων, ἡ δὲ γῆ πλήρης ἑρπετῶν παντοίων.

While I am on the subject, I may note another parallel to the reply of the Lady, which, if not a source, is at least an interesting coincidence. The Lady says: "for swinish gluttony | Ne'er looks to heav'n amidst his gorgeous feast, | But with besotted base ingratitude | Crams, and blasphemes his feeder." In Dio Chrysostomus *Or.* 30 (vol. i, p. 340, Teubner), occur the words τοὺς μὲν γὰρ ἀσώτους καὶ ἀκρατεῖς οὔτε ὁρᾶν οὐδὲν, οὔτε ἀκούειν οὐδενός, ἀλλὰ ἐγκεκυφότας ἐσθίειν ὥσπερ ἐν συφεῷ ὗς, *i. e.*, "the prodigal and incontinent see nothing, hear nothing, but bend down their heads and eat like swine in the pen."

Dio is describing in allegory the splendid banquet which the gods prepare for mankind, and how the greedy and incontinent καταισχύνουσι καὶ ὑβρίζουσι τὴν χάριν τῶν θεῶν.

Milton's reading was doubtless wide enough to include both Porphyry and Dio.

Paul Shorey.

University of Chicago.

The Forest of Birnam.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—A parallel to the story of the forest of Birnam is found in Neocorus, *Chronik des Landes Dithmarschen.*[1] After relating how the common people of Dithmarschen, angered at the heavy taxes imposed upon them, outwitted and killed Count Rudolph of Böcklenborg, the chronicler adds:

"Stellerborg iss ock also up Pingsten ingenahmen, do de Hafe-lüde vam Schlate affgegahn tho spelen, hefft de Pörtner, mit Gelde besteken, de Porte thogedahn, de Ditmarschen averst sind, mit Maien besteken unnd in den Händen, hertho gekamen, datt men se nicht kennen können, hebben se verjaget unnd geschlagen unnd upt Schlott getagen unnd geschleiffet, de Pörtner hedde geropen: *de Wold de kumt.*"

Neocorus is undecided as to the date of the fall of Böcklenborg and mentions two years, 1127 and 1144.

There is no record of the Stellerborg incident in the chronicles of Hansen and Wolf, nor in Bolten's history.

Walter E. Roloff.

Leipzig.

[1] Edited by F. C. Dahlmann, Kiel, 1827, vol. i, 323.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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THE MUTUAL RELATIONS OF THE FIVE PRINTS OF THE TESTINA AND THE TERMINUS POST QUEM OF THE ORIGINAL PRINT. II.*

The Time of the Original Print.

The *terminus post quem* of No. 5 may be determined with the aid of an edition of the *Arte della Guerra* of 1587 and an edition of the *Asino d' Oro* and minor works including the *Mandragola* and *Clitia* of 1588, together with the previous editions of those works.

The editions of 1587 and 1588 belong, as was first noticed by Bongi in the article referred to above, to a group of editions which owing to the prohibition of the print and sale of the writings of Machiavelli by Paul IV in 1559 were all printed abroad in Protestant territory but all bear the name of some Italian printer and Italian city on their title pages. The edition of the *Arte* of 1587 is no exception to it, for although neither the copy used by Bongi nor that used by me in Göttingen contains the name of a printer and the place of publication, the copy in the possession of the British Museum contains both. The main title-page of the Museum copy, the communication of which I owe to the courtesy of Mr. W. R. Wilson of the Museum, reads as follows: *Libro dell'Arte* | *della guerra di* | *Nicolo Machia* | *velli* | *Cittadino et Se* | *cretario Fiorentino* | *con somma diligenza ristampati* (!) | picture of a palm tree with toads and snakes below and the inscription: *Il vostro malignare non gioua nulla*[8] and at the foot of the page: *In Palermo appres-* | *so Antonello degli* | *Antonelli.* The indication of the year occurs on a cancel title-page which is bound up at the end of the Museum copy, but placed in front in Göttingen. It reads: *I* | *Sette Libri* | *dell' Arte della* | *Guerra di Nicolo* | *Machiavelli* | *Cittadino, et Se-* | *cretario Fiorentino.* | *Nouamente corretti,* | *& con summa diligenza ristampati.* | vacant space and at the foot of the page: MDLXXXVII. The title of the edition of 1588 runs as follows: *Lasino* | *d Oro di Nicolo* | *Macchiavelli* | *con tutte laltre* | *sue operette.* | *La contenenza delle quali ha-* | *uerai nella seguente* | *facciata.* | picture which, apart from a few changes, corresponds to the lower part of the one in Giglio's editions of Machiavelli, Venice, 1554, and below: *In Roma* MDLXXXVIII. In a preface to the reader the unknown printer speaks of the death of the '*buono stampatore Antoniello de gli Antonielli di Palermo*' and declares that in consequence of it he is now fulfilling the promise of the lamented printer and issuing the book which the latter had promised to the reader.

In addition to these there are editions of the *Discorsi* and of the *Prencipe* which profess to have been printed by '*gli heredi di Antoniello degli Antonielli*' of Palermo as early as January, 1584 —poor Antoniello therefore once died before 1584, then was resurrected to publish the *Arte* in 1587 and had died again for the second time in 1588— and an edition of the *Historie* which claims to have been issued by '*gli heredi di Gabriel Giolito de Ferrari*' in Piacenza in 1587. The *Discorsi* and the *Prencipe* show on their title-pages the picture with the palm tree which we noticed in the *Arte.* The *Historie* reproduce the picture of Giolito's editions of Machiavelli, Venice, 1550, yet a reference to the inevitable Antoniello degli Antonielli in the preface to the reader classes them likewise with the other four editions described.

The real name of the man who was posing by

* Cp. current volume of *Modern Language Notes,* June number, pp. 171–175, for first part of this study. The writer has extended his investigation to all editions of the *Testina* of the sixteenth century. His conclusions, here come to, have been substantiated by ample proof, and the full investigation will be printed later in book form.—A. M. E.

[8] Bongi, *l. c.*, p. 133, sees in this picture, which occurs likewise in the editions of the *Discorsi* and *Prencipe* of 1584, an allusion to some trouble undergone by the editor. The repeated references to the revilers of Machiavelli in the preface to the *Discorsi* suggest, however, that the toads and snakes represent the impotent and venomous revilers of the author himself.

turns as the heirs of Antoniello degli Antonielli and as Antoniello degli Antonielli himself—the omissions of the *i* in the two names in the first title of the *Arte* must be regarded as misprints—was according to Dr. Pollard[9] of the British Museum John Wolfe of London, who therefore perhaps issued the *Historie* and the *Asino d' Oro* also. In the preface to the reader in the *Discorsi* he claims to have tried to get hold of the manuscript of the author but only to have succeeded in securing the editions of the Sons of Aldo of 1546 and of Giolito of 1550. In the progress of his work, however, he adhered as a matter of fact to Giolito not only in the *Discorsi* but also in the *Prencipe* and in the *Arte*. The *Historie* likewise reproduce the text of Giolito and solely the *Asino d' Oro* for lack of an edition by Giolito makes use of other sources. Neither the preface nor the text of any of these five editions betray a knowledge of the Testina, but, as we are now about to see, the Testina undoubtedly knew the editions of the *Arte* and the *Asino d' Oro* in its turn.

Testina No. 5 agrees with the *Arte* of 1587—I shall henceforth for briefness' sake simply call them T 5 and 1587—in the following points. Only in T 5 and on the cancel title-page of 1587 do we find the title: *I Sette Libri dell' Arte della Guerra*; all previous editions including the first title-page of 1587 itself bear the title *Libro dell' Arte della Guerra*. Only in T 5 and 1587 the word *significa* in the explanations of the 'Figure,' which elsewhere always stands in the top line between the sign *o* and *Fanti con lo scudo,* is written with a capital and moved half-way down the column, both the signs or letters and their explanations being provided with brackets. Only in T 5 and 1587 the squares of 'Figure' 1 and 2 are divided and distributed over two pages; in the others they are undivided and placed on one page. Only in T 5 and 1587 'Figura' 7 gives a real picture of the camp with its rows of tents, its guns, people, horses, etc.; in the others there is a plain linear drawing without accessories of any kind. Moreover the correspondence of T 5 and 1587 in this picture of the camp extends down to the most minute detail and only a careful examination discloses some hardly perceptible differences in the height of some of the tents and in a few other matters. To this is added the agreement in a few very singular misprints not found in any other edition, though not a few errors of the press are faithfully passed on from edition to edition. In the First Book T 5, p. 33, l. 10 = 1587, c. 22 back, l. 23, *il paglargli* in place of *il pagargli*; in the Second Book T 5, p. 40, l. 33 = 1587, c. 29, l. 1, *attamentente* for *attamente*; T 5, p. 50, l. 26 = 1587, c. 36, l. 29 f., *esseritarsi* instead of *essercitarsi*; T 5, p. 60, l. 29, *confenderebbe* = 1587, c. 44, l. 20, *confederebbe* in place of *confonderebbe*. These correspondences in the title, the explanations of the 'Figure,' 'Figure' 1 and 2, and above all in the minute details of 'Figura' 7 and some such odd misprints can only be accounted for by the assumption that either 1587 is largely based upon T 5, or T 5 upon 1587.

The former possibility, *i. e.* that 1587 depends on T 5, is ruled out by the observation that 1587, as was hinted at above, rests on the edition of Giolito of 1550. Only the editions of 1587 and 1550—we take no notice of that of 1554 because it is a literal reprint of that of 1550 and cannot have served as a basis for 1587 owing to an error in a numeral[10] not repeated in 1587—have the following peculiarities not found in the Testina nor in any previous edition. First, in the First Book in the passage T 5, p. 22, l. 19 = 1587, c. 14 back, l. 17 f. = 1550, c. 13, l. 5 f. *non si puo chiamare deletto*; *perche deletto vuol dire etc.*, *deletto* in both cases is replaced by *sceltato*. Second, about a page from the close of the same Book *dal deletto* is replaced by *dalla scelta*. Third, in the Second Book, T 5, p. 60, l. 25 = 1587, c. 44, l. 15 = 1550, c. 35, l. 6 from below, *verbi gratia* is translated into *per cagion di essempio*. Fourth, in the same Book T 5, p. 67, l. 22 f. = 1587, c. 49,

[9] There is conflict of statements as to whether Dr. Pollard holds that John Wolfe was *surely* or *probably* the printer of the *Discorsi*, *Prencipe* and *Arte*. Bongi maintains to have been informed by Dr. Pollard that J. W. was surely the printer of the *Discorsi* and the *Prencipe* (Bongi does not know of the first title-page of the *Arte*). On the other hand a note by Dr. Pollard attached to the entry of the volume in the Library Catalogue reads: 'Probably printed secretly at London by John Wolfe [not] (omitted by misprint) before 28 Jan. 1584.' Or does 'probably' refer to the date only?

[10] C. 24 back, l. 6 XXVIII, in place of XVIII with Giolito, likewise c. 24 back, l. 6, and *diciotto* 1587, c. 29 back, l. 24.

l. 29 f. = 1550, c. 39, l. 5 from below the words *ò per necessità* are omitted in the phrase *che habbiano fauorità* (!) *la virtù, ò per necessità, ò per altra humana passione.* Fifth, in 'Figura' 4 twice two *r*'s are wanting. Sixth, in 'Figura' 5 half a row of C and O is omitted. Seventh, in 'Figura' 6 the place of a Z is erroneously taken by an o. On the other hand there is neither in the system of punctuation, nor in the 'Figure,' nor in the text, as far as I have examined it, a single deviation from Giolito that is not caused either by inadvertency or by an attempt to emendate an obscure passage by conjecture instead of by reference to another edition. *E. g.* in the Second Book T 5, p. 56, l. 30 = 1587, c. 41, l. 13 = Giol., c. 33, l. 10, Giolito's *le teste si conuengono* was changed to *le teste conuengono* while a consultation of T 5 or some of the other editions would have furnished the correct reading *le teste si coniungono.* Or take a simply hopeless passage in the same book. Giolito, c. 41 below and next page prints: *uorrei che ogni X. huomini d'arme hauessero V. carriaggi,* (and once more) *uorrei che ogni X. huomini d'arme hauessero V. carriaggi, & ogni X. cauagli leggieri* (number wanting). *Liquali,* etc., 1587, c. 52, 13 ff. puts: *vorrei che ogni dieci huomini d'arme hauessero cinque carriaggi, vorrei che ogni dieci & cauagli leggieri hauessero cinque carriaggi. Liquali,* etc. A glance at the Testina, p. 71, l. 10 ff., or any other edition would have furnished the true reading, *Vorrei che ogni dieci huomini d'arme hauessero cinque carriagi, & ogni dieci caualli leggieri due, iquali,* etc. Since then, as was shown above, either 1587 must have known T 5, or T 5 1587, and since, as has just been seen, 1587 depends on Giolito alone and shows no indication of the consultation of another edition, there is no escape from the conclusion that T 5 knew 1587 and that the *terminus post quem* of T 5 must be transferred from 1550 to 1587.

Another question is to what extent T 5 is based upon 1587, and whether the emendations which the editor of T 5 made in the text of 1587 are all due to conjecture or partly the result of the comparison with some other edition. My present opinion is that the editor of T 5 at first prepared his text with the aid of 1587 alone, correcting evident misprints and making his emendations, mostly correctly, but a few times, as the comparison of previous editions shows, incorrectly,[11] and that before going to press he had a chance to collate the edition of Comin de Trino, 1541. If he had been in possession of another edition of the *Arte* in the first place, he would never have made that of 1587 the basis of his text, because the manner in which he revolutionized the traditional punctuation of the *Arte* as well as many of his corrections and emendations tend to prove that he was doubtless a man of taste and considerable critical judgment. On the other hand it would seem to me more than doubtful that John Wolfe and his compositors had any native Italian of scholarly attainments to superintend their edition, as mistakes and misprints simply abound all the way from the first title-page to the long but far from complete list of errata, which is all the more surprising because his editions of the *Discorsi* and the *Prencipe* are not marred by many more errors than those of other publishers of writings of Machiavelli. Perhaps the very great number of misprints, of which he was at least partly conscious when he compiled his errata, together with the untimely resurrection of Antoniello degli Antonielli was the reason why John Wolfe sent out not a few copies of his *Arte* with the cancel title-page only. The *Asino d'Oro,* etc., of 1588, which is now about to engage our attention, though by no means free from errors, shows upon the whole much greater care.

A critical examination of the *Novella* in the editions of 1588 and T 5 together with the original edition of 1549[12] shows that the edition of 1588, apart from a few peculiarities of spelling of its own, holds an intermediate position between that of 1549 and T 5. It agrees with the former above all in the entire system of punctuation save the

[11] *E. g.* T 5, p. 19, l. 4, *terrà* is put incorrectly in place of the *serrà* of all Venetian editions. Giunti, 1529, has *scerrà.* T 5, p. 28, 9 *Ma tornando al nostro deletto, dico,* etc., takes the place of the *Ma torniamo,* etc., of all other editions. Giunti, 1529, puts a period after *deletto.* T 5, p. 61, 14 *quando volesse* in all editions I have seen misprinted for *volessi* is changed to *voleste.*

[12] The title of this edition, of which only one complete copy seems now to be extant, is not given correctly by Gamba. It reads: *L'Asino | d'Oro di Nicolo | Machiavelli, | Con alcuni altri Cap. & Nouelle | del medesimo, |* etc. | *In Fiorenza MDXLIX.*

addition of numerous commas and two or three other changes. It always retains the forms *quegli, frategli, anchora, anchor, auenire, intra* and *gnene* (1549 *gne ne*) where T 5 puts *quelli, fratelli, ancora, ancor, auuenire, tra,* and *gliene.* It preserves *e. g. infra, cauagli, grande spese, de carnesciali, se a questo ne fosse* (1549 *fusse*) *nata la quiete, ruina, sanza, letame, faratti, mezo, moglicta* (1549 *mogliata*), *se la fosse* (1549 *fusse*) *d'essa* and the correct forms *trarnelo* and *sieno* which T 5 changes to *fra, caualli, grandi sp., di c., se da questo, etc., rouina, senza, lettame, faraiti, mezzo, moglie tua, che la f. d.* and the errors *trarnerlo* and *siene,* which thence were passed on to other prints and editions.

On the other hand the edition of 1588 makes the following alterations, all of which are found likewise in T 5. *Tolto moglie* and *prouato l'una* become *tolta m.* and *prouata l. Per celeste dispositione & fatal sorte, da l'uno & l'altro, questo uero, a tutti quegli disagi & mali* and *e sono* are enlarged to *per c. d. & per fatal sorte, da l'uno & da l'altro* (T 5 has *dall'*), *questo esser uero, a tutti quegli mali et a tutti quegli disagi* (T 5 has *quelli*), and *e (e') ci sono* and *ne ui si trouando rimedio* develops even into *ne trouandosi il rimedio de frati* (T 5 *de' F.*) *valeuole.* Other material changes are the substitution of *lo* for *il* in *per il passato, pareua* for *occorreua* in *A molti altri occorreua, conuentioni* for *conditioni* in *obligossi a quelle conditioni,* and the omission of *et* in *et detto questo. Di poi, non dimanco, arrecaua, oltra di questo, nuoua, loco, uolse,* and often *fusse* become *dopo, non di meno, recaua, oltre a. g., nouella, luogo, uolle* and *fosse,* etc.

These two groups of examples, both of which might be multiplied, admit only of one of two inferences. Either the edition of 1588 made use of that of 1549 only, making of its own accord the rather great changes which are likewise found in T 5, but retaining the spellings and expressions given in the first group and the essentials of punctuation, while T 5, resting on the edition of 1588 alone, in addition changed and modernized the spellings and expressions of the first group and recast the system of punctuation in harmony with that of the *Arte* and the other parts of the volume. Or the edition of 1588 used both the edition of 1549 and T 5, making the former its basis both in its text and punctuation and selecting from the latter the alterations of which our second group has given the principal examples. The choice between these two alternatives cannot be doubtful. The former is simple and in perfect keeping with the practice of the time, the latter would be without a parallel. In the thirty and some cases of early prints of Machiavelli hitherto examined by me there is not a single case of such eclecticism.[13] In nine cases out of ten one text only was followed more or less faithfully and, if another was consulted at all, it was for passages or words that needed attention. Besides, and that is if possible of still greater moment, it is unthinkable that the edition of 1588 alone should not have availed itself of the much improved system of punctuation first introduced into the works of Machiavelli by T 5, while all other editions which are known to have appeared after the Testina had entered the race could not help falling in line and copying it for almost two centuries.

I cannot dwell here extensively on the *Mandragola* and *Clitia,* because I have not yet succeeded in discovering the editions of the two plays which were used by the publisher of 1588. I may say, however, that the circumstance that in the edition of 1588 the two comedies still retain their separate title-pages on which even the year is repeated, while in T 5 such a distinction does not exist any longer, is pointing towards the conclusion that in the edition of 1588 they were united with the *Asino d' Oro* and the other pieces of the edition of 1549 for the first time and put, as it were, like two independent little books in the same cover with them. Besides, barring the cases of misprints, the edition of 1588 evidently in some places has more original forms than T 5, and in one case in the *Mandragola* (Act v, Sc. 5) it has preserved a word secured by the edition of Venice of 1537 which has dropped out in T 5. I refer to

[13] Lisio, *l. c.*, to be sure, says with regard to the proceeding of the editor of the Testina in the case of the *Principe* that his edition '*costituita sul testo bladiano e giuntino, preferendo or questo or quello senz' altra ragione che un' ombra di estetica, rifà, a sua volta, liberamente le parole e le frasi al Machiavelli.*' In reality T 5 neither used Blado nor Giunti, but an edition s. l. 1535 or another print resting on the latter. The edition of 1535 itself is based upon Giunti, 1532.

proprio in the phrase : *perche gli è proprio stamane come se tu rinascessi.*

Since it may now be regarded as proven that the *terminus post quem* of the Testina should be advanced another year, from 1587 to 1588, an attempt must still be made to account for the reasons which may have induced the editor of T 5 to launch his volume with the false date of 1550. As was seen above, John Wolfe, or whatever other English printer may have been engaged in the issue of any of the five editions of the years 1584–1588, had considered it opportune to use names of Italian printers and cities in order to give Italian purchasers a higher opinion of the value of his texts and to induce them to brave the risks and penalties connected with the sale and even possession of forbidden books more readily. In view of this practice of others the editor of the Testina must naturally have hesitated to let his work stand on its own merits solely and hit upon the capital idea of trying to offset the Papal condemnation of 1559 by recording in front of his edition the evidence of Papal patronage granted to Blado for the print of the *Historie, Principe* and *Discorsi* in 1531. Both the early date of this privilege of Blado and the consideration that an earlier date would do much to enhance the reputation of his labor anyhow may then have induced him to date it back to 1550. Nor did the result disprove the correctness of his calculations, for his volume was not only reprinted a number of times, but also gained a reputation with the general reading public and scholars alike which would scarcely have been quite so great and hardly have lasted quite so long if the late date of its actual issue had been known.

While I am as yet unable to offer any suggestion with regard to a *terminus ante quem* of the original print except that I am inclined to believe that it cannot have been much later than 1581, because the later the actual date, the easier the discovery of the trick with the false one, I may say a word concerning the time of the latest prints. Upon my inquiry at the Public Library of Geneva I have learned through the kindness of its present Conservator, M. F. Gardy, that Pietro Chouet and Pietro Aubert,[14] whose names are found imprinted with a handpress on the title-pages of some copies of the Testina were booksellers in Geneva during the first half of the seventeenth century and 'sauf erreur' died about 1640. Since now, as far as I am aware, their names neither occur on copies of A and B (Nos. 5 and 2) nor on any of E (No. 4) but only on some of the intermediate ones, C and in particular D (Nos. 1 and 3), it would appear that when they were doing business, A and B had been disposed of, C and D were just in the market and E had not yet been printed.

This assumption would agree quite well with another item of information which I owe to the same source to the effect that Dufour, late director of the same library and exceedingly well versed in Geneva typography, put a note in a copy of E, saying : "*Paraît avoir été imprimé à Genève, mais au 17^e^ siècle (vers 1640?)*" *i. e.* just after the probable date of the death of Pietro Chouet and Pietro Aubert. In addition to this it should be mentioned that the year M.DC.L occurs on the main title-page of some copies of E, M.D.C however appearing on the sub-titles as usual. While it is safe to say that the M.DC clearly betrays the true century of the printer, it might be a little rash to suppose that the following L in the same way indicates the actual year instead of being merely a repetition of the L on the subtitles. I for my part am rather in favor of accepting Dufour's opinion until invalidated by stronger evidence and regard 1640 as the probable time of the last print of the Testina.

A. GERBER.

Wiesbaden, Germany.

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[14] The Strassburg copy of D (No. 3) has Pietro Alberto in place of P. Aubert, a Florentine copy Genevæ alone without either of the two names. The majority of the copies of C (No. 1) which I have seen show neither Genevæ, nor In Geneva, nor one of these two names on their title-pages.

Beowulf, 30, 53, 132, 2957. II.

Bēowulf Scyldinga, 53b. *Dēad is Æschere*, 132b.

Professor Trautmann (*Bonner Beiträge*, 2, 128) remarks: "*Bēowulf Scyldinga* ist metrisch fehlerhaft und sprachlich auffallend. Kaluza 56 räumt, indem er *Bēowulf Scylding* schreibt, den anstoss weg." Professor Sievers (*Beiträge*, 29, 309) admits the possibility of considering Kaluza's emendation, but only on the supposition that the poet meant to speak of Beowulf as Scyld's son (cf. 4, 1923, 2925, 2965). If, however, he meant to speak of Beowulf as of the line of the Scyldings, the syntax is correct (cf. 374, 676, 1191, 1902, "und was uns hier besonders nahe angeht und metrisch unantastbar ist, Hnæf Scyldinga 1069"). He concludes, "In v. 53 ist nach dem ausgeführten der text je nach dem sinne verschieden zu gestalten, den man der stelle beilegt. Beowulf ist Scylds sohn, also ist eine formel *Bēowulf Scylding* an sich gerechtfertigt. Aber nachdem Scyld selbst kurz vorher, v. 30, als *wine Scyldinga* bezeichnet worden ist, und da im directen anschluss an den mit v. 53 beginnenden satz wieder die *Scyldingas* als geschlecht auftreten, scheint mir die heranziehung des engeren patronymicums *Scylding* = 'sohn des Scyld' doch stilistisch höchst auffällig. Gegenüber den massenhaft auftretenden geschlechtsnamen sind ja diese engeren patronymica in der dichtung überhaupt selten genug, und sie werden in den meisten fällen wol nicht ohne besonderen grund (neueinführung, verdeutlichung u. dgl.) gesetzt sein. Ich kann also die vorgeschlagene lesung keineswegs ohne weiteres acceptieren."

It is not in *Scyldinga*, as Sievers feels convinced, that an emendation should be made. But first, in view of the important metrical detail involved, a brief discussion of it is perhaps permissible.

According to the usual form of statement, the variant of D under consideration forms the second half of a line only by a rare exception. This method of stating the case is really unnecessarily careful. The evidence as exhibited by Sievers in his famous article (*Beiträge*, 10, 233, 255) makes it clear, in point of fact, that this use of the variant is not merely a permissible, though rare, license, but rather positively anomalous and unmetrical. There can be no doubt regarding the examples under Sievers's tentative classes *a*, *b*, *c*, including cases with forms of *dōgor* and *ænig*, *neosian*, (*ge-*) *trūwode*. With proper substitution of original forms, they plainly fall under type A, and cannot be regarded as D's. The examples with *wēpen*, *wundor*, *dohtor*, *þēoden*, in *d* and *e* are ordinary D's under the law by which such words may function as monosyllables (*Grundriss*², II, 2, 31). There are left *oftost wīsode*, 1664 (dittography: read *oft*); *laðra owihte*, 2433 (elision, or read *wihte*); *wundor is to secganne* (read *secgan*), and the two lines we are considering. It is no accident that, for all but two of these lines, emendations readily offer themselves; that the emendations are of such a character that they recommend themselves independently to acceptance; and that by their means the half lines are reduced in each case to the normal type. Further, though there is no reason why D2 should not display a parallel variant (as in the first half line), yet in no case does it do so.

It it worth while to review the evidence thus briefly in order to emphasize the conclusion that use of this type of D in the second half line is not a license, but an anomaly. Excluding possible E's, the two cases we are considering alone remain out of 342 sure D's. What may be said of these two? It would, of course, be foolish to expect that any poem should be metrically impeccable, but on the other hand, especially as regards any special detail, the presumption is that it will prove to be so, or that it was originally so. In other words, it is reasonable to expect that these two apparent exceptions will be found to be only apparent and that the conclusion, already indicated clearly, will be further and finally substantiated by their resolution.

A special point of interest attaches to the emendation proposed for l. 53b, *Bēowulf Scyldinga*, which forms the text of this discussion. The appearance of the name Beowulf, the same name as that borne by the hero of the poem, to denote the son of Scyld, has not received sufficient consideration. Why should the name so appear? Its use in this way is unsupported outside the poem. It may therefore be confidently urged that here, originally, the son of Scyld appeared under his proper title *Bēaw* (or *Bēow*) as it appears in the

Chronicle, Beaw Sceldwaing, A; *Beaw Sceldweaing, -waing,* B. C.; *Beaw Scealdwaing,* D (Thorpe, 1861, 1, 126); compare *Beaw Scealdwaging,* Cotton Ms. Tiberius B. V. (*Reliquae Antiquae,* Wright and Halliwell, 1841–43, II, 173). I cite these from Max Förster's most helpful *Beowulf-Materialen,* 1900, p. 4. An older version of the poem, in brief, read *Bēaw* (*Bēow*) *Scyldinga* and the meter was irreproachable. *Bēaw* (*Bēow*) also fits in metrically in l. 18, *Bēaw wæs brēme.* The scribe (whom we have reason to believe was far from intelligent in his copying), knowing he was to write the story of Beowulf, assumed an error in the *Bēaw* (*Bēow*) of his original, and changed it to *Bēowulf.*

This emendation, it will be seen, supports Sievers in his feeling that a change of *Scyldinga* to *Scylding* is not justified. In addition to the reasons which Sievers gives, it would seem that the context renders it more likely that the poet would have here spoken of *Bēowulf* (*Bēaw*) as a Scylding rather than as the son of Scyld. It is true that the attribution of sonship might seem to look forward to *fæder ellor hwearf* two lines below, or in some measure backward to the account just given of Scyld's death and the surrender of his body to the sea,—but the interjected phrase needs no such preparation, the statement of his son's repute (now that he is gone) being sufficient and wholly in accord with epic style in itself. Moreover, emphasis is laid in the statement upon the king's relation to his people *on burgum . . . folcum gefrēge.* Indeed, the passage is significantly parallel to the passage above, ll. 30 f., not only in the *wine Scyldinga,* to which Sievers adverted, but in the whole context. In both cases, the relation of king to people is in mind, and as this led to the use of *Scyldinga* in a phrase describing Scyld, so here we may feel sure that the poet referred to Beowulf as a Scylding rather than as a son of Scyld.

In brief, it would appear that the anomalous character of the half-line and its correction by the emendation proposed affords satisfactory evidence permitting the removal of an awkwardness from the poem, always felt to be such by its readers, the double use of the name Beowulf, and the restoration of the rightful name of Hrothgar's divine ancestor.

For the remaining anomalous half-line, *Dead is Æschere,* 132b, I would suggest an explanation rather than an emendation. The name *Æschere* undoubtedly existed in Anglo-Saxon, though not recorded elsewhere than here, among numerous other compounds with *Æsc-*; compare the eleven forms listed by Binz, *Beiträge,* 20, 177—Binz notes "ein Nordländer scheint *Æscar steallere,* a. 1047–52, Bi. 3, 980 zu sein." May not the Anglo-Saxon form of the name have been substituted for an original Danish **Asker, *Askar?* This question, were it entered into fully in all it involves, would lead far afield into a consideration of the question how the epic lays which formed a basis for Beowulf reached England and where they grew up. The subject is one full of interest and even not devoid of entertainment, considering some of the theories advanced, but it is not necessary to take it up in detail. Whether these lays were brought by gleeman or returned missionary, adventitious outlaw or invader *dans le mouvement,* whether by West German or North German, before or after the close of the eighth century, the important point here is that there is no difficulty in assuming that the original had here the true Danish name. Anywhere within or in the neighborhood of the homes of Hrothgar or of Beowulf, the Danish name would naturally have been used. If, indeed, the original lays were Scandinavian (an interesting possibility, or even probability, albeit the evidence in this direction is not conclusive), the line may even have read originally *Daupr es Askar.* At all events, supposing the Danish name to have stood in the original, there was substituted for it, earlier or later, the Anglo-Saxon form. So long as the Danish form may have stood in the half line, it was a normal A. In following an original, the gleeman or scribe who made the substitution might well have disregarded a metrical anomaly thus produced. But this need not be supposed. The Anglo-Saxon form with palatal *sc* and silent *h,* leaving the first syllable short, afforded an A with resolution of the second thesis.

If this explanation is accepted, the metrical anomaly in the half line disappears, whatever the provenience of the poem, and no case is left of a D in the second half of the line with an extra syllable in the first font. The conclusion already

clearly indicated by the evidence adduced by Sievers is thus further and finally confirmed. Unless this conclusion were correct, it would not be possible that for each of a series of apparent exceptions an explanation should offer itself that naturally and simply, without violence to probability, leads to a resolution of the anomalous half line concerned to normal.

þā wæs ǣht boden
Swēona lēodum, segn Higelāce:
freoðo-wong þone forð oferēodon,
syððan Hreðlingas tō hagan þrungon. 2757 ff.

The familiar interpretations or emendations for this passage can none of them be regarded as satisfactory. Cosijn's interpretation, supporting that of Grein and Heyne, maintains the propriety of assuming zengma in *boden;* "chase was then given to the Swede-folk, their banner to Hygelac," but, as Wyatt says, "it is a far cry from giving chase to the capture of the banner, not to mention the violent zeugma in *boden.*" The reading adopted by Wyatt, that of Kemble followed by Bugge, which changes *Higelāce* to *Higelāces* with the explanation that the standard of Hygelac is the "merkmal der verfolgung," is no better, indeed not so good. Schröer's translation, with change of *leodum* to *leoda,* "then was treasure, the banner, of the Swede-folk, offered to Hygelac (to buy him off,") may be passed by without comment.

The following reading suggests itself:

þā wæs ǣht boden
Swēona leodum; segn Higelāces
freoðo-wong þone forð oferēodon,
syððan Hreðlingas tō hagan þrungon.

The translation would then be: 'Ongentheow had heard tell of Hygelac's prowess in war . . . trusted not to withstand him . . . the old man bent him back then to his wall of earth. Chase then was given to the Swede-folk; the standards of Hygelac went forth over the plain of peace, after the Hrethlings had pressed on to their fastness.'

This reading assumes that *segn* is a neuter nominative plural, not a singular. The gender of *segn* is indeterminate in the poem, as elsewhere, but the use made of it in the different genders significantly supports the proposed reading. The examples are *segen gyldenne,* 47, 1021, but *segn eall-gylden,* 2767. That is, the gender changes as the meter requires it. In the case before us the neuter nominative plural affords a perfect line, while the masculine, *segnas,* would have afforded a half line presenting the anomaly just discussed in the previous article.

It may perhaps be questioned whether the poet would have spoken of standards in the plural with reference to Hygelac's host. That there were a number of standards in an Anglo-Saxon army, whether of the king himself or his more important followers, as emblems of lordship or for military purposes, need not be questioned. Banners were borne before King Edwin both in war and peace (Bede, II, 16: Miller, I, 145 f.): "Swelce he hæfde swa micle heannisse in þæm cynerice, þætte nales þæt aan þæt heo segn [*vexilla*] fore him bæron æt gefeohte, ac eac swylce in sibbe tiide, þær he rad betweoh his hamum oðþe be tunum mid his þegnum, ge þeah he eode, þæt him mon symle þæt tacn beforan bǣr." The hedge of banners (*Juliana,* 395) and the banners under which the brave fight, referred to in *Judith,* 333, do not denote simply opposed banners. In *Andreas* there is an explicit reference to the banners of a single host to *weallgeatum wigend þrungon, cene under cumblum,* 1203. The best passage for our purpose, however, is one in which the poet of the *Exodus* is speaking of the host of Israel, *sungon sigebȳman, segnas stōdon on fægerne sweg,* 566, where not only a number of banners is indicated, but also their movement typifies that of the army.

It will be noted that while the parallelism of the MS. reading disappears, another at longer range takes its place.

The omission of the *s* in *Higelāces* may have been merely accidental, or it may have been due to mechanical syntactic habit owing to the assumption of a parallelism there closed, particularly as the MS. reading is not absolutely impossible, despite the zeugma. It is the violence of the zeugma, and the brevity of the reference, whether referring to an incidental capture of the banner or whether proleptic in character, which render the correctness of the MS. reading highly improbable. The reading proposed is, I venture to hope, syntactically sound, clear in meaning, and consistent with the epic rhetoric.

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SEBASTIAN MEY'S *Fabulario*. II.

XIV.

El Combidado Vergonçoso.

Among other guests invited to the wedding of Gines Mançano and Teresa Galinda, was Toribio Cardillo, a good young man but exceeding shy. He fared well in the eating for, *oveja que bala bocado pierde*, but when it came to the wine he fared badly, for those alone were served who asked. Toribio could not make bold to ask in words, but finally did so by signs, fearing very much that he might be seen. A servant perceiving this brought Toribio some wine,—taking care to hold a *capa* before him, and besought him, softly, to drink. This, of course, attracted the attention of the guests and embarrassed Toribio, who, thereupon, asked the servant why he acted thus. The latter replied that to judge from the signs which Toribio had made, he did not want the others to see him drink and so he had tried to serve him as secretly as possible. (pp. 125–7.)

XV.

El Cura de Torrejon.

Juan Carrasquero, a scrivener, promised to come, on the following morning, to the *cura* of Torrejon, Alonso Fresnedo. "If I do not come," he said, "consider me dead." He failed to arrive at the appointed hour, and the sacristan forthwith began to toll the bells. When the villagers came to learn who had died, they were told that it was Juan Carrasquero. They forthwith hastened to his house, to offer condolence to the widow, but they found Juan at the door, on his way to the *cura*. On arriving there he remonstrated with him, but the *cura* reminded him of his statement of the previous night. (pp. 128–130.)

XVI.

El Truhan y el Asno.

A tutor was one day teaching the pages in the presence of the duke of Bayonne; one of them was so stupid that a court-fool (*truhán*) boasted that in six months he could teach a donkey to read. The duke wagered that the *truhán* could not do it in twelve; in case of failure, the fool would receive four hundred lashes, if successful four thousand ducats. Failing to get the donkey to pronounce a, b, c, the *truhán* placed grains of barley between the leaves of a book. Before the year was up, the fool summoned the duke, and in the presence of a large assembly, a book was placed before the donkey which turned over the leaves, examining the book for a considerable time. "But," objected the duke, "the donkey doesn't read"; the jester replied that the donkey could read, but that he had not undertaken to teach it to speak. (pp. 131–135.)

Source. Mey's source is not evident, the introduction being different from all the versions known to me, but strikingly like one published in Thorburn's, *Bannu or our Afghan Frontier*, London, 1876, reprinted by Liebrecht (*Germania*, xxv, 299). "A weaver hears a Mollah say to one of his pupils that he could more easily teach a donkey. The weaver next day brings one . . ."

Bibliography. Lambel, *Erzählungen und Schwänke*, 1883, (*der Pfaffe Âmîs*); here the time set for teaching the donkey is an essential part of the story, the bishop dying before the end of the thirty years stipulated in the wager: *Waldis Esopus, ed.* Kurz, iv, 97, (and especially Stiefel's additions, *Archiv. f. d. neueren Sprachen*, cix, 262-3, and Liebrecht's *Germania*, xxv, 299), *Mery Tales, ed.* Hazlitt, No. xcix. Toldo, *Contributo allo studio della novella francese*, 1895, p. 147 (but the source of Des Periers' variant is to be sought elsewhere); *Til Eulenspiegel*, (*e. g. ed.* Jannet, Paris, 1866, chap. xxix); *D'Ouville, L'élite des contes, ed.* Ristelhuber, 1876, No. xxxix (not an exact parallel, but R. gives a large number of references).

XVII.

El Astrologo.

An astrologer while scanning the heavens fell into a pit (*hoyo*). At his cries someone came to his rescue and rebuked him for attempting to examine the heavens when he could not see a hole at his feet. (pp. 136–7.)

Source. Aesop, 40.

Bibliography. *La Fontaine*, ii, 13; Robert, *Fab. inéd.* i, p. 137; *Cento novelle antiche, ed.* Ferrario, 1904, p. 100; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives and opinions of the Philosophers*, (*cf.* trans. Yonge, Bohn Lib., 1853, p. 18) where it is told of Thales; Gast, *Convivialium, ed.* 1561, p. 285; *Mery Tales, ed.* Hazlitt, no. xxv.

XVIII.

El Cavallero Leal a su Señor.

Fadrique Lopez, of Toledo, having killed a companion, is forced to flee; he enters the service

of the count d'Armagnac (Bernard vii?), then at war with England. He soon rises in the favor of the king of France. The count's daughter is enamored of him and makes advances, which Fadrique, because he is of lower rank, honorably declines; a letter written by the daughter, aprises the count of the state of affairs; on reading Fadrique's reply, he appreciates the latter's conduct, and gives him his daughter in marriage. The king makes him a great lord. (pp. 138-147.)

SOURCE. Massuccio Salernitano's *Nouella L.* To illustrate Mey's method, (*los* [*cuentos*] *que hay viejos, están aquí por diferente estilo*, as he says in the prologue) the opening lines will be cited:

In Toleto città de (*sic*) Castiglia, fù vn caualere di antica, e generosa famiglia chiamato Piero Lopes d'Aiala il quale hauendo vn suo vnico figliolo (*sic*) molto leggiadro, e bello e di gran cuore Aries nominato, come de giouini suole spesso auenire, con altri suoi compagni si abbaterno in vna notturna zuffa, oue conuendoli menare le mani amazzò vn nobilissimo giouine fauorito del Rè; onde per sfuggire l'ira del Rè, fù forzato passarne in Franza . . . (I cite from my copy of Massuccio, of the sixteenth century, but without date. Cf. Gamba, p. 61, *l'edizione dalla Gatta.* The spelling of the original has been preserved). This, in Mey, is as follows:

Mvchos años ha que en la ciudad de Toledo huuo vn cavallero llamado Rodrigo Lopez, tenido por hombre de mucha honrra y de buena hazienda. Tenia este dos hijas y vn hijo solo, llamado Fadrique, moço virtuoso y muy gentil hombre, pero preciauase de valiente, y pegauasele de aquí algun resabio de altiuez. Platicando este y haziendo camarada con otros caualleros de su edad, acaecio que vna noche se hallo en vna quisition con otros a causa de vno de sus compañeros, en la qual como los contrarios fuesen mayor numero y esto fuese para el causa de indignacion y con ella le creciese el denuedo huuose de manera que mato a vno dellos y porque el muerto era de muy principal linage, temiendo de la justicia determino de ausentarse . . .

BIBLIOGRAPHY. Amalfi, *Zeit. d. V. f. Volkskunde*, IX, 153, thinks that the story is of Spanish origin.

XIX.

LA PORFIA DE LOS REZIEN CASADOS.

En la Ciudad de Toledo biuia vn mancebo de Auila llamado Perocosme, muy bien oficial agujetero: el qual caso con la hija de Anton Ruiz sastre. Y la noche dela boda (que se hizo con la solemnidad acostumbrada en caso [*sic* in my MS.] del suegro) se truxo a su casa la nouia. Al otro dia el buen Perocosme, como hauia sido la noche pasada de bodas, o que del bullicio de la fiesta estuuiese cansado, o que la nouia le detuuiese, o que quiera que lo causase, se leuanto algo tarde: Leuantado hallose con halientos de hazer almuerço y comida todo junto: pero no hauia en casa cosa chica ni grande que comer. El que toma su capa, y el esportillo debaxo del braço, y aguija a la plaça. De que huuo mercado pan, vio que vendian alli vnos hueuos: y aun que tenia proposito de ir a la carniceria, pareciendole que entretanto que iua, y la carne se cozia, o asaua, hauia de pasar mayor rato de lo que su estomago permitia: acuerda de mercar cinco hueuos, que a tres blancas el hueuo, eran siete marauedis y medio . iuan entonces mas baratos que agora. Llegado a casa, comiença desde la puerta a dezir a su muger: Oislo Quiteria Ruiz? toma estos hueuos, y mira que me hagays los tres para mi estrellados, que quiero comer luego: los otros dos hazeldos para vos como mejor os pareciere. La muger que en casa de su padre se hauia visto alguna vez que entre quinze sastres comian vn hueuo con las puntas de las agujas, y a vno que metio el cabo por do meten la ebra, le llamaron comilon; pareciole, que en casa del marido aunque se le diese vna dozena a cada comida, no era mucho: de suerte que muy açorada respondio: como dos? por vida de Marina Gil mi bisabuela, que yo tengo de comer los tres. Perocosme, que era hombre discreto, como quien algunos años hauia sido representante de farsas, no queriendo renzilla con su muger, procuro aueriguarlo por buenas razones. Y assi con mucha mansedumbre le dixo: Quiteria Ruiz por amor de mi que no nos oygan los vezinos, de cinco hueuos al vno caben tres, y al otro dos: luego claro esta que a mi me tocara comer los tres, y esto por mas de treynta razones, de las quales solamente quiero especificar siete. La primera es, porque soy cabeça de casa: la segunda, porque soy mayor de edad: la tercera, porque estoy mas flaco: la quarta, porque yo he ido a mercarlos: la quinta, porque es vianda substanciosa: la sexta, porque se me han antojado: la septima, porque son de mis dineros. Como? respondio ella, y que no va tambien de mi dote? Qual haca de dote? dixo Perocosme, vnos andrajos que por no despiojarlos seria mejor partido echarlos rio abaxo. Aora vos, dixo Quiteria Ruiz, dexaos de cuentos, que yo tengo de comer los tres. El, no comereys: ella, si comere, se estuuieron porfiando

cerca de dos horas. Al cabo la buena Quiteria lo tomo tan a pechos, que le dixo determinadamente a su marido : O yo he de comer los tres, o me tengo de morir. El Perocosme, que ya le hazia poco gozo la muger, le respondio : Pluguiese à Dios que te muricses, que luego me casaria con Marinilla. En esto Quiteria cae en el suelo como muerta. Viendola su marido, llegasele bonito, y dizele al oido. Ava que te amortajare, y te hare lleuar a enterrar. Respondio ella : No se me da nada, tres tengo de comer. Visto esto, el toma vn caxco de cebolla embuelta en el pañizuelo, y haziendo como que se limpiaua las lagrimas, llama a grandes bozes a las vezinas : que luego acudieron : y el con grandes lloros les cuenta como su muger supitamente hauia caido muerta. Las lagrimas que derramaua por la fortaleza de la cebolla, sin que aduirtiesen al engaño las vezinas, eran tantas, que como las tristes eran algo tiernas de coraçon, facilmente creyeron lo que les dezia : y alguna se puso dcueras a llorar con el. Y consolandole todas lo mejor que supieron, comiençan a amortajar vuesa rezien casada. El que no via la hora de echarla de casa, corre a llamar a los clerigos. Venidos, y puesta la buena Quiteria, que ya la hauian amortajado, en el ataud, comiençan a caminar con mucha priesa al cimenterio, porque era casi hora de comer. Las uezinas acompañauan el entierro, discantando sobre la defunta. Vna dezia : Ay cuytadilla, y que poco tu lograste. Otra que tenia mas cuenta con los biuos, dezia por el marido : Ausadas (*sic*) que no le faltara muger, que por la buena freyla que es el hombre mas aliñado y mejor trabajador. El buen Perocosme, aunque la alegria le retoçaua en el cuerpo, iua junto al ataud todo el rostro bañado en lagrimas : y de quando llegauase a la muger, y deziale quedito : Mira que te lleuan a enterrar. Pero ello que hauia dado en tixeretas han de ser,[7] le respondia siempre : No se me da nada, tres tengo de comer. Llegan en fin al cimenterio, comiençan los clerigos a cantar sus responsos, el marido le dize otra vez : Mira que te quieren echar en la huesa. Ella responde al mismo tono : Tres tengo de comer. Mas quando iuan a asirla para echarla en la sepultura, ella da vn grandisimo salto fuera del ataud, y tras aquel otro y otro : y todo era dar saltos, y gritar a grandes gritos, Tres tengo de comer, tres tengo que comer. La gente, que no sabia el chiste de los hueuos, con el sobresalto cayeron vnos sobre otros de tropel, asombrados de ver correr aquella cosa amortajadas (*sic*) y pensando que hauia de comerse tres personas, huian a quien mas podia. Pero vn saeristan que los dias atras hauia caido de vna escalera, y lastimadose vna pierna, no podia correr como los otros : por donde viendo el pobreto que le iua en los alcances gritando, Tres tengo de comer ; respondia (*sic*) con lastimera boz : No a mi, que soy coxo. No paro desta manera la buena muger hasta su casa, donde ya el marido, adeuinando lo que podria ser, hauia acudido primero, y poniendo a asar los hueuos, que sabia muy bien hazerlo, se hauia comido los tres, y daua tras el otro, el qual le quito la muger medio comido de entre manos, y huuo de contentarse mal que le peso, con vno y medio, no hauiendo antes querido a buenas contentarse con dos. Pero no se la perdono muchos dias, porque a cabo de tres meses oluidado el de los hueuos, le truxo tres turmas de carnero, y ella se comio las dos, dandole a entender que el gato de Inesa Gomez su vezina se hauia comida la vna : y aun dezia despues, que mas valia vn par de turmas de carnero, que tres hueuos de gallina.

Haras que tu muger de ti se ria,
si la dexas salir con su porfia.[8] (pp. 152–161.)

XX.

La Prueba de Bien Querer.

Anton Gonçalez Gallego of Torrejon to prove what his wife would do if he were dead, came into his house, while she was at the river washing clothes, and laid himself down on the floor as though dead. When his wife came in she thought he was dead indeed, but she devised with herself whether it was better to bewail his death, or to dine first. All other things considered, she determined to dine first. So she broiled some bacon,

[7] See, *Montanus, ed.* Bolte, No. 89, and Amalfi, *Zeit. d. Ver. f. Volkskunde*, VI, 289–293, for literature on the story referred to. It occurs in the following Spanish works, among others : Arcipreste de Talavera, p. 156 (the sister story, *tordo-tordillas, ibid.*, p. 157); Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, *s. v. tigeretas.*

[8] Punctuation, spelling, etc., as in original. For some remote variants of the above story, see Henzel, *Sitz. B. Wien. A.*, Vol. 134, no. x, p. 71.

and began to eat it apace; she was so hungry that she forgot to drink. Finally she took a pot in her hand, and was going down into the cellar to draw wine, when suddenly a neighbor came for a coal of fire. Wherefore, although right thirsty she set the pot aside, and as if her husband had then fallen down dead, she began to weep, and with many lamentable words to bewail his death; which weeping and wailing caused all the neighbors to come thither. At last when he thought he had made pastime enough, and hearing his wife say: "Alas! dear husband (*ay, marido mio de mi carazon,*) woe is me; no longer is there anyone to protect and comfort me; what shall I do now?" he replied, "*Ay, muger mia de mis entrañas,* now that you have dined, you have only to go down to the cellar to quench your thirst"; wherewith they all from weeping turned to laughing. (pp. 164–170.)

Source. Poggio, cxvi; Mey has enlarged Poggio's purely schematic version; the scene is laid in Torrejon, not in Montevarchio, as in Poggio, and the *hortulanus mihi notus* is given a name; in other respects, Mey gives us a word for word translation.

Bibliography. *Mery Tales*, lxxxii; *Pasquil's Jests, ed.* Hazlitt, 1864, pp. 21–22; Marchesi, p. 97.

XXI.

El Medico y su Muger.

Doctor Antonio Geruas of Toloso married the niece of the Governor of that city. Two months after their marriage she bore him a child. The father sent her back home, and when the Governor remonstrated with him, he replied that when he married he calculated that his means were sufficient to sustain a family increased annually by one, but as his wife had borne him a child in two months, he implored the Governor to give her to some one who had the means to keep a family produced at such a rate. (pp. 173–5.)

Source. Sansovino, *Cento Novelle, giornata quarta, nov. seconda* (which, in turn, is an adaptation of *Cento Novelle antiche*, No. xlvi). The scene, as in Mey, is in Tolosa; the doctor's name is Antonio Gerualla; and instead of a governor, we have an archbishop. In other respects Mey's version is a word for word translation.

Bibliography. Kirchhof, iii, 237; (a variant in *Les cent nouvelles nouvelles*, xxix); Taylor's *Wit and Mirth, ed.* Hazlitt, 1864, No. 92. Here a child is born in five weeks; whereupon the husband buys ten cradles thinking she would need them all in one year. He doesn't send her home!!

XXII.

El Combidado Acudido.

Francisco Quintañon of Bilbao used to give a dinner to some friends on his Saint's day. On one occasion they brought along a witty student, Luis Loçano. Each guest was helped to sea-breams and other fish, but Loçano received only tiny sardines. Instead of eating, like the other guests, Loçano would put the fish to his ear, one by one. When asked why he did so, he replied: "Some six years ago a brother of mine died on a voyage to Flanders, and his body was thrown into the sea. I asked these little fish if perchance they knew where he was buried, but all replied that they did not, for at that time they were not yet born. They told me, also, to ask the larger fish on the table, for they could doubtless tell me all about it. (pp. (176–178).

Bibliography. It would be difficult to decide upon Mey's direct source, so common was the story. It is to be found, for example, in Cruz's *Floresta española, sexta parte, cap.* viii, No. xii (1574; my copy is, however, of Madrid, 1777, *continuadas por Francisco Asensio*). The accessories are different; in Cruz, the victim is a *Capitan de una Nao*, and the long introduction is wanting. See Bolte, *Eine Humanistenkomödie, . . . Hermes*, xxi, 313–8; Pauli, *Schimpf und Ernst*, 7; Schüddekopf, *Zeit. für vergleichende Litt.*, iv, 343; but especially Papanti, *Dante secondo la Tradizione . . .* 1873, pp. 156 ff.; *La Fontaine, ed.* Rég., viii, 8; Robert, *Fabl. inéd.*, ii, p. 131. It is to be found in English in Jacke of Dover's *Quest of Inquirie* (1604), *ed.* Percy Soc., 1842, pp. 10–11; Marchesi, p. 98.

XXIII.

Near a village in Valencia there lived a hermit, who taught children. One day he told them the following story: When I was of your age I used to say the rosary daily. Once upon a time I fell sick and during a high fever, I imagined that I was taken to the presence of a King. Near him were a very beautiful woman, and other people of venerable presence, including many winged children, when, lo, the arch-fiend with horns and very large ears and mouth, and wings like a bat cried out: "This captive must not escape me, for he has been disobedient to his parents, envious, gluttonous and withal very sinful." I trembled. Then a young angel told me he was my guardian

angel, and that the devil should not have me. The sovereign Lady turned her eyes upon me, and said to the Lord : "I know that he has ofttimes counted the rosary." St. Peter also averred that I had shown him devotion ; whereupon the omnipotent King said to the evil one : "And so you make bold to come here with your lies? Thrust the villain from my presence." Then an angel dealt him a blow with the cross, St. Peter with his keys, and St. Stephen threw stones at him. When the arch-fiend had been expelled the angel told me that God was pleased that I live and mend, being obedient to my parents, and doing good works. This said, he brought me back to my bed, and in a few days I was restored to health. I have fulfilled my promise to do good works and commend you to do the same. (pp. 179–184.)

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PETER VON STAUFENBERG AND MARIE DE FRANCE.

About the year 1310, a certain Herr Egenolf von Staufenberg, who lived either in Strassburg or at the castle Staufenberg in the Ortenau, composed a poem in which he celebrated the adventures of his ancestor, Herr Petermann der Diemringer von Staufenberg, or, as he is commonly called, Peter von Staufenberg. This poem, though not one of the masterpieces of M. H. G. poetry, is nevertheless of considerable interest. It has been adapted at different times to more modern readers[1] and upon it is based one of the most popular romantic stories in German literature.

It is not the purpose of the present study to discuss the relation of the various modern versions of the story to their M. H. G. original, as this has already been done.[2] These versions have been mentioned merely to show the importance of the poem with which we are to deal.

Peter von Staufenberg was last edited by Edward Schröder,[3] whose introduction may be consulted for information concerning manuscripts and prints. In his introduction, p. xl, Schröder characterizes the poem as "eine der ältesten deutschen Original-Dichtungen romantischen Inhalts," but adds, p. il, "Die deutsche Literatur bot Herrn Egenolt eine Parallele in der Geschichte des Grafen Partenopier von Blois und der Fee Meliur, der Schwester der Melusine, und es ist kein Zweifel, dass die Lektüre dieses Werkes bei ihm nachwürkte."

Without entering at all into a discussion of Herr Egenolf's debt to Konrad von Würzburg, I wish to call attention to a parallel in French Literature, which, in the sequence of events, the most important thing in a story, is far more striking than any to be found in Konrad's poem. To my knowledge attention has never been called to this matter before ; any French influence is usually disclaimed for the German poem.[4]

The parallel to which we have alluded is found in Marie de France's *Lai de Lanval*,[5] which was written during the second half of the twelfth century.

It will be necessary to state briefly the contents of the poems. In German the story is as follows : Petermann der Diemringer, a brave and generous knight, had just returned from a journey. He resolved to ride to the neighboring village to hear mass. He ordered his squire to prepare the horses and they soon started, the boy ahead as was his wont. On their way to the village the boy noticed a beautiful woman sitting on a stone by the road. The knight soon perceived her also and his heart was instantly pierced by Cupid's dart. In reply to his question why she was sitting thus alone, the lady replied that she had been waiting for him and told him also that it was she who had guarded him in all his perilous adventures. Our hero lost no time in declaring his love and expressed his desire to be her companion "unz an sinen tot." This she explained was quite possible but only on one condition, namely, that he should promise never to marry. If he kept his vow, a mere wish on his part would bring her to his side, provided he were alone, and she would provide him with

[1] Cf. Kürschner's *D. N. Lit.*, 18[1], xlviii.

[2] Pfeiffer : *Über Fouqué's Undine*, Heidelberg, 1903.

[3] Zwei altdeutsche Rittermaeren, Moriz von Craon, Peter von Staufenberg, Berlin, 1894.

[4] Pfeiffer, p. 9, "Wilhelm Herz schrieb mir den 13. 12. 1900 : 'Eine der Staufenberger Sage entsprechende Erzählung ist mir auf romanischen Gebiete nicht begegnet.'"

[5] Cf. Warnke : *Die Lais der Marie de France*, Halle, 1900.

whatever his heart desired. If, on the contrary, he should break his pledge, he would not only lose her but on the third day would forfeit his life. The knight accepted with joy the condition and desired at once a pledge of her love, but she bade him first go to the chapel and confess his sins. This he did and then returned home. As soon as he reached the castle, he rushed to his chamber and on his expressing a wish to see his love, she at once appeared. After they had "getriben zwaz zuo der minne hören sol," the lady promised him that she would furnish him with whatever he might need or wish. After this our hero traveled through many lands gaining even more renown and whenever he desired to see his mistress she at once appeared.

At this point in the narrative the theme changes and we are prepared for the approaching catastrophe. Influenced by his brother and the priests, Peter finally consents to marry a princess of Kärnten. At the wedding, when the festivities are at their height, there suddenly appeared projecting through the ceiling a human foot. As soon as the knight sees this, he recognizes it as a sign of his approaching death. In three days he dies bewailed by all his friends.

The whole story hinges upon the knight's meeting with the lady and their subsequent life together and it is only in this principal motive that we are here interested.

The French poem belongs to the Arthurian cycle and relates the adventures of Lanvale the well known knight of the round-table.

"Finding himself without money, Lanvale determined to leave Arthur's court, in order, if possible to better his fortunes. Mounting his horse, he departed alone. He soon reached a stream and feeling weary lay down to rest. As he meditated upon his sorrowful plight, there approached him from the adjoining woods two beautiful maidens. In response to his courteous greeting, they bade him accompany them to their queen Semiramis who was awaiting him in her pavilion. Lanvale gladly accepted the invitation." At this point begins the episode in which we are especially interested. "As Lanvale approached the couch upon which the queen was reclining, she thus addressed him: "Lanvale, my dear friend, for you I have come far from my native land, from afar I have come to seek thee. If now thou art brave and courteous, thou shalt have more pleasure and possessions than has ever had king or queen, for I love thee supremely." The knight replied: "My love, if it pleases thee, and if I have the pleasure to be loved by thee, thou hast only to command and I shall obey thee. I will do all thy commands: for thee I will forsake all my people. From thee I wish never to depart: thou art the queen whom I desire." After this the queen gave him gold, silver, and whatever else he desired, admonishing him to spend largely for she would ever provide him with what he might need. All this, however, was subject to one condition. "My friend," said she, "I warn you that you must speak of me to no one; for if our love is known, then shalt thou lose me; thou shalt never see me again and shalt not have possession of my heart." Lanvale agreed gladly to the contract. After some time spent pleasantly together, Lanvale was dismissed but, at parting, the queen said to him: "I will tell thee one thing, whenever thou desirest to speak with me, I shall be present to do all thy desire but no man except thee shall see or hear me. Lanvale was delighted to hear this and after a bountiful repast, he departed, clothed in splendid attire and richly provided with gold and silver. On his return he spent largely of his wealth, bestowing gifts upon his friends and giving to the poor.

The remainder of the story, since it does not pertain to the subject under discussion, may be dismissed with a few words. One day, Lanvale, angered by queen Guiniver, was unwise enough to disclose his secret. He made the boast that the meanest of his mistress' maidens was more beautiful than she. On account of this utterance he was tried for treason, but just as he was about to be condemned, his mistress appeared to confirm the truth of his statement and they rode away never to be seen or heard of again.

From the outlines of the poems just given, it is, I think, plain that there is at least a resemblance between the main motives of each. Let us next take up these motives in detail, citing side by side the passages which present the most striking similarity, by which means, I think, their connection will become more apparent.

FRENCH (Warnke).

110–116.

'Lanval,' fet ele, 'bels amis,
pur vus vinc ieo fors de ma terre ;
de luinz vus sui venue querre.
Se vus estes pruz e curteis,
emperere ne quens ne reis
n'ot unkes tant joie ne bien ;
kar jo vus aim sur tute rien.'

120–130.

Il li respunt avenantment.
'Bele,' fet il, 'si vus plaiseit
e cele joie m'aveneit
que vus me volsissiez amer,
ne savriëz rien comander
que ieo ne face a mun poeir,
turt a folie u a saveir.
Ieo ferai voz comandemenz ;
pur vus guerpirai tutes genz.
Ja mes ne quier de vus partir :
ceo est la riens que plus desir.'

143–150.

'Amis,' fet ele, 'or vus chasti,
si vus comant e si vus pri :
ne vus descovrez a nul hume !
De ces vus dirai ieo la sume,
A tuzjurs m'avriëz perdue,
si ceste amurs esteit seüe ;
mes ne me purriëz veeir
ne de mun cors saisine aveir.'

151–152.

Il li respunt que bien tendra
ceo qu'ele li comandera.

GERMAN (Schröder).

327 ff.

'Daz mag dich wol wunder han.
dir sag ich, ritter lobesan,
wie sich het gefüeget daz,
daz ich hie so einig saz :
da han ich, fründ, gewartet din.
She says she has always been with him, protecting him and ll. 366–367,
min fründ, nu schouwest du mich hie
daz ich din ie mit trüwen pflag.'

368–375.

'Wol mir daz ich disen tag
gelebte ie, des fröuwe ich mich,'
so sprach der ritter lobelich,
'daz ich üch, schoenez wip, sol sehen :
mir kunde liebers nüt geschehen.
wan solte ich nach dem willen min
(genade, frouwe !) bi üch sin
iemer unz an minen tot !

383–385.

und wiltu trüten minen lip,
so muostu ane elich wip
iemer sin unz an din tot

391–401.

'nim swelch du wilt, wan nüt zer e.
darzuo hastu iemer me
guotes swes din herz begert,
des bistu, fründ, von mir gewert.
aber nimst ein elich wip,
so stirbet din vil stolzer lip
darnach am dritten tage :
fürwar ich dir daz sage,
wan ez nieman erwenden kan.
darumb so soltu dich verstan
in herzen und in muote.'

416–419 :

'frouwe, ich han mich des erwegen
daz ich bede lip und leben
für eigen üch will iemer geben
die wil mir got das leben gan.'

153–157. Love making.

420–430.

159–161. The knight's dismissal.

449–450.

162–170.

Mes une chose vus dirai :
quant vus voldrez a mei parler,
ja ne savrez cel liu penser,
u nuls peüst aveir s'amie
sanz repruece e sanz vileinie,
que ieo ne vus seie en present
a faire tut vostre talent ;
nuls huem fors vus ne me verra
ne ma parole nen orra.'

469–475.

'So rit, guot ritter, wider hein
und ganc denne almuoterein
in die kemenate din :
werlich, da wil ich bi dir sin.
swenn du wünchest da nach mir,
so bin ich endelich bi dir
und leiste swes din herze gert.'

209–216.

Lanval donout les riches duns,
Lanval aquitout les prisuns,
Lanval vesteit les jugleürs,
Lanval faiseit les granz honurs,
Lanval despendeit l a r g e ment,
Lanval donout or e argent :
n'i ot estrange ne privé
a qui Lanval n'eüst doné.

591–598.

Sü gab im guotes wundervil,
als ich üch bescheiden wil,
daz er fründ und gesellschaft
ouch alle machte unnothaft
mit der milten hende sin.
er liez vil wol werden schin
daz er ein miltez herze truog,
wan er gab fründe und gsellen gnuog.

The main incidents in the story told in the two versions may be constructed somewhat as follows :

The hero, while riding on horseback, meets a woman of supernatural character who tells him that she has come to meet him, thus implying that she has been conscious of his movements. In response to his proffers of love, she agrees to comply with all his desires and to furnish him unlimited means. This is, however, dependent upon one condition, the violation of which will result in her loss. In one version the punishment of death is added. The condition in the German version is that the hero shall never marry ; in the French, that he shall never speak of his mistress. As long as the oath is kept inviolable, the knight is able to see his mistress by merely expressing a wish for her, but he must be alone. When the contract is broken, punishment follows at once. In the

French the story is given a lighter turn by the introduction of a "deus ex machina," but in the German fate is inexorable and the hero pays with his life the penalty of his broken vow.

From the two stories, it is evident, that the motive which we are discussing is the "leit-motif." It is also plain that the sequence of events in both versions is the same. If now, we turn to the texts, we find that the transition from the "leit-motif" to what may be called the catastrophe motif is made at precisely the same point in the story and, as it happens, with a verbal coincidence.

The hero's magnificence and liberality have just been described and the story goes on to say that whenever he desired, he might enjoy the presence of his mistress.

French, 217.

"Mult ot Lanval joie e deduit
u seit par jur u seit par nuit ;
s'amie puet veeir sovent,
tute est a sun comandement."

German, 610–617.

und swa der degen milte
in der witen welt hin kan,
wolt er die schoene frouwe han,
swenn er sins wunsches nach ir pflag,
ez were naht oder tag,
so war sü bi im da zestund
und tet im ganze liebe kunt
mit libe und ouch mit guote.

Now just at this point, line 618 in German, l. 221 in French, the transition is made and the incident is described which induces the hero to break his vow.

Having called attention to this striking similarity between the introductory incidents of these two poems, it remains only to explain this likeness. The only explanation seems to be that the author of the German poem knew Marie's Lai and made use of a portion of it in the manner above indicated. If this conclusion is accepted as correct, then the statements of Schröder and Pfeiffer must be modified accordingly and Peter von Staufenberg must be added to the list of stories given by Reinhold Köhler in his "vergleichenden Anmerkungen" in Warnke's edition of Marie de France.

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A PRIMITIVE SHORT-STORY.

The following examples of primitive story-telling are from A. Mackenzie's "Native Australian Languages," an article published in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* (London), Vol. 3, p. 247. They present three versions of the same narrative. Nos. 1 and 2 show the shorter form of the story as told by different narrators. No. 3 is an extended version in English, by the narrator of No. 2. Both story-tellers were aboriginals, though the author of the longer version had evidently received an English education, and both were members of the Ulladulla (Southeast Australian) tribe. Since the stories in their shorter form were taken down word for word as they were told about the camp-fire, the reader must supply from his imagination a running accompaniment of lively gesture and impersonation. I have arranged the three versions in parallel columns in order to make clear the relation of the shorter forms to each other and to the legend as a whole.

In presenting these *Urquellen* I raise the question whether we have not here the crude beginings of a distinct type (or sub-type) of prose composition, the humble progenitor of the modern Short-story.[1]

The essential features of the primitive Short-story, so far as they are illustrated in these specimens, appear to be as follows: (1) It is a shortened version of a narrative of which the general outlines are familiar to the circle of hearers. (2) It is highly elliptical, concentrating attention sharply upon a few significant details. (3) It proceeds by a series of graduated shocks or incitements designed to stimulate progressively the imagination and memory of the hearers. (4) It moves from point to point with nervous, not to say spasmodic, rapidity. (5) Such unity as it has—and we may not expect a high degree of constructive skill at this stage of the art—is secured by the selection of a single main incident or catastrophe. (6) The filling-in is supplied (as the author of the article informs us) by actions, gestures, etc., which appeal in the most direct and vivid fashion to the sense of the listeners.

In all these respects, except one that I will note

[1] Narratiuncula *vera* B.-Matthewsii.

presently, the kinship of this aboriginal narrative to the modern Short-story is easily demonstrated. The modern narrative, like its foregoers, is elliptical, impressionistic, swiftly cumulative, and not infrequently (especially in those reversions to primitive types which one finds in the cheap magazines) inclined to be spasmodic. Furthermore it relies by preference upon a single main incident, and for chinking uses vivid bits of description and dialogue analogous to the savage's impersonation and gestures.

The exception mentioned above is, of course, the relation of the Short-story to the original legend. The primitive Short-story appears to be a condensation of a longer narrative, whereas the modern Short-story, we are told, is characterized by its freedom from such relationships. But in this respect also, I think, the primitive and the ultimate Short-story are at one. I do not mean that the Short-story is a condensed novel ; Professor Matthews has, once for all, made that thesis untenable ; but I would maintain that the modern Short-story is drawn from, and for its validity depends upon, a literary continuum—a mass of fiction material accumulated by countless story-tellers of the past and now become part of the social consciousness of the race. The mood in which we read the modern short-story is then, not unlike that of the Australian aborigine, as the listeners to the story of Bundoola. Like him we accept the ellipses of the Short-story,—the quick, unexplained shiftings of human relationship, the leapings and dartings of the course of events, the sudden drop of the curtain while the action is in full gallop,—because we know by heart the great legend of human nature as the fiction-writers have told it time and again, and can supply for ourselves the omitted portions. Perhaps it is just because all the stories have been told—as the critics so often remind us—that the modern Short-story is able to hold its own as a distinct literary type.

THE STORY OF BUNDOOLA.

I.	II.	III
Blackfellow came from southward.		A good while ago a blackfellow named Bundoola lived at Bundarwa, on the North arm of Jervis Bay. He was *murraori*, long and big with robust arms, like a tree with its limbs. He lived in a big cave, *yerrowa*. If anyone goes to the cave the waters of the sea will cover the place. He had with him his two wives, their four children, of which three by a former husband, and the mother of one of the wives. He did not treat the children well. He used to give them for food shark, stingaree, *kooroodthoo*, and *nijool-idjong*, the two latter fish resembling eels and stingarees. The mother used to tell the children not to eat the trash.
		They came from a place called Banboro, in the mountains near Jamberoo. Bundoola used to boast to his wives of his expertness in catching fish. One morning he went out as usual in his canoe, leaving wives, mother-in-law and children in the camp.
Will go and fish.	I go fishing, I am going to spear fish ; my canoe, my fish-spear.	
Oh, calm, very smooth ! He jumped into the canoe.	What a fine calm sea.	
		The sea was smooth and the weather fine. He was very successful in his fishing. He had a very long fish-spear measuring about twenty feet, called *poonjerry*. He shouted to his wives to tell his mother-in-law how skilful he was. "You watch me. You
You see me?	I'll paddle over there to the surf at	

the rocks. I'll go to the bush, the sea is too rough. I'll paddle out to sea again.

Yes, we'll go, because he gives you bad fish.

Let us run away, because bad, nasty fish. Let us run away, children; we'll leave him when he goes out far.

We have left Bundoola.

He follows them.

Where are you? hilloa!

I hear them over there. I must go thither. There they are, the Southerners.

Hilloa! There they are; the Southerners.

Says he, that's our brother-in-law coming.

Fetch us a fire-stick Here! It has gone out.

watch me," he said. They signified assent.

The women began to talk to one another about the foolishness of remaining with a man who treated them so ill, and the favorableness of the opportunity for running away. They fled with the children and all their things. Bundoola still kept fishing and occasionally calling out to them. He heard them answering him as he thought; but he was deceived. What he heard was the noise made by the *morat*, or two trees touching and rubbing against one another when agitated by the wind. At last having filled his canoe with fish, he thought it was time to leave off fishing and come ashore. As soon as the canoe touched the sand, he shouted to his wives to help him draw it up with its load on the beach.

The sound of the *morat*, just then repeated, made him think that his orders were attended to. At a loss, however, to account for the delay in the women's coming, he went to the camp and found it empty. He cooeyed again, and again heard the cry of the *morat*. He followed the direction of the sound until it brought him in sight of the artifice by which he had been deceived. He was at first furious with rage, but, having picked up the tracks of the fugitives, followed the trail, weeping as he went along. The tracks led him to Burria. He carried a canoe with which to cross the river, and left it at Yalwal, where it can yet be seen fossilized. Thence he went to Kangargroon in quest of the runaways. He followed the river up to Noorunmaia. Whenever he fell in with a wallaby or paddymelon, he would imagine it was one of the party he was in search of, and call out, "stop, come to me, my children, my wife." From Noorunmaai he tracked them to Bamboro, where they were encamped with their friends. Approaching the camp, Bundoola gave the customary cooey. The camp was all on the alert.

"Ay, Ay, here's the master, the villain, coming."

Bundoola, as usual with visitors from another tribe, sat down a little way off. His wives brought him fire and went back to the camp. He crushed out the fire, pretending that it had gone out of itself. His wives brought him a burning brand, and this time he kindled a good blaze. The women remained with him. Next morning there was

Here ! Let us go hunt.

Mine (My spear) is ready.

You stop here, because the game runs this way. There they are, there they are, Bundoola. Whizz-z-z ! Our brother-in-law has speared him. We'll take the meat over there. Let us roast the meat.

Look, look, look, brother-in-law ! Have a look at this place belonging to your wife.

Go a little closer, brother-in-law, go a little closer to the bank.

Oh dear ! My canoe and fish-spear all lying there perishing.

Here it is, brother-in-law ; you catch hold. Oh dear ! it has broken. Oh dear ! my two pronged spear and teatue javelin ! Here, brother-in-law, catch hold again. Hullo ! it has broken again, brother-in-law.

Let us go to the camp. Where is he? I don't know.

Let us go hence to Berwera.

[1] Dog.

University of Michigan.

Let us go, let us make the spear ready ; all ready.

You are a good marksman ; you wait here, because this is the path that the kangaroo takes his road.

Let us go, brother-in-law, you'll see your wife's country. You'll see the great precipice. Bundoola's wife belongs to that place.

You come close to the edge, you stop here. They shove him over a good way ; kill him dead.

Rope, you catch hold of the rope, vine. He comes up the long way to the top.

Cut the rope, serve you right, you dead now.

This was at Banboro. I'll go home to my place, this place, is too rough. I'll go and try another place. I'll go a little farther. This is the good habitation. I'll stop here at Bundarwa.

to be a great kangaroo hunt. The women said to their relatives, "These children are nearly poisoned to death with the carrion given them to eat by their father." One of the children was Bundoola's own, a boy ; three, a boy and two girls, belonged to a man who was dead.

The tribe called to Bundoola to light the fire and make a spear for the hunt. He was not long in making a capital spear. The hunters betook themselves to a long point and killed a great many kangaroos. Bundoola distinguished himself by the distance at which he struck his game. He did not want to come nearer than three hundred yards to be sure of his mark. Fifteen kangaroos, the result of the morning's sport were put into the ovens of earth and hot stones.

After the feast his connections told him they would next day show him his wives' country, what a fine territory it was, and how well stocked with game and native honey.

During this excursion, as the party stood on the edge of a cliff, the old men gathered about Bundoola, and pushed him over the precipice. He fell a great way, but was not killed ;

so they let down a long vine for him to lay hold of, and drew him up to the top. Just as he stretched out his hand to catch hold of the summit, one of them severed the vine with an *ambuga*, and down he fell again to the bottom, this time completely crushed.

"Yenaunga, we are going away ;

You sit down there dead ; warragul[1] eat you, and hawk eat you, and fly eat you ; you are too much of a rogue."

Bundoola, dead, dreamt of going back to his own place. As he journeyed south, he tried the different caves in the cliffs, but found them all too diminutive for his comfort, until he got back to Bundarwa. He turned himself in his place of abode, and sat down with his arms extended, and—and there he sits petrified to this day.

Fred Newton Scott.

CALMETA.

It is now generally recognized that the more important circumstances of the life of Boccaccio, from his birth to the infidelity of Fiammetta, appear, in half-pastoral, half-fantastic disguise, in the story of Idalagos in the fifth book of the *Filocolo*.[1]

Idalagos, at the time of his narration transformed into a pine in a wood near Naples, represents himself as a son of the shepherd Eucomos. He narrates the circumstances of his birth, mentions his early training in his father's occupation, states that he was frightened away from his father's house, and continues :

". . . tanta fu la paura, che abbandonati i paternali campi, in questi boschi venni l'apparato uficio a operare : e qui dimorando con Calmeta,[2] pastor solennissimo, a cui quasi la maggior parte delle cose era manifesta, pervenni a più alto disio. Egli un giorno, riposandoci noi col nostro peculio, con una sampogna sonando cominciò a dire i nuovi mutamenti e gl' inopinabili corsi dell' inargentata luna . . . "[3]

These last words open a long account of the astronomical instruction of Calmeta, which includes treatment of the moon, the sun, the several planets, the several constellations of the zodiac, and the other major constellations. Frequent references to the skill and the beauty of the instruction are made. The account completed, Idalagos continues :—

"Queste cose ascoltai io con somma diligenza, e tanto dilettarono la rozza mente, ch' io mi diedi a voler conoscere quelle, e non come arabo, ma seguendo con istudio il dimostrante : per la qual cosa di divenire sperto meritai : e già abbandonata la pastoral via, del tutto a seguitar Pallade mi disposi . . . "[4]

[1] Boccaccio, G : *Filocolo*, vol. II (= Boccaccio : *Opere volgari*, vol. VIII), Firenze, 1829, pp. 238-250.

[2] The name *Calmeta* is apparently constructed upon the stem *cal(a)m*, which appears in the Classic Latin noun *calamus*, in the Low Latin nouns *calma*, *calmen*, *calmis*, *calmus*, and in the Italian noun *calmo*. *Calamus* may mean 'shepherd's pipe,' *calmen* and *calmis* mean 'pasture land,' and *calma*, *calmus*, and *calmo* are agricultural terms.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 243. [4] *Op. cit.*, p. 246.

The story of Idalagos was written certainly not before 1338, probably soon after that year.[5]

Boccaccio's association with the original of Calmeta occurred certainly not earlier than 1328, certainly not later than June, 1334. A. Della Torre[6] claims that the association occurred in 1328. The validity of this claim rests primarily upon the correctness of Della Torre's determination of certain dates which are pivotal in the chronology of the youth of Boccaccio. In a later publication I shall attempt to show the incorrectness of Della Torre's determination of these dates.

Two men appear as possible originals for the figure of Calmeta : the astronomer Andalò di Negro,[7] and the addressee of the letter *Sacre famis*.[8]

Boccaccio studied astronomy under Andalò di Negro at Naples, certainly after 1326, certainly before June, 1334.[9]

Boccaccio refers to Andalò in the *Genologia deorum* I 6 ; II 7[10]; III 21, 22 ; IV 5, 16 ; VIII Proemium[10, 11], 2[12] ; IX 2, 4 ; XV 6 ; in the *De*

[5] Exact establishment of date is in no case necessary to the argument of this paper. Time location is stated in the case of certain events and documents in order that their relative location may be apparent : in every such case the widest possible margin of time location, as indicated by claims actually made and by claims possible in view of generally accepted evidence, is stated.

[6] *La giovinezza di Giovanni Boccaccio* (= *Collezione di opuscoli danteschi inediti o rari*, nos. 79–82), Città di Castello, 1905, pp. 110–111.

[7] The most complete biographical study of Andalò di Negro is that of C. Desimoni : *Intorno alla vita ed ai lavori di Andalò di Negro*. The most complete catalogue of his works is that of B. Boncompagni : *Catalogo dei lavori di Andalò di Negro*. These two papers appeared together in the *Bullettino di bibliografia e di storia delle scienze matematiche e fisiche*, VII (1874), 313 and 339, and were published together in pamphlet form, Roma, 1875. They form the substance of the preface prefixed by G. Bertolotto to his reprint of the *Tractatus astrolabij* of Andalò, in *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria*, XXV (1892), 51. Bertolotto includes a small amount of additional material.

[8] In Traversari, G : *Le lettere autografe di Giovanni Boccaccio del codice laurenziano xxix, 8*, Castelfiorentino, 1905, p. 65.

[9] On Boccaccio's study under Andalò and on Andalò's influence upon Boccaccio, see Hortis, A : *Studj sulle opere latine del Boccaccio*, Trieste, 1879, pp. 516–517 ; Zenatti, O : *Dante e Firenze*, Firenze, 1903, p. 268, n. 1 ; Della Torre, *op. cit.*, pp. 154–158.

[10] This reference is not in the list given by Zenatti.

casibus III 1 ; and in the *Comento*, in the comment on *Inf.* v 100.

Boccaccio's enthusiastic admiration for Andalò appears throughout this series of passages. It finds its fullest expression in the passage in the fifteenth book of the *Genologia deorum*, which is as follows :

"(I)Nduxi igitur sepe generosum atque uenerabilem senem, andalo denigro ianuensem, olim inmotibus astrorum doctorem meum, cuius quanta fuerit circumspectio, quanta morum grauitas, quanta syderum notitia, tu nosti, rex optime ; tibi enim, ut aiebat ipse, cum adhuc iuuenis esses, ratione conformitatis studiorum familiarissimus fuit, et, ut ipse uidisse potuisti, non solum regulis ueterum, ut plurimum facimus, astrorum motus agnouit, sed, cum uniuersum fere peragrasset orbem, sub quocunque climate, sub quocunque etiam oriçonte, experientia discursuum certior factus, uisu didicit, quod nos discimus auditu. Et ob id, et si in omnibus illi fidem præstandam crediderim, circa ea tamen, que ad astra spectare uidentur, non aliter quam ciceroni circa oratoriam aut maroni circa poeticam exibendam censeo. Huius insuper plura stant opuscula, astrorum celique motus ostendentia, que quantum sibi circa talia *pre*minentie fuerit, ostendunt." [13]

The passage in the *De casibus* represents a scene from the actual instruction of Andalò. It opens as follows :—

"Quum igitur iuuenis neapolim olim apud insignem adque venerabilem virum Andalonem nigrum genuensem cælorum motus et syderum eo docente perciperem ; inter legendum die vna verbum occurrit huiusmodi. Non incusanda sydera sunt. Quum sibi infortunium oppressus quæsierit. Quod audiens festiuus homo, quamquam longævus, hilari vultu inquit. Hoc profecto lepida fabella et antiquissima probatum est. Quam a quibusdam egregiis nobilitate viris auditoribus suis et a me exoratus ut diceret, quum placidi et flexibilis esset ingenii, confestim diserto sermone sic inquit. Sedebat forsan in triuio paupertas . . . " [14]

The remainder of the chapter is occupied with the telling of the fable of the contest of Paupertas and Fortuna.

Two treatises by Andalò—the *Tractatus sphere materialis* and the *Tractacus theoricæ planetarum*—are the first entries in the "zibaldone," cod. Laur. XXIX 8, which was once the property of Boccaccio.[15] As Zenatti suggests, Boccaccio undoubtedly acquired the manuscript because of the fact that it contained these two treatises.

In the opening paragraphs of the letter *Sacre famis*, Boccaccio enumerates the several subjects—grammar, dialectics, rhetoric—which the addressee studied in his boyhood, and states that when he had reached rhetoric his parents, in spite of his inclination for study, placed him in business, and that he nevertheless continued his studies, taking up, on his entrance into adolescence, the higher subjects—arithmetic, music, geometry, astronomy. The passage relating to his study of astronomy begins as follows :—

"Hinc igitur ad astra transfereris et circulationem vagorum luminum rimaris et sydera ; hic Cynthie motus varios tuo intellectui reserantur . . . " [16]

These last words open a condensed account of his course of astronomical study, which, according to Boccaccio, included consideration of the moon, the sun, the several planets, and the several constellations of the zodiac. Then follow the words :—

"Te igitur, carissime, tam delectabilia, tam animum actrahentia, agente[m] congniovi, si recolis, et tui gratia, tante dulcedinis effectus sum particeps tuus insimul et amicus : in tam alto misterio, in tam delectabili ac sacro studio providentia summa nos iunxit, quos equalitas animi vinctos tenuit retinet et tenebit." [17]

The words "tui gratia . . . particeps tuus" admit of two interpretations : *by your kindness I was admitted to the same course of instruction which*

[11] This reference is not in the list given by Hortis.

[12] This reference is wrongly given by Hortis and Zenatti as VII, 2.

[13] Quoted from the partial edition by O. Hecker, in his *Boccaccio-Funde*, Braunschweig, 1902, p. 270.

[14] Quoted from the edition of Johannes Theodericus Bellovacus (Paris), Jehan Petit, (1507-1525), f. XXVII v.

[15] See Hauvette, H : *Notes sur des manuscrits autographes de Boccace à la bibliothèque laurentienne*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, XIV (1894), 87. It appears from Hauvette's argument that Boccaccio acquired the manuscript about 1348.

[16] Quoted from Traversari, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–67.

[17] Quoted from Traversari, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

you were enjoying, and *you were so kind as to impart to me the information which you received in that course of instruction*. It is by virtue of the second interpretation that the addressee of the letter appears as a possible original for Calmeta.

The letter itself shows that the addressee was a merchant interested in liberal studies.

S. Ciampi[18] thought that the addressee of the letter was Andalò di Negro ; Hortis[19] showed the absurdity of this theory, but proposed no new identification ; Traversari[20] suggests maestro Niccolino di S. Prospero, who, after the death of Andalò, received the stipend from the royal treasury previously paid to Andalò,—but very rightly attributes no weight to his own suggestion. Della Torre[21] claims that the addressee was eighteen years old at the time of the association referred to in the passage last quoted. The general method of Della Torre's argument is sound, but the data are too general to warrant the exactness of his result ; there is a possible margin of error, of at least two or three years, on the side of greater age.

The letter is certainly not earlier than 1338, certainly not later than 1340.

If the first interpretation of the words "tui gratia . . . particeps tuus" be correct, the course of instruction referred to was certainly that of Andalò di Negro, for Boccaccio certainly followed no regular course of instruction in astronomy other than that which he followed with Andalò. If the first interpretation be correct, therefore, the time of the association referred to was coincident with the time of Boccaccio's study with Andalò. If the second interpretation be correct, the time of the association must have preceded the time of Boccaccio's study with Andalò, for second-hand instruction from a young student could have had interest for Boccaccio only before receiving the regular instruction of Andalò. The time of the association referred to is then certainly not later than June, 1334 : it is certainly not earlier than 1328.

[18] *Monumenti di un manoscritto autografo e lettere inedite di M. Giovanni Boccaccio*, Milano, 1830, pp. 302-303.

[19] *Op. cit.*, pp. 262-263.

[20] *Op. cit.*, p. 25, n. 5.

[21] *Op. cit.*, p. 114.

The first statement of opinion as to the original of Calmeta was that of V. Crescini, in his article *Idalagos*.[22] Crescini held that Andalò di Negro was the original of Calmeta. He presented no specific arguments in support of this opinion, but rested it upon the facts of Boccaccio's study with Andalò and continued admiration for him. Crescini does not refer to the letter *Sacre famis* in this connection. The passage containing the statement of this opinion reappears in Crescini's *Contributo agli studî sul Boccaccio*.[23]

An elaborate attempt to determine the original of Calmeta is made by Della Torre, in his *La giovinezza di Giovanni Boccaccio*.[24]

Della Torre first endeavors to prove that Andalò was not the original of Calmeta. His arguments are, in effect, as follows :—

(1) When Boccaccio studied under Andalò he could read Latin intelligently, for the passage in the *De casibus* shows him actually engaged in the reading, in the presence of Andalò, of an astrological text, and the text must have been in Latin ; at the time of Boccaccio's association with Calmeta Boccaccio could not read Latin intelligently, for he indicates the state of his intellectual culture at the time by the phrase *rozza mente*, and moreover this association occurred in 1328, and in 1328 Boccaccio could not read Latin intelligently, for he must by that time have forgotten the Latin learned in his boyhood,[25] since he must have been too busy with the duties of his apprenticeship to continue his study of Latin ; therefore, Andalò cannot have been the original of Calmeta.

(2) The original of Calmeta was a merchant, for Calmeta is a shepherd, and the originals of all

[22] *Zeitschrift f. rom. Phil.*, x (1886), 3.

[23] Torino, 1887, p. 47.

[24] Pp. 111-116.

[25] Della Torre's statement that Boccaccio, in his boyhood, studied Latin under Giovanni da Strada rests solely upon the statement to that effect by Filippo Villani in his biography of Boccaccio. Villani's biography is notoriously unreliable ; the statement in question is not supported by other evidence ; it cannot, therefore, be regarded as authoritative. That Boccaccio did study Latin in his boyhood is, however, implied by the two passages in which he speaks of his early studies,—a long passage in the *Genologia deorum*, xv, 10, and a short passage in the *Corbaccio* (Boccaccio : *Opere volgari*, vol. v, Firenze, 1828, p. 185 ; *Opere minori*, Milano, 1879, p. 277).

the shepherds of the story were merchants, for Idalagos and Eucomos are shepherds, and their originals, Boccaccio and his father, were merchants; Andalò was not a merchant; therefore, Andalò cannot have been the original of Calmeta.

Della Torre then endeavors to prove that the addressee of the letter *Sacre famis* was the original of Calmeta. His case rests upon the assumption that the second interpretation of the words "tui gratia . . . particeps tuus" is correct. His arguments are, in effect, as follows:—

(*a*) The original of Calmeta was a merchant (see (2) above); the addressee was a merchant.

(*b*) Idalagos terms Calmeta *pastor solennissimo*; if the addressee was the original of Calmeta, Boccaccio would have been very likely to apply this adjective to Calmeta, since the addressee, because of his interest in liberal studies, represented a type rare among merchants.

(*c*) Idalagos says that to Calmeta "quasi la maggior parte delle cose era manifesta"; if the addressee was the original of Calmeta, Boccaccio would have been likely to attribute such knowledge to Calmeta, since the addressee at the time of Boccaccio's association with him, was just completing the quadrivium, and at the time of Boccaccio's association with the original of Calmeta, Boccaccio's intellectual culture was at a low ebb (see (1) above).

(*d*) Idalagos says that Calmeta taught him "riposandoci noi col nostro peculio"; the addressee would have taught Boccaccio in intervals in which they were free from business.

(*e*) The account of the astronomical instruction of Calmeta, in content and nomenclature, corresponds to the account of the astronomical course followed by the addressee.

Traversari[26] thinks Della Torre's argument very plausible, but not convincing.

The references to Andalò in the works of Boccaccio, noted above, show that Andalò figured in Boccaccio's thought as the one man under whom he had pursued regular astronomical study, as the greatest astronomer, beyond possibility of comparison, of the men with whom he had come into association, as the one teacher whose instruction had been thoroughly congenial. Boccaccio might well use the phrase *pastor solennissimo* with reference to Andalò's proficiency in astronomy, and the words "a cui quasi la maggior parte delle cose era manifesta" with reference to the universality of his knowledge. Even if Boccaccio had had with the addressee of the letter *Sacre famis* such an association as is implied by the second interpretation of the words "tui gratia . . . particeps tuus," instruction subsequently received from Andalò would have outclassed entirely, in the perspective of his memory, the instruction received from the addressee. The immediately imperative conclusion is that Andalò was the original of Calmeta. For its final establishment, this conclusion needs only the refutation of the several arguments of Della Torre, which refutation I shall now undertake.

(1) It does not appear from the passage in the *De casibus* that Boccaccio himself was doing the reading. The phrase *rozza mente*, written at a period subsequent by several years to the time of Boccaccio's association with the original of Calmeta, and merely general in character, contains no implication that Boccaccio, at the time in question, was destitute of an intelligent reading knowledge of Latin. The possibility of the invalidity of Della Torre's claim that Boccaccio's association with the original of Calmeta occurred in 1328 has been referred to above. Boccaccio was not too busy with the duties of his apprenticeship to continue his study of Latin. The two passages in which he speaks of his early studies[27] contain implication that literary studies, dating from his boyhood, were never entirely interrupted, and that they were cultivated to the extent of interfering with the duties of his apprenticeship.

(2) The proposition *all shepherds represent merchants* does not follow from the proposition *all merchants are represented as shepherds.* That certain allegorical figures belong to a single literary class does not prove that their originals belonged to a single class. The limits of literary imagination in general prevent the allegorist from providing literary classes enough to correspond, one to one, to the several actual classes to which the originals may belong. Allegorical figures are created separately and individually: the literary

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 72, n. 5.

[27] See preceding note.

relationships between them are largely accidental. Few allegorists have attempted to control such relationships, Boccaccio least of all,—witness the extraordinary jumble of the *Amorosa visione*. Boccaccio started the story of Idalagos as a pastoral allegory. He invested two originals, himself and his father, with the character of shepherds. Suppose that Andalò then presented himself for allegorical investiture ; the activity of Andalò in the allegory was to be an intellectual activity ; his allegorical character must be human and masculine. Boccaccio would have written him down a shepherd, without a moment's thought of inconsistency. What else could he have made him?

Della Torre's assumption that the second interpretation of the words "tui gratia . . . particeps tuus" is correct, is not justifiable. The first interpretation is certainly as admissible, in itself, as the second. The following words, "in tam alto . . . nos iunxit," seem to imply an association of the kind implied by the first interpretation rather than one of the kind implied by the second. A. Gaspary evidently interpreted the passage in the first way, for he states that the addressee was "nicht ein Lehrer . . . sondern ein Mitschüler" of Boccaccio.[28]

(*a*) See the refutation of (2) above.

(*b*) Boccaccio and his contemporaries use the epithet *solenne* to indicate that a man is proficient in his profession or occupation.[29] It would be a most inappropriate epithet for a man admirable in Boccaccio's eyes precisely because he neglected his profession for outside interests.

(*c*) Boccaccio wrote the phrase "a cui quasi la maggior parte delle cose era manifesta" after he had become acquainted with the very wide knowledge of Andalò ; it is extremely improbable that he would then apply such a phrase to a youth whose knowledge was confined to that which had been gained from the trivium and the quadrivium.

(*d*) No parallel : a shepherd resting with his flock is engaged in his duties as shepherd, not released from them.

(*e*) The similarity in content may be accounted for upon the supposition that the addressee as well as Boccaccio was a pupil of the original of Calmeta, or upon the supposition that Boccaccio, in writing the account of the astronomical study of the addressee, was merely dilating, out of his own astronomical knowledge, upon the theme *astronomical studies*, rather than attempting to give a veracious account of the progress of the astronomical study of the addressee. The similarity in nomenclature is not surprising, in view of the fact that the two accounts were written at the same period, perhaps at nearly the same time.

Calmeta, then, represents Andalò di Negro, and the episode of the instruction of Calmeta is to be placed in the series of Boccaccio's references to Andalò. It affords us direct knowledge of the content of the instruction of Andalò, and in all probability reflects the order of his course. It is quite the most interesting of Boccaccio's several tributes to the teacher who had so great a share in the formation of his intellectual culture, and won so high a place in his admiration and affection.

The certainty that the addressee of the letter *Sacre famis* was not the original of Calmeta removes the only strong temptation to accept the second interpretation of the words "tui gratia . . . particeps tuus." It is very probable that the first interpretation of those words is correct. In that case, as has been pointed out, the course of instruction in question was that of Andalò. It is very probable, then, that Boccaccio's admission to the instruction of Andalò was due to the kindness of the addressee of the letter *Sacre famis*.

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[28] *Geschichte der Italienischen Literatur*, vol. II, Berlin, 1888, p. 336.

[29] *Decameron* I 1 : Giucatore e mettitor di malvagi dadi era *solenne* ; VIII 3 : come se stato fosse un *solenne* e gran lapidario ; Filippo Villani, *Cronica*, XI 97 : in Pisa, dov' eb bono *solenni* medici.

'NYMPHIDIA,' 'THE RAPE OF THE LOCK,' AND 'THE CULPRIT FAY.'

A certain resemblance, apparently unnoticed hitherto, exists between Drayton's fairy poem *Nymphidia* and Pope's *Rape of the Lock;* also certain resemblances exist between these two poems and Joseph Rodman Drake's *Culprit Fay*. They deserve a word or two of comment.

Nymphidia tells the whole course of love between the fairy Pigwiggen and Queen Mab. He secretly invites her to a revel in a "cowslip flower on Hipcut-hill," whither she accordingly steals with her special maids of honor. While they revel, Oberon discovers the flight of his queen, and, aided finally by Puck, sets out to find her. This hunt leads in time to the breaking up of the clandestine party and to Pigwiggen's challenging Oberon to a duel to clear the queen of slander. Here comes the resemblance to *The Rape of the Lock*. When news of the destined combat reaches Mab and her maids where they hide in a nut-shell, she determines to seek out Prosperpine and ask for her intervention. The Queen of Hades is graciously inclined, especially when she sees the fighters in stern combat with the blood spinning out of their helmets.

> "When to th' infernal Styx she goes,
> She takes the fogs from thence that rose,
> And in a bag doth them enclose,
> When well she had them blended:
> She hies her then to Lethe spring,
> A bottle and thereof did bring,
> Wherewith she meant to work the thing
> Which only she intended."

Hastening then to the fighters, she waits for the opportune moment,

> "And suddenly unties the poke,
> Which out of it sent such a smoke
> As ready was them all to choke,
> So grievous was the pother:
> So that the knights each other lost,
> And stood as still as any post."

Before these mists have altogether cleared away, Proserpine commands peace. Then, on pretense of refreshing the spirits of the warriors, she makes each drink from her second bottle, that containing Lethe water. At once, of course, they forget their cause of quarrel and all ends happily.

Compare the conduct of Queen Mab in the latter part of this story with that of Pope's Umbriel, who also descends to the lower world for aid and makes a successful petition to Spleen. Spleen aids him as follows:—

> "A wondrous bag with both her hands she binds,
> Like those where once Ulysses held the winds;
> Then she collects the force of female lungs:
> Sighs, sobs, and passions and the war of tongues.
> A vial next she fills with fainting fears,
> Soft sorrows, melting griefs and flowing tears.
> The gnome rejoicing bears her gifts away,
> Spreads his black wings and slowly mounts to day.
> Sunk in Thalestris' arms the nymph he found,
> Her eyes dejected, and her hair unbound.
> Full o'er their heads the swelling bag he rent,
> And all the furies issued at the vent.
> . . . . . .
> But Umbriel, hateful gnome, forbears not so,
> He breaks the vial whence the sorrows flow."

The resemblance is not conclusive, but suggestive. I know of no other incident in literature so similar to this one of Pope as that cited from Drayton. To be sure, there are numerous necessary differences, *e. g.*, Mab goes to Proserpine for aid to still the fight, not like Umbriel to provoke it; but there are these similarities: in each case the intent is frankly comic; in each case a fairy goes for aid to the lower world, supplicates a goddess, is successful, returns with two kinds of medicine, one a bag containing vapors and the other a bottle or vial containing liquid; first, the bag is broken over the heads of contestants (either kinetic or potential), and later the vial is brought into service. This seems extensive to be pure coincidence.[1]

Another matter of resemblance is in regard to Drake's poem. It seems that he may have profited from both Pope and Drayton. Drake's fairy hero has loved an earthly maid and thereby has "sullied his elfin purity." The poem tells how, as penance, he performs two difficult tasks in the face of serious handicaps, to remove the stain from his social standing. Possibly the relation which Pope's Ariel bore to Belinda suggested that of the Culprit Fay for his "earthly maid."

> "He has lain upon her lip of dew,
> And sunned him in her eye of blue,
> Fanned her cheek with his wing of air,
> Played in the ringlets of her hair."

So also does Ariel, though to be sure he is not in love.

[1] Pope refers, in his preface, to the Rosicrusian book, *Le Comte de Gabalis*, as a source of information about sylphs, gnomes, etc. I have not seen this book, but to judge from Pope's reference to it, it seems very unlikely that this work furnished hint for the incident under consideration.

The punishments suggested by Drake for the erring fay recall at least in spirit those of Pope. Drake's fairy king proclaims:

"Fairy, had she spot or taint,
Bitter had been thy punishment:
Tied to a hornet's shardy wings,
Tossed on the pricks of nettle's stings;
Or seven long ages doomed to dwell
With the lazy worm in the walnut shell;
Or every night to writhe and bleed
Beneath the tread of the centipede,
Or bound in a cobweb dungeon dim,
Your jailor a spider huge and grim."

Pope's Ariel harangues his underlings thus:—

"Whatever spirit, careless of his charge,
His post neglects, or leaves the fair at large,
Shall feel sharp vengeance soon o'ertake his sins,
Be stopped in vials or transfixed with pins;
Or plunged in lakes of bitter washes lie,
Or wedged whole ages in a bodkin's eye.
Gums and pomatums shall his flight restrain,
While clogg'd he beats his silken wings in vain."

Possibly again the whole final adventure of the Culprit Fay, his ascent to heaven through the region of hostile cloud spirits and his chase after the shooting star to catch the spark that would relight his elfin torch, was suggested by Pope:

"Some" (spirits) "in the fields of purest ether play
And bask and whiten in the blaze of day,
Some guide the course of wandering orbs on high
Or roll the planets through the boundless sky.
Some less refined beneath the moon's pale light,
Pursue the stars that shoot athwart the night,
Or suck the mists in grosser air below
Or dip their pinions in the painted bow."

And again as the famous lock is borne to heaven at the climax of the poem:—

"A sudden star it shot through liquid air,
And drew behind a radiant trail of hair.
. . . . . .
The sylphs behold it kindling as it flies,
And pleased pursue its progress through the skies."

That Drake may have read *Nymphidia* to advantage, the following parallels in idea possibly show. The Culprit Fay arms thus for his adventure:

"He put his acorn helmet on;
It was plumed with the silk of the thistle down,
The corselet plate that guarded his breast
Was once the wild bee's golden vest;
His cloak of a thousand changing dyes
Was formed of the wings of butterflies;
His shield was the shell of a lady bug queen,
Studs of gold on a ground of green;
And the quivering lance which he brandished bright
Was the sting of a wasp he had slain in fight.
Swift he bestrode his fire fly steed,
He bared his blade of the bent grass blue,
He drove his spurs of the cockle seed
And away like a glance of thought he flew."

Drayton's Pigwiggen arms thus for the duel:

"And quickly arms him for the field.
A little cockle shell his shield.
. . . . . .
His spear, a bent both stiff and strong,
And well near of two inches long.
. . . . . .
And puts on him a coat of mail
Which was of a fish's scale.
. . . . . .
His rapier was a hornet's sting;
It was a very dangerous thing,
For if he chanced to wound the king,
It would be long in healing.
His helmet was a beetle's head
Most horrible and full of dread,
And for a plume a horse's hair.
. . . . . .
Himself he on an ear-wig set,
Yet scarce he on his back could get,
So oft and high he did curvet
Ere he himself could settle."

Drake speaks of the Fay as having slain a wasp in fight; Drayton tells how Oberon had an actual fight with a wasp whom he mistook temporarily for Pigwiggen. Drake speaks of an acorn helmet; Drayton tells how Oberon defends his head with an acorn on its stalk which he uses in manner of single-stick. The Culprit Fay sails on the water in a mussel-shell; Oberon floats in an acorn-cup, "as safe as in a wherry." Drake has his fay ride on a speckled toad, as well as on his fire-fly; Drayton has a grasshopper and an ant as well as his ear-wig serve a similar purpose. Finally, not to go into further details, the crime of the Culprit Fay for which he endures hardship is the same as that of Pigwiggen for which he fights his duel, forbidden love.

Of course, it should be borne in mind in conclusion, that there was much fairy lore accessible in common to these poets which we have not con-

sidered.[2] Still, it seems possible that Pope may have recollected Drayton's hero when sending Umbriel on his mission, and that Drake may, in the "two or three days" after talking with his friends and before reading them his poem, have had his imagination stirred by these his two predecessors in fairy lore.

C. H. Carter.

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Pandosto and *The Winter's Tale.*

For more than a century a strange confusion has been current among Shakespeare editors and critics over the characters in *The Winter's Tale*, when compared with the corresponding characters in *Pandosto*, the source of Shakespeare's plot. This confusion, which at first seems 'small and undistinguishable,' probably originated with Steevens, when, in the edition of 1778 of Shakespeare's plays, he inadvertently attempted to give parallel lists of the characters in Greene's novel and *The Winter's Tale*, in the following note:

"In the novel of *Dorastus and Fawnia* the King of Sicilia, whom Shakespeare names

Leontes, is called - - - - -	Egistus,
Polixines, King of Bohemia, -	Pandosto,
Mamillius, Prince of Sicilia, -	Garinter,
Florizel, Prince of Bohemia, -	Dorastus,
Camillo, - - - - - - - -	Franion,
Old Shepherd, - - - - -	Porrus,
Hermione, - - - - - - -	Bellaria,
Perdita, - - - - - - - -	Fawnia, and
Mopsa, - - - - - - - -	Mopsa."

Collier, in his introduction to the reprint of *Pandosto* ("Shakespeare's Library," ed. 1875, Pt. I, Vol. IV, p. 14), calls attention to the discrepancies in Steevens's list of characters in these terms:

"[Steevens] committed a strange blunder (which shews that he had read Greene's work with very little attention), when he asserted that the Leontes of Shakespeare is the Egistus of the novel. Pandosto is Leontes, and Egistus is Polixines. None of the other commentators corrected the error, or, perhaps, were able to do so, from not having taken the trouble to go through the incidents in the original story, and to compare them with those of the play." Dr. Furness in his Variorum Edition of *The Winter's Tale* (p. 1), also mentions Steevens's slip, and, in his characteristic spirit of charity, attributes it to 'a clerical error.'

Strange as it may seem, Steevens was quite right, from one point of view (the one probably assumed by him), as regards Leontes and Polixines. So, also, are his critics correct,—from a different, but as justifiable, point of view. So far as I am aware, no one has attempted to 'find the concord of this discord.' The real variance between Steevens and his critics is due to one of Shakespeare's tricks in altering, not the names and characters, but the geography of the plot. In Green's story, Pandosto is king of Bohemia, Egistus of Sicilia. Now, in Shakespeare's play, Leontes is king of Sicilia, Polixines of Bohemia. It is plain that Steevens was correct when he placed the name of Egistus opposite that of Leontes, and Pandosto to that of Polixines,—provided the aim was to preserve the geographical and titular correspondence of the characters. It is quite as plain that so soon as he passed from the two kings to their wives, children, and followers, the relationship which he desired to maintain must break down. As a result, all the leading characters, after the first two, in Steevens's list are wrong,—assuming, of course, that he desired to carry out the titular relationship. Thus, in Greene's novel, Garinter is Prince of Bohemia; Steevens has him Prince of Sicilia. Bellaria is queen of Bohemia in the original story; according to Steevens, Her-

[2] Cf. J. O. Halliwell's *Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of A Midsummer Night's Dream.* Both Drayton and Drake make use of paraphernalia common since Shakespeare's time at least, but little can be proved by that except as strengthening probabilities. Drayton almost certainly had Shakespeare in mind when writing:

"Thorough brake, thorough brier,
Thorough muck, thorough mire,
Thorough water, thorough fire!
And thus goes Puck about it."

Also in describing Queen Mab's chariot in words that unmistakably recall Mercutio's account in *Romeo and Juliet.*

"Four nimble gnats the horses were,
Their harnesses of gossamere,
Fly Cranion her charioteer
Upon the coach box getting." etc.

mione (the corresponding character in *The Winter's Tale*) is queen of Sicilia.

On the other hand, Steevens's critics have disregarded the geographical changes made by Shakespeare in the play, and have considered only the *character* relations. It seems to have been overlooked that Steevens's real error consisted in the *attempt* to preserve the resemblance of both the *title* and the *relation* of a given character in the novel to the correspondent title *or* relation of the character in the drama. Such a task was made impossible by Shakespeare's reversing the main situation in the novel when he came to use its materials for *The Winter's Tale*. In Greene's version it is Pandosto, king of Bohemia, who is insanely jealous of his wife Bellaria. In Shakespeare's play it is Leontes, king of Sicilia, who takes the *rôle* of the jealous husband. While all the *titles* of the novel reappear in the play, a reversal of the opening situation causes a correspondent shifting of all the relations. For example, it is the daughter of the jealous husband, who is set adrift in both the story and the play (the method alone differing); but in Greene's book the jealous husband is the king of Bohemia, in Shakespeare's drama he is the king of Sicilia. And so on, with the other characters, the character relations to the plot remain constant, while the *name* or *title* relations have been reversed by Shakespeare. For this reason no complete, parallel list of correspondent names of the novel and play can be made.

A clear understanding of the discussion on both sides may be got from a comparison of the two lists following, taken respectively from Dr. Grosart's Huth Library edition of Greene's Prose, Vol. IV, pp. 233–317, and Dr. Furness's New Variorum Edition of *The Winter's Tale*, pp. 1–3:

PERSONS IN GREENE'S *Pandosto*.

Pandosto, King of Bohemia.
Bellaria, Wife of Pandosto.
Garinter, Son of Pandosto and Bellaria.
Fawnia, Daughter of Pandosto and Bellaria.
Franion, Cup-bearer to Pandosto.
Egistus, King of Sycilia.
Dorastus, Son of Egistus.
Porrus, an old shepherd of Sycilia.
Mopsa, Wife of Porrus.

NAMES OF THE ACTORS IN *The Winter's Tale*.

Leontes, King of Sicillia.
Mamillus, young Prince of Sicillia.
Camillo, Lord of Sicillia.
Hermione, Queene to Leontes.
Perdita, Daughter to Leontes and Hermione.
Polixines, King of Bohemia.
Florizell, Prince of Bohemia.
Old Shepherd, reputed Father of Perdita.

In quite another connection, it would also seem that Collier had overlooked some lines in the *Pandosto*. In his introduction (p. 12, foot-note) to the reprint, already referred to, of Greene's novel, Collier comments as follows on the obligations of Shakespeare to Greene, apropos of *The Winter's Tale:*

"Some verbal resemblances and trifling obligations have been incidentally pointed out by the commentators in their notes to *The Winter's Tale*. One of the principal instances occurs in Act IV, sc. 3, where Florizel says—

> 'The gods themselves,
> Humbling their deities to love, have taken
> The shapes of beasts upon them: Jupiter
> Became a bull and bellow'd; the green Neptune
> A ram and bleated; the fire-rob'd god,
> Golden Apollo, a poor humble swain,
> As I seem now. Their transformations
> Were never for a piece of beauty rare,
> Nor in a way so chaste.'

'This (says Malone) is taken almost literally from the novel,' when, in fact, the resemblance merely consists in the adoption by Shakespeare of part of the mythological knowledge supplied by Greene. 'The Gods above disdaine not to love women beneath. Phoebus liked Sibilla; Jupiter, Io; and why not I then Fawnia?' The resemblance is anything but literal."

The passage quoted by Collier from the *Pandosto* is, in all probability, not the one alluded to by Malone, nor the one appropriated by Shakespeare in *The Winter's Tale*. If Collier had turned over to page 62 of the *Pandosto* reprint, following his own introduction, he would have found this:

"Venus is painted in silkes, not in ragges; and Cupid treadeth on disdaine, when he reacheth at dignitie. And yet Dorastus shame not at thy shepheards weede: the heavenly Godes have sometime earthly thoughtes: Neptune became a ram, Jupiter a Bul, Apollo a shepheard: they Gods, and yet in love; and thou a man appointed to love."

WATSON NICHOLSON.

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FRENCH LITERATURE.

The Farce of Master Pierre Patelin, composed by an unknown Author about 1469 A. D., Englished by RICHARD HOLBROOK, illustrated with facsimiles of the woodcuts in the edition of Pierre Levet, Paris ca. 1489. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1905; in 8° de xxxviii, 116 pages.

Cette traduction se recommande par deux qualités fort appréciables; elle présente partout un sens plausible et suivi et elle rend bien la couleur de l'original; elle est écrite en effet d'un style alerte et vif, tout émaillé de locutions populaires, qui m'a paru (si un étranger peut exprimer un avis en pareille matière) parfaitement approprié au sujet. D'abondantes indications scéniques facilitent l'intelligence du texte; enfin une longue préface résume tout ce qu'il importe de savoir sur l'œuvre et le genre et donne de curieux renseignements sur les imitations plus ou moins lointaines dont la première a été l'objet en Angleterre et en Amérique. C'est la première tentative qui soit faite pour rendre accessible aux lecteurs anglo-saxons, sans arrangements ni altérations d'aucune sorte,[1] le plus ancien chef d'œuvre de notre théatre comique, et je ne doute pas qu'elle soit très favorablement accueillie du grand public.

Aux suffrages de celui-ci M. H. serait heureux sans doute de voir se joindre ceux des érudits. Ceux-ci, quelque sympathie qu'ils éprouvent pour la meritoire entreprise du traducteur, ne pourront se dispenser de formuler une première réserve: est-il prudent, est-il d'une bonne méthode de traduire un texte dont il n'y a pas d'édition critique? M. H. nous apprend que lui-même en prépare une[2]; mais en la faisant précéder, et non suivre, de la traduction, n'a-t-il pas mis, comme on dit, la charrue devant les bœufs? Il ne semble même pas qu'il ait voulu faire profiter celle-ci de son travail critique, puisque sa traduction est uniquement fondée sur l'édition de Guillaume Le Roy, qu'il considère comme la plus ancienne de toutes. Et nous devons faire à ce propos une seconde observation: comment pouvons-nous contrôler dans le détail la traduction de M. H., puisque le texte qui lui sert de base, conservé dans un unique exemplaire, n'est pas dans le domaine public? Ce texte même a-t-il été aveuglément suivi d'un bout à l'autre? Les leçons inintelligibles, comme en contiennent toutes les éditions gothiques, n'ont-elles pas été écartées? S'il en est ainsi et puisque M. H. était forcé de travailler sur un texte éclectique (lequel reste pour nous mystérieux), ne valait-il pas mieux choisir une édition courante, en nous faisant connaître, en note, dans quels cas, pour quelles raisons et de quelle façon elle avait été corrigée?[3] M. H. eût ainsi provoqué, de la part de la critique, des observations dont son édition eût pu profiter.

Après ce que je viens de dire il m'est assez difficile de soumettre cette traduction à un examen détaillé. Je relèverai néanmoins quelques passages, où il me semble assuré que M. H. a eu sous les yeux l'un des textes qui me sont accessibles,[4] et qui me paraissent imparfaitement traduits: il s'agit rarement de contre-sens caractérisés, mais le plus souvent de légères inexactitudes, ou encore d'additions ou d'omissions dont on ne saisit pas le motif.

> Par sainct Pierre l'apostre,
> Comme celui qui est tout vostre.
> (*éd. Jacob*, p. 26, vv. 5–6.)

Je ne sais d'où M. H. a pu tirer la glose qu'il ajoute au second vers: "your humble servant *is as happy as a lark.*"

> . . . Ha que vous verrés
> Qu'il me disoit (*L. C.*: dist) de grans merveilles.
> (28, 4–5.)

Laeroix, qui ne met aucune ponctuation, n'a pas compris et M. H. a partagé son erreur en traduisant: "Oh, you shall see what wonders he told me." Il faut mettre *qu'il me disoit* entre

[1] Sauf en ce qui concerne les parties en "jargon" du rôle de Patelin. M. H., qui a sagement fait en renonçant à les comprendre intégralement, les a fortement abrégées et a traduit en un anglais dialectal ou laissé en ancien français les passages conservés.

[2] M. H. y a préludé par des études approfondies sur les plus anciennes éditions de *Patelin* (publiées dans *Modern Philology*, juin 1905, et *Modern Language Notes*, mars 1906).

[3] Les notes, où l'on pouvait espérer trouver quelques renseignements sur ce point, sont exclusivement littéraires ou historiques.

[4] Ceux de P. L. Jacob (= P. Lacroix) (Paris, Garnier, 1875) (auquel je renvoie), ou de la veuve Pierre le Caron (*Société de Anciens Textes*, 1904). Quand ces deux textes présenteront des divergences notables, elles seront signalées.

deux virgules et tout devient clair : Patelin rapporte les paroles du père du drapier.

Nenny, ce n'est qu'une longaigne. (36, 3.)

Ce vers, qui ne présente pourtant aucune difficulté (voy. *Romania*, xxx, 432), n'a pas été traduit.

Feray . . . Et par bieu, non feray
Que n'ayez pris vostre repas
Tres bien. (39, 14–6.)

C. à. d. "je ne le ferai pas avant que" ; ce sens n'est pas rendu par : "I will that and . . . I'll see to it that you eat heartily."

Or par le peril de mon ame,
Il vient d'aucune couverture. (42, 4–5.)

On peut hésiter sur le sens précis de *couverture* (voy. la note de Lacroix), mais il est impossible, en tout cas, de rendre le mot par "chest."

Pour Dieu faites qu'il ne demeure
(*L. C.* : pour Dieu, quoi qu'il demeure)
Que je ne passe point le pas. (60, 14–5.)

M. H. considère *il* comme un pronom masculin représentant le drapier, ce qui ne donne pas de sens ; *il* doit être impersonnel. Je traduirais (d'après l'éd. Lacroix) "Pour Dieu, faites (Patelin croit parler au médecin) que cela (c. à. d. ma guérison) ne tarde pas," ou, d'après l'éd. Le Caron (en suppléant *faites* après *pour Dieu*) : "quelque temps que cela doive tarder."

P. 65, 5 et 7 : on se demande pourquoi M. H. a supprimé deux comparaisons pittoresques et qui ont été fort bien expliquées par G. Paris (*Romania*, xxx, 434)[5] ; suppression du même genre, p. 67, v. 4.

P. 74, v. 7, *s'affoler* ne signifie pas "perdre l'esprit" (il y a longtemps que Patelin déraisonne), mais "se tuer, s'épuiser."

Pour Dieu ! qu'il me soit pardonné. (79, 2.)

En disant ces mots le drapier ne demande pas pardon à Dieu, mais (au nom de Dieu) à Guillemette, qu'il s'excuse d'avoir tant ennuyée.

Et m'a faict [le sergent] une grant levée
De vous . . . (83, 6–7.)

Non "il m'a fait un vacarme terrible à cause de vous" (for you), mais "en me parlant de vous."

[5] Il est singulier que M. H. ne renvoie pas à ce compte rendu de G. Paris, où se trouvent de nombreuses explications sûres, ni à la brochure de M. Nyrop qui y est analysée.

Puisque M. H. prépare une édition critique du *Patelin*, je me permettrai de lui soumettre une correction qui me parait éclaircir parfaitement un passage obscur : il s'agit simplement d'une nouvelle distribution des répliques qui, telles qu'elles sont données dans toutes les éditions à moi connues, présentent fort peu de sens. Je m'empresse d'ajouter que cette correction n'est pas de moi, mais de mon collègue et ami M. H. Guy, qui n'a jamais eu l'occasion de la publier. Voici comment le passage se présente dans l'éd. Lacroix (pp. 62–3) :

Guillemette.

Allez hors ! Les physiciens
Viendront ici tout en présence.
Je n'ay cure que l'on y pense
A mal, car je n'y pense point.

Le Drappier.

Et maugrebieu ! Suis-je en poinct ?
Par la feste Dieu ! Je cuidoye
Encor . . . Et n'avez vous point d'oye
Au feu ?

Guillemette.

C'est tres belle demande !
Ah sire, ce n'est pas viande
Pour malades. Mangez vos oes
Sans nous venir joer des moes !
Par ma foy, vous estes trop aise !

Le Drappier.

Je vous pry' qu'il ne vous desplaise ;
Car je cuydoie fermement . . .
Encor' par le sainct Sacrement
Dieu ! . . . Dea ! or voys-je sçavoir.

Il me paraît évident, comme à M. Guy, que les vers 3–4 doivent être, comme les v. 5–6, attribués au drapier, qui rejette bien loin les mauvaises pensées que la fine mouche feint de lui prêter (au v. 5 il faut probablement corriger : *en* [*ce*] ou [*tel*] *point* . . . ?). Le v. 7 doit être partagé entre les deux interlocuteurs, le mot *Encor ?* étant prononcé par Guillemette (c. à. d. "vous y revenez encore !"). Et de même au v. 15, où ce mot *Encor* est la même exclamation d'étonnement et de colère, provoquée par l'insistance du drapier. La fin de ce v. 15 peut être attribuée à peu près indifféremment aux deux personnages ; je la mettrais plus volontiers, ainsi que le v. 16, dans le bouche du drapier, qui s'excuse et dissimule son embarras sous de vagues formules.

A. Jeanroy.

University of Toulouse, France.

G. Paris, *Histoire Poétique de Charlemagne.* Reproduction de l'Édition de 1865, augmentée de notes nouvelles par l'Auteur et par M. Paul Meyer, et d'une table alphabétique des matières. Paris: Honoré Champion, Successeur d'Émile Bouillon, 1905. Pp. xvii, 554.

A brief notice will suffice to draw to the attention of American scholars the new edition of the above work, which has been known to all as absolutely necessary for effective study of the literary history of the middle ages or the development of epic literature. There are not wanting scholars who consider the *Histoire Poétique* to be the most finished and perfect of Paris' works. Of how few critical studies can it be said, as of this, that, after forty years, their freshness and youth are almost the same as when they first appeared, and that their scientific authority is still universally recognized! The *Histoire Poétique*, too, stood at the very beginning of the author's career. The work, in fact, was presented as his doctor's thesis at the University of Paris, and affords a good illustration of the fact that the degree at Paris is the highest in the world.

The *Histoire Poétique* has been out of print for a quarter of a century. There are hundreds of scholars and scores of libraries whose efforts to obtain a copy of this volume have ended in failure. The new edition, then, is sure of a large sale. It was eminently fitting that P. Meyer, the life-long friend and companion of Paris, should undertake the new edition. This the busy editor of the *Romania* has done, laying aside his own work to perform this labor of love.

M. Meyer has reproduced the first edition, page by page, and has added at the close of the volume a considerable number of notes, some by Paris, others by himself, and a table of contents. Although this plan involved the repetition of a few errors—such, for instance, as the date 1665 for 1165, in the fourth line of page 60—it was none the less the only one possible. To have attempted to alter the text, even where the editor knew that the views of Paris had changed, would have resulted in certain confusion. The editor very wisely reserved any comment of this sort for the additional notes at the close of the book. A number of these additional notes are from the hand of Paris himself, and the remainder have been added by the editor. To have attempted to offer a complete supplementary bibliography of the subjects treated in the volume, would have added more than a hundred pages to the size of the book. M. Meyer showed good judgment in reducing the bibliography to the most essential and significant publications which have appeared since 1865.

Raymond Weeks.

The University of Missouri.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Galdós' *Doña Perfecta.*

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—On page 62, vol. xix (February, 1904) of *Modern Language Notes*, Professor Lewis presented some questions concerning certain passages in Galdós' *Doña Perfecta.* On page 112 of the same volume I had the pleasure of offering one suggestion in answer thereto, an explanation given to me by Galdós in conversation. To-day I am able to present material in answer to several more of the points that have been raised. I enclosed Professor Lewis's queries and his suggestions in a letter to Galdós, and from his letter in reply I quote the following:

"Las expresiones *Alonso González de* [the next word is not clear; it should be *Bustamente* but looks much more like *Guijalvez?*] *Floresta amena* . . . *Mateo Díaz Coronel* son de erudición imaginaria, imitada ó extraida de los catálogos de *libros raros y curiosos.*

"*Augusto Nicolas* es el escritor francés que Vd. designa, autor de los *Estudios filosóficos sobre el cristianismo.*

"*¡Desperta ferro!* es el grito de los almogávares, aquellos guerreros catalanes que fueron á Constantinopla con Roger de Flor; y allá realizaron grandes hazañas. *Desperta ferro* es locución de lengua catalana."

From the first answer the only conclusion we can reach seems to be that Galdós no longer remembers whether he took the titles bodily from some old catalogue, or made them up himself in imitation of what he found therein, although the probabilities seem to point in the direction of imitation.

From the second answer we have full confirmation of Professor Lewis's opinion, as expressed in his letter of inquiry.

Concerning Roger de Flor and the battle-cry *Desperta Ferro*, interesting accounts may be found in Francisco de Moncada, *Expedición de los Catalanes y Aragoneses contra Turcos y Griegos, Libro* I, *capítulos* II–XXVII, and in Ramon Muntaner, *Chronica del Rey Don Iavme Primer, capitols* CXCIV–CCXV. In each of these passages there is a direct reference to the famous war-cry, and I quote accordingly. Moncada says (chap. XVII)[1]:

". . . Opúsose Roger con su caballería á la del enemigo, que por la frente y costado cerró con la nuestra. Rocafort, con su infantería y Marulli, hizo lo mismo, habiendo primero los almugavares hecho su señal acostumbrada en los encuentros mas arduos, que era dar con las puntas de las espadas y picas por el suelo, y decir: *Despierta, hierro*; y fué cosa notable lo que hicieron aquel dia, que antes de vencer se daban unos á otros la norabuena, y se animaban con cierta confianza del buen suceso."

In Muntaner we read (chap. CCII)[2]:

". . . E batalla arrengada a alba del dia, que fo lo jorn de madona sancta Maria Dagost, ells vengren contra lo magaduch, e tantost los Franchs foren aparellats ab gran goig e ab gran alegre, que paria que Deus los tengues, com se feya en aquella saho; e los almugauers cridauen: *desperta ferres!* E tantost lo magaduch ab la caualleria van ferir els homens a cauall, e en Rochafort e lalmugaueria els homens a peu. E aqui vaerets feyts darmes que james tal cosa no vae nul hom."

JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD.

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A GROCER'S PLAY.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—At the beginning of the second prologue to the *Grocer's Play* in the Norwich Pagents is the following passage:—

"THE PROLOCUTOR.

"As in theyr former pageantes is semblably declared
Of Godes mighty creacion in every lyvyng thynge,
As in the fyrst of Genesis to such it is prepared
As lust they have to reade to memory to brynge
Of pride and fawle of angells that in hell hathe beinge;
In the seconde of Genesis of mankynde hys creacion
Unto this Garden Eden is made full preparacion.

"And here begynneth ower pageant to make the declaracion,
From the letter C in the chapter before saide,
Howe God putt man in Paradyse to dresse yt in best fassion,
And that no frute therof from hym shuld be denayed,
Butt of the tre of lyffe that man shuld be afraide
To eat of, least that daye he eate yt he shuld dye;
And of womans creacion apperinge by and bye."

The two sections are quoted to give the setting of the line,

"From the letter C in the chapter before saide" (*i. e.*, the second chapter of Genesis).

The obscurity of the allusion is at once cleared up by a reference to the *Vulgate*, the standard version of the Bible at the time the play was written. Each chapter in this version is divided into sections which are lettered A, B, C, etc. The second chapter of Genesis is devoted to the story of "mankynde his creacion" and the placing of the first human pair in "this Garden Eden." There are four sections covering the chapter as follows:—A, verses 1–7; B, 8–13; C, 14–19; D, 20–25. The prologue to the play informs us that its story is to begin from the letter C of the chapter and to continue through the narrative of the Temptation and Fall, which covers the rest of chapter two and the whole of chapter three. Section C, after a verse—belonging in thought to Section B—about the third river of Paradise, continues as follows:—

"Tulit ergo Dominus Deus hominem, et posuit eum in paradiso voluptatis, ut operaretur, et custodiret illum," which the playwright translates in substance in his line,

"Howe God putt man in Paradyse to dresse yt in best fassion."

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NEW CHAUCER RECORDS.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Recent researches among the *Calendars* of the *Close* and *Patent Rolls* and elsewhere have enabled me to discover several new records relating to Robert, Richard, and John Chaucer, and others of the family. I hope at a later date to publish a fuller account of them together with a study of the ancestry of Chaucer. The records referred to are as follows: *Calendar Patent Rolls*, 13 Edward III., part 3, m. 1; 21 Edward III., part 1, mm. 15, 29; 21 Edward III., Part 2, m. 10d.; *Calendar Close Rolls*, 1 Edward I., m. 6; 3 Edward II., m. 13; 4 Edward III., mm. 10, 11; 15 Edward III., part 3, mm. 13, 19; 16 Edward III., part 2, mm. 7, 15, 3 d., 8d., 20d., 21d.; 20 Edward III., part 1, m. 20d.; *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, IV, 353; *Liber de Antiquis Legibus* (Camden Soc.), f. 2, p. 241; f. 61, p. 249.

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[1] Rivadeneyra, *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, XXI, pp. 16-17.

[2] *Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins in Stuttgart*, VIII, p. 373.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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AN UNKNOWN MANUSCRIPT AND TWO EARLY PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE PROSE-PERCEVAL.

M. Ch. Potvin published, from 1865–71 at Mons for the 'Société des Bibliophiles Belges,' in six volumes, the greater portion—43,379 lines—of the poem *Le Conte del Graal*, consisting of more than 60,000 lines, by Chrétien de Troyes and his continuators, together with a prose-version of the Perceval story from a MS. (written by order of the Bishop of Cambray for Jehan Nesle, supposed to have gone to the Holy Land with Baudouin of Constantinople in February, 1200) in the Mons library, and fragments of another at Berne.

In 1876 the Rev. Robert Williams in *Y Seint Graal* published a Welsh translation, dating from the fifteenth century, contained in a Hengwert MS. and based upon a better French MS. than Potvin's two, together with a rendering into modern English (pp. 547–720).

Up to the present day the Mons MS., the Berne fragments, and the Hengwert MS. were supposed to represent everything that has come down to us of the Prose-Perceval, and M. Potvin's was considered the *editio princeps* of the romance.

At the end of his text (pp. 353–54) M. Potvin states :—

"Le roman en prose, publié dans ce volume, semble inconnu, et sauf quelques fragments, *unique*.

"Les Bibliothèques de l'Europe ont été explorées par des savants dont l'attention était acquise au cycle de la Table Ronde ; aucun bibliographe dans ses recherches, aucun critique dans ses études ne signale une œuvre semblable. M. Paulin Paris a consacré dans son Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris une longue étude à la Table Ronde ; il n'en dit mot. M. Francisque Michel, éditeur d'un Graal en vers a visité les bibliothèques d'Angleterre ; il n'y a rien trouvé de pareil. MM. Leroux de Lincy, de la Villemarqué, Fauriel et vingt autres critiques sont dans la même situation. M. Jonckbloet a publié un long poème flamand de ce cycle en y ajoutant les sources françaises en prose ; il n'a rencontré rien qui ressemblât à notre roman. Ni l'étude de Halliwel sur les *Thornton romances*, ni le livre de lady Guest, consacré aux contes gallois, ni la thèse spéciale de M. Heinrich sur Perceval ne donnent la moindre indication. . . . . Une lettre publiée dans *l'Indépendance belge* pour attirer l'attention des savants sur notre roman et les demandes particulières de renseignements que nous avons faites en France et en Allemagne ont confirmé jusqu'ici nos conclusions," etc., etc.

To the number of names enumerated here, I could add at least a dozen others of prominent scholars who have during the last thirty years devoted their attention, directly or indirectly, to the romances of the Holy Grail, but none of them has challenged M. Potvin's statement.

In July last, when examining the MSS. of *lestoire del saint Graal*[1] in connection with my forthcoming edition of the vulgate-version of the Arthurian romances to be published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, I also went through the early printed editions. There are two at the British Museum, that of 1516 by Gallot du Pre, and that of 1523 by Philippe le Noir.

The former edition has this title :—

"LHystoire du sainct greaal Qui est le premier liure de la table ronde lequel traicte de plusieurs matieres recreatiues. Ensemble la queste dudict sainct greeal. Faicte par Lancelot, Galaad Boors et Perceval, qui est le dernier liure de la table ronde, lesquelz liures ne furent iamais imprimez iusques a present," etc.

The first volume contains the vulgate of *lestoire del saint graal* as represented by many MSS. The

[1] This title is taken from the MSS., in preference to M. Hucher's *Le Grand St. Graal.*

second volume begins on fol. cxxiii recto with the following heading[2]:—

"Cy commence le second volume du sainct greeal qui fist mention de la conqueste du sainct Greeal faicte par lancelot du lac par galaad son fils perceval boort."

An examination of this *conqueste* had a most surprising result, viz., that I identified it as the prose-version of Perceval published by M. Potvin. This romance is divided into branches most of which begin with, "ci commance une autre branche del graal el non del pere et del fiuz et del seint esperit." In the *conqueste* there are, however, *two* last branches. The one of these, forming the end of the 'Perceval,' begins on fol. cxix thus:—

"La derreniere branche du saint greeal commence icy ou nom," etc., and ends on fol. ccxi with the disappearance or death of Sir Perceval "mais Joseph nous tesmoigne que perleuaux sen partit en telle maniere ne oncques ne seeut homme terrien quil deuint *ne l' histoire nen parle plus.*"

The other "last branch" begins on fol. cxxi, "Cy commence la derraine branche du saint greeal," and ends on fol. ccxxxi. This is nothing but a slightly shortened version of the vulgate queste as incorporated in the *Lancelot*, with an introductory chapter briefly relating the birth of Galaad. In this branch, Sir Perceval has become alive again, in order to die once more, after having achieved the quest in company with Galaad.

What I have said about the edition of 1516, applies equally to that of 1523.

The other day, when examining MSS. at the Bibliothèque Nationale, by mistake a volume (MS. fr. 1428, anc. 7526) was brought to me for which I had not asked, in lieu of another I wished to see. I was just going to return it, when following the impulse of the moment, I opened it at random and glanced at the text.

What was my surprise when I had again the Prose-Perceval published by M. Potvin before my eyes! Looking more closely at the volume, I found notes written in ink on the vellum by the hand of M. Paulin Paris—such as I had seen before in many MSS., for it was the habit of this scholar to annotate the MSS.—and at the beginning of the text the following note:—

"Le Roman de Perlesvaus ou Perleval qui semble avoir été remanié pour devenir celui de Perceval le Gallois. Il a été imprimé à la suite du S. Graal sous le titre le second volume du St. Graal contenant la conqueste faicte etc. 1516 pet. inf. Ici manquent les 5 ou 6 premiers feuillets et ce que contiennent les 23 derniers feuillets imprimés."

In conclusion, I may state that M. E. Hucher mentions both printed editions in the first volume of *Le Saint Graal*, Le Mans, 1875–78, p. 24:—

"223 XV^{e} siècle, sur papier, prototype de l'édition de Philippe Lenoir (1523)" and

"Add, 1. E 10292, 10294. Texte pareil à celui de l'édition de 1514–1516 d'après M. Maunde Thompson du British Museum."

and in other places. On page 26, in speaking of the Didot-Perceval, he says:—"cette dernière partie diffère complètement du Perceval que l'évèque de Cambray fit écrire pour Jehan de Nesle," etc.

Such an authority on the Arthurian MSS. as my late friend, Mr. Henry Ward, has collated the edition of 1516 with the various MSS. for his Catalogue of the Romances—one I hope that will be imitated some day by the authorities of the Bibliothèque Nationale—and yet failed to recognize in the *conqueste* the text[3] of *Perceval le Gallois.*

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[2] This is preceded on ff. cxvi–cxxii by a separate title-page and a table of contents.

[3] I have collated the printed editions of 1516 and 1523 with this text, but, owing to want of time, not yet the Paris MS.

ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES.

1. Goth. *afdauiþs* 'abgehetzt, erschöpft,' implies an inf. **dōjan*, which, as Grienberger, *Got. Wortkunde* 5 f., recognized, can not be connected with ON. *deyia* 'sterben.' But Grienberger's explanation of the word is equally faulty (cf. Uhlenbeck, *PBB.* 27, 114 f.). We may, however, refer **dōjan* to an IE. base *dhē-*, *dhō-*, *dhə-* in Ir. *dedaim* 'tabesco, fatisco,' *dith* 'Tod, Ende,'

Lat. *fatisco* 'fall apart, crumble; grow weak, become exhausted, droop, faint, decrease,' *fatīgo* 'weary, tire: vex, annoy,' *famēs* 'hunger' (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.* s. v., and references).

2. ON. *das* 'Müdigkeit, Ermüdung,' *dasa* 'ermüden,' *dǫ́sa* 'ermüden,' *dǫ̊senn* 'matt, träge,' *dáse*, Norw. *daase*, Sw. dial. *dåse* 'lazy, inefficient person,' Sw. *dåsig* 'lazy,' dial. *dasa* 'lie idle,' ME. *dasen* 'stupefy,' NE. *daze*, etc. (cf. Tamm, *Et. Ordb.* 114, 116; Falk og Torp 1, 96) doubtless come from the base *dhē-* 'fatiscere.'

3. Goth. *afdōbnan* 'verstummen': Gk. *τέηπα* 'am astonished, dazed,' *τάφος* 'astonishment,' *ἄμβος* 'astonishment, stupor,' *αμβέω* 'be astonished, obstupeo' point to bases *dhēb(h)-*, *dhēp-*, which may also be from *dhē-* 'fatiscere.' To *dhēb-* belong ON. *dapr* 'matt, schwach; traurig,' ME. *daper* 'pretty, neat,' NE. *dapper*, pre-Germ.**dhəbro-* 'wasting away: small, neat, weak; languishing, pining, sad' (cf. Bezzenberger, Fick *Wb.* 1⁴, 462). See also *Color-Names* 91, where Skt. *dabhrá-s* 'gering, schwach,' etc., are compared.

4. Goth. *bidagwa* 'Bettler,' or *bidaga* as it is better read (cf. Grienberger, *Got. Wortkunde* 46; Uhlenbeck, *PBB.* 30, 266), corresponds in formation to OE. *wītega*, *wītga* 'wise man, prophet,' OHG. *wīzzago* 'Wahrsager,' a substantivized form of the adj.; OE. *wītig*, OHG. *wīzag*; and to ON. *vitke* 'zauberer,' similarly formed from ON. *vitegr*, OS. *witig*. These substantives are simply the weak form of the adj., like Goth. *mōdaga* (: *mōdags*), OS. *modag* (: *mōdago*), etc.

5. Goth. *geigan* 'erstreben,' *gageigan* 'gewinnen,' Lith. *gẽžiůs* 'verlange heftig,' etc. (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*² 64) may be connected with ON. *geiga* 'schwanken,' MHG. *gigel*, *gickel* 'zucken, kitzel,' *gickeln* 'vor Begierde, Zorn, Kitzel u. s. w. beben, zucken,' NE. *giggle*.

For this development in meaning compare the following: OHG. *springan* 'springen,' Greek *σπέρχομαι* 'eile,' Skt. *spr̥hati*, *spr̥hayati* 'eifert um, begehrt eifrig.'—Skt. *kúpyati* 'wallt auf, zürnt, wird erschüttert,' Lat. *cupio*.—Gk. *ὁρμή* 'rush, onslaught; struggle, effort for a thing; eagerness, violence, passion.'—Skt. *lōlas* 'sich hin und her bewegend, unruhig, unstät, lüstern.' —OHG. *winnan* 'in heftiger Aufregung sein, toben, streiten, sich abmühen,' *wunsken* 'wünschen,' base *u̯en-* 'move quickly, struggle, strive for, wish,' etc.—Skt. *válati* 'wendet sich, dreht sich': *vr̥ṇīté*, *vr̥ṇā́ti* 'wirbt um, wählt, wünscht,' Lat. *volo*, etc.—MHG. *werben* 'sich drehen, hin- und hergehen, sich bemühen, tätig sein, streben, werben, anwerben, bittend erwerben, bitten um.' —Skt. *dīyati*, 'schwebt, fliegt,' Gk. *δῑνέω* 'whirl, spin round; wander,' etc.: MLG. *tīden* 'sich wohin begeben, zu etwas eilen; nach etwas begehren, hinstreben,' ON. *tíða* 'begehren'; OE. *tilian* 'strive after, intend, attempt, obtain,' OHG. *zilēn* 'sich beeilen, sich beeifern, eifrig streben nach'; ON. *tifa* 'schnell gehen,' Gk. *δῑφάω* 'suche auf, verlange' (cf. author, *IE.* a^x: a^xi : a^xu 66).—Gk. *πέτομαι* 'fly,' Lat. *peto* 'rush at, attack; seek; demand, beseech, beg, desire.'—OE. *fundian* 'hasten, go (to), intend; aspire, desire.'—Lat. *gradior* 'stride,' Ir. *ingrennim* 'verfolge,' Lith. *grodžiu* 'suche,' Skt. *gr̥̊dhyati* 'schreitet rasch, ist gierig,' OS. *grādag* 'feindselig,' OHG. *grātag* 'intentus, gierig.'—Lith. *greĩtas* 'flink, schnell,' ON. *gríð* 'Heftigkeit, Hitze,' MHG. *grīt* 'Habsucht, Geiz' (cf. author, *Mod. Phil.* 1, 240).—MHG. *gāch* 'schnell, plötzlich, ungestüm,' MLG. *gā* 'rasch, schnell,' *mi is gā* 'ich habe Eile, Verlangen.'

These examples might be added to indefinitely, for words of emotion are closely allied to those of motion. Wherever, as in OHG. *winnan*, etc., we find a word meaning 'rage, struggle, etc.,' and also 'wish, desire,' we may be sure that the former is nearer the primary meaning than the latter.

6. OHG. *klingo*, *klinga* 'Talschlucht in der Wasser fliesst, Gebirgsbach' is supposed to be connected with *klingen*. This connection, however, is mainly in the minds of etymologists, though it is not impossible that some who used the word referred it in feeling to *klingen*. In this way a secondary relation would grow up between the two words, which would even modify the meaning of the supposed derivative. But originally OHG. *klingo* probably meant 'ravine, gorge, deep, narrow valley.' So MHG. *klinge* is used. We may therefore refer the word to the Germ. base *kling-* 'draw together' in OE. *clingan* 'con-

tract, shrink,' *beclingan* 'enclose, bind,' OHG. *klunga* 'Knäuel,' etc. Compare MHG. *klam* 'Klemme, Beklemmung : Bergspalte, Schlucht,' *klamme* 'Schlucht'; *enge* 'Enge : Schlucht.'

7. NHG. *klinge* 'blade, sword' from MHG. *klinge* is still more closely connected in meaning with *klingen*. But if *klinge* and *klingen* are actually related, we must assume for the former a comparatively recent origin. In MHG. *klinge* 'Metallblättchen ; Schwert' we certainly have but one word, as is usually assumed. But the underlying meaning is perhaps not "etwas Klingendes," but rather 'clump, mass ; cudgel, sword.' In this case the word may be referred to the Germ. base *kling-* in the above. Compare especially Sw. *klunga* 'Klumpen, Knäuel,' OHG. *klunga* 'Knäuel.' Similarly from a base **glā*d-* 'sich ballen' come MDu. *cloet* 'Ruderstange,' ON. *klót* 'Schwertknauf,' Lat. *gladius* 'sword' (cf. Walde, *Et. Wb.* 267).

8. OHG. *kuzilōn*, MHG. *kützeln* 'kitzeln' is a rime-word to OHG. *kizilōn*, MHG. *kitzeln*, OE. *citelian*, ON. *kitla* 'tickle,' *kitl* 'a tickling'; *kíta* 'widersprechen,' *kítask* 'streiten, zanken' (cf. *Color-Names* 54). I formerly thought that *kuzilōn* might have taken its *u* from OHG. *juchen* 'jucken.' The *u* may, however, be original, and *kuzilōn* may be related to Russ. *zud* 'das Jucken,' *zudĕtĭ* 'jucken.'

9. MLG. *serwen*, MHG. *serwen*, *serben* 'entkräftet werden, kränkeln,' OHG. *serawēn* are perhaps from a Germ. base **ser(g)wē-*, related to Lith. *sergù* 'bin krank,' Ir. *serg* 'krankheit.'

10. NE. *shout* from ME. *shouten*, *schouten* is unexplained. Though not found in OE., it may be an old word. At any rate, in form and meaning it may be related to Gk. σκυδμαίνω, σκύζομαι 'be angry,' Lith. *skaudùs* 'gewaltig, heftig, schmerzhaft,' *skùndžiu* 'klage, führe Beschwerde,' Lett. *skundēt* 'ungehalten sein,' etc.

11. Goth. *-skaurō*, OHG. *scora* 'schaufel' are compared with MHG. *schorn* 'zusammenkehren,' *schürn* 'antreiben, reizen, schüren' (cf. Uhlenbeck, *Et. Wb.*[2] 172). To these add ON. *skora* 'fordern, herausforden.' These are from a Germ. base *skur* 'shove, urge,' which I should separate from OHG. *sceran* 'schneiden,' and refer to a pre-Germ. base *sqŭr-* 'shove, drive ; hasten.' That such a base existed seems probable from the fact that several synonymous bases of the type *squx-* occur. Thus : OE. *scūfan* 'push, shove ; move, fall,' Lith. *skubùs* 'geschwinde, eilig,' *skùbti* 'sich beeilen.'—Skt. *skúndatē* 'eilt,' Lith. *skudrús* 'flink,' OE. *scēot* 'quick,' *scēotan* 'move quickly, rush ; move quickly, shove, throw ; shoot.'—OE. *scūdan*, *scyndan* 'hasten,' MHG. *schütẹn*, *schütten* 'schwingen, schütteln; schütten,' ChSl- *skytati sę* 'vagari.'—OHG. *sciuhen*, MHG. *schiuhen* 'verjagen, (ver)scheuchen ; meiden, scheuen,' *schiehen* 'scheuen ; sich scheuen ; schnell dahinfahren, jagen' : *schocke* 'Schaukel ; Windstoss,' *schocken* 'in schwingender, schaukelnder Bewegung sein,' NE. *shock*.

12. Goth. *skūra* 'sturm,' ON. *skúr*, OE. *scūr* 'shower,' OS., OHG. *scūr* 'Schauer, Unwetter, Hagel' may well be referred to the primary meaning 'scatter, spargere.' This I find in the unexplained Skt. *churayati*, *chōrayati* 'streut aus, bestreut.' As this may be for **skŭreiẹti*, etc., the old comparison with Lith. *sziaurỹs* 'Nordwind,' etc., is still possible.

13. Early Eng. *sweal* 'utter with a shrill sound' is regarded by the *Cent. Dict.* as a variant of *squeal*. *Sweal* may be a derivative of the base in *swell*. To the same base may belong OHG. *swalawa* 'schwalbe,' etc. Compare also Lett. *swelpju* 'pfeife.'

14. The slang expression, *in the soup*, meaning 'in difficulty, in an embarrassing position or sorry plight, left in the lurch,' looks and sounds very much like a MLG. expression with a similar meaning : *in de suppe voren*, which Lübben, *Wtb.*, translates : "jem. in den Sumpf führen, in Verlegenheit und Schaden bringen." Was the expression brought to America by Low German immigrants?

15. NE. *tangle* 'a knot of threads, or other things, united confusedly, a snarl,' *tangle* 'unite or knit together confusedly, interweave ; involve, insnare' are supposed to be derivatives of *tangle*, a seaweed, ON. *þǫngull*. So Skeat : "To *tangle* is 'to keep twisting together like seaweed.'" The same explanation is given doubtfully in the *Cent. Dict.*, and is adopted by Falk og Torp, *Et. Ordbog* II, 353.

Aside from the improbability of the change in meaning *tangle* 'seaweed': *tangle* 'knot, snarl,' another explanation presents itself, which, without any forcing of meaning, exactly accounts for *tangle* 'knot, snarl.' This I refer to an OE. **tanglian* 'press or bind together, knot, snarl,' a derivative of the base in OE. *getingan* 'press against,' *getenge* 'close to; hard pressing,' OS. *bitengi* 'bedrückend; verbunden,' ON. *tengia* 'zusammenbinden, knüpfen; verwickeln,' *tengsl* 'Band,' ChSl. *dęgŭ* 'Strick, Riemen, Zügel,' etc.

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THE STANZA OF *In Memoriam.*

The immediate and lasting popularity of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, from the day of its publication, has set many people to hunting for the origin of the stanza, but their search has revealed only that the stanza has been used by relatively few poets, and, except by Tennyson, always in short poems. Both of these statements seem surprising, for octosyllabics are numerous and familiar in English verse, and enclosed rhymes are by no means infrequent. Moreover, the rhyme-scheme of the stanza of *In Memoriam* has been often used, in many combinations of pentameters, heptasyllabics, and shorter lines. Why is it, then, that this particular combination, which has been so heartily approved of, should have been so little used?

In the very peculiarities of Tennyson's use of the stanza I think we may find an explanation of its relatively slight use by other poets. Tetrameter lines, as compared with pentameters, offer practically no variation of caesural pause, that is to say, they involve sameness in the length of the rhythms; and they bring the rhyme-syllables perceptibly closer, which tends to emphasize this uniformity of rhythm-length. At first glance, a tetrameter line seems capable of greater compactness of statement than a pentameter, simply because it is two syllables shorter. Its uniformity of rhythm, however, results usually in greater copiousness, because in the effort to avoid this monotony of rhythm by greater rapidity of movement, the poet expands into two tetrameters what he might perhaps have said in a single pentameter. This, I think, is one reason why Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, for instance, seems so interminably longwinded, and why Scott's poems please most on a hasty reading. Other devices for securing variety of movement — feminine rhymes and trisyllable feet, as in *Christabel*, and seven-syllable lines, as in *L'Allegro*—tend, where the lines are grouped in stanzas instead of couplets, to destroy or conceal the character of the stanza.

When we come to examine the various poems which Tennyson wrote in the stanza of *In Memoriam*, we find that he uses only masculine rhymes (such possibly feminine rhymes as 'hour : power,' 'fire : higher,' number only a dozen out of nearly 1450 rhymes); he rarely has a trisyllabic foot, and those he uses slur or elide easily; he never reduces the line to seven syllables, which would give a trochaic movement; and he uses many lines containing only monosyllables. In short, all his metrical devices tend to accentuate the monotony of the measure, a monotony which, as we all know, he uses most skilfully to accord with his profound but carefully restrained emotion.

One other limitation of the stanza Tennyson may seem at first glance to have ignored. Octosyllabic lines arranged either in couplets or in alternate rhyme leave the poet free, so far as metrical structure is concerned, to make his sentences of any length: if he ends his sentences with the rhyme, the rhyme serves to mark his sentence; if he ends his sentence within the rhyme, the rhyme serves to link his sentences. In the case of the enclosed rhymes of the *In Memoriam* stanza, however, the very arrangement of the rhymes, if it is not to be purely arbitrary, invites an observance of the stanzaic unit which very definitely limits the scope of the stanza, both in its variety of cadence and the moods to which it lends itself. Charles Kingsley, it will be remembered, spoke of the "metre so exquisitely chosen, that while the major rhyme in the second and third lines of each stanza gives the solidity and self-restraint required by such deep themes, the mournful minor rhyme of each first and fourth line always leads the ear to expect something beyond, and enables the poet's thoughts to wander sadly on, from stanza to stanza, and poem to poem, in an endless chain of 'Linked sweetness long drawn out.'" It is

true that Tennyson availed himself of the reduced rhyme-emphasis of the last line to 'run-on' his stanzas, but it must be said that he did this sparingly. In *In Memoriam* there are altogether one hundred and thirty-three sections, but the familiar one which begins, "Sweet after showers," is one of only seven passages where as many as three consecutive stanzas are 'run-on.'

Long ago Professor Corson elaborated Kingsley's comment, and showed us the difference in effect between alternate and enclosed rhymes. As an additional illustration of the effect of the enclosed rhyme, the following stanzas from a short poem by Daniel Copsey, written in 1816, and called *The Churchyard*, are interesting because the rhyme of the second and third lines is still further emphasized by leaving the first and fourth lines rhymeless :

"Brooding, the shades of darkness hang,
O'er the still sullen house of death ;
Nature is hush'd ; no zephyr's breath
Disturbs the dull and heavy scene.

The moon appears, the light returns,
But not the cheering light of day ;
'Tis a cold light of transient stay,
No warmth the borrow'd moon-ray yields.

Its silver beams rest on the tombs,
But enter not the grave's confines ;
There neither sun nor moonlight shines,
But blackest night forever dwells."

Thus far, the rhyme-scheme may seem to be the chief feature of the stanza of *In Memoriam* ; but if its effect seems to any one to be rather a matter of arrangement of rhymes than of length of line, two more quotations—the first from *The Phoenix and the Turtle*, the second from Lord Herbert of Cherbury's *Upon Combing her Hair*—will serve to show how completely the cadence is changed by making the line either shorter or longer :

"Let the bird of loudest lay,
On the sole Arabian tree,
Herald sad and trumpet be,
To whose sound chaste wings obey."

"Nay, thou art greater, too ! More destiny
Depends on thee than on her influence.
No hair thy fatal hand doth now dispense
But to some one a thred of life must be.
But stay ! methinks new beauties do arise
While she withdraws these glories which were spread :
Wonder of beauties ! set thy radiant head,
And strike out day from thy yet fairer eyes."

After what has been said, it should not seem so very surprising that the familiar metre and the simple arrangement of rhymes of Tennyson's stanza have occurred so rarely in combination. It may perhaps seem less surprising when we see how the metrical limitations of this stanza result in a narrowing of the poet's choice of material. Some critics have called the stanza "preëminently elegiac," but no one, I think, has pointed out that its adaptedness, obvious as it may be, is to one type of elegy only. *Lycidas*, and *Adonais*, and *Thyrsis* differ from *In Memoriam* in mood and in treatment so completely that their difference in metre is natural and inevitable. In *Lycidas*, Milton used the imagery of the pastoral ; the poem was his tribute to the memory of a college acquaintance, sincere, we may suppose, but neither intense nor profound in its feeling, or he would not have chosen a convention so archaic as to be markedly artificial. In *Adonais*, Shelley lamented the untimely death of a fellow poet of nearly his own age. Shelley and Keats were not intimate friends, so Shelley had no acute sense of personal bereavement ; he tried to put into verse his vivid perception of a spirit as ambitious and as lofty as his own. For his vehicle he chose the Spenserian stanza, the longest and the fullest of our stanza-forms, and he swung through this usually languorous stanza with a breathless whirl and a surrender to the fervor of his mood that hardly any other stanza could so well exhibit—certainly not that of *In Memoriam*. In Arnold's *Thyrsis*, again, the mood is not that of *In Memoriam* ; it is, for one thing, a certain half-sweet sadness that comes from living over again in memory some of the happy days of student life and companionship : it seems to me to evade the deeper questionings that vexed Tennyson. So we find that Arnold, like the others, chose a more spacious, less austere stanza than that of *In Memoriam*.

In fact, the only English elegy which invites direct comparison is Gray's, which, like Tennyson's, was great enough to give its name to the stanza in which it was written. Metrically, the comparison is singularly instructive. To expand

In Memoriam into pentameters might be a perilous venture, but to cut the *Elegy* down to four-beat lines, chiefly by omitting dissyllabic adjectives, will show how much fuller the pentameter quatrain is. (The omission of the adjectives, even though many of them are conventional, changes the picture enough to make one sceptical of Emerson's advice to "Use substantives.") One or two stanzas of the *Elegy* will serve to fix in our minds its characteristic rhythm :

"Now fades the glimmering landscape on the sight,
And all the air a solemn stillness holds,
Save where the beetle wheels his droning flight,
And drowsy tinklings lull the distant folds ;

Save that from yonder ivy-mantled tower,
The moping owl does to the moon complain
Of such as, wand'ring near her secret bower,
Molest her ancient, solitary reign."

Here are the same stanzas cut down to octosyllabic lines :

Now fades the landscape on the sight,
And all the air a stillness holds,
Save where the beetle wheels his flight,
And drowsy tinklings lull the folds ;

Save that, from yonder ivied tower,
The owl does to the moon complain
Of such as, wand'ring near her bower,
Molest her solitary reign.

The following stanzas admit of the *In Memoriam* rhyme-scheme :

Beneath those elms, that yew-tree's shade,
Where heaves the turf in many a heap,
The fathers of the hamlet sleep,
Each in his cell forever laid.

The swallow twitt'ring from the shed,
The call of incense-breathing morn,
The cock's shrill clarion, or the horn,
No more shall rouse them from their bed.

Obviously, we have lost Gray's cadence, as well as his sonorousness ; we have left only a barren scantness of phrase that is hopelessly inadequate. Gray's stanzas are as polished, as carefully finished, as Tennyson's ; both are full of sadness ; but Gray's express the general, universal sentiments of the race in the presence of mortality—sentiments which are true and sincere and fundamental, to be sure, but which are not in the least profound in the way in which *In Memoriam* is. Moreover, Gray really enjoyed his theme ; in his day—as the *Night Thoughts* and many another poem show—the "pleasures of melancholy" were in the air. Gray wrote in a stanza which is ample, leisurely, to suit a mood that is gently melancholy, that moralises peacefully. Tennyson's stanza has the monotone of a spirit that has questioned and struggled, and has triumphed by wearing out the doubt, and has only a tired, tense voice with which to tell its victory. Surely, the elegiac mood, like the lyric, has many phases ; and unless those phases can be most fitly expressed by a stanza which is metrically plain and bare, they will find expression, as they have thus far, in other forms —and not in the stanza of *In Memoriam*.

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A POSSIBLE REFRAIN OF A LOST MEDIÆVAL FRENCH POEM.

In Bartsch's *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français* (fourth edition, cols. 341, 342) is printed a motet drawn from Paul Heyse's *Romanische Inedita*. It contains little besides the description of the maiden loved by the poet. After the throat and chin it is the turn of the mouth :

Sa frece bouce riant
Ki tous jors dist par samblant :
"Baisies, baisies moi, amis,
Toudis." (ll. 8–11.)

The words uttered by the "frece bouce" do not possess the natural flavor of popular poetry, however alluring they may be in fact, and because of their lack of concord with the refrains of folk lyric may not be assigned to the domain of carole song. But they must belong to some poem, popular or literary, which enjoyed a fairly wide reputation, for they occur elsewhere under the same circumstances, though in quite unexpected combinations.

In Herbert's *Dolopathos*,[1] which was written not far from 1223, the evil queen resolves to appeal to her step-son in person. She is most beautiful, her mouth lovely :

[1] Edited by Brunet and Montaiglon, Paris, 1856. *Bibliothèque Elzévirienne.*

Petite bouche bien assize,
Et sanbloit que toujours deist:
"Baise, baise," et qu'il ne quist, etc.
(ll. 3859–61.)

In the half Arthurian poem, half *roman d'aventure* of *Floriant et Florete*,[2] a similar situation gives rise to the same phraseology. The heroine of the poem is most winning. All the graces of mind and body are hers. Her mouth, too, is small and well placed:

Petite bouche bien seant:
Si samble qu'enfes voit disant:
"Baise, baise, je voil baisier."
(ll. 2903–05.)

The likeness of description and words in these two passages might suggest that the author of one poem was acquainted with the lines of the other. If this were the case, then *Floriant et Florete*, where the idea is evolved naturally, would be earlier than *Dolopathos*, where the eulogy of beauty seems rather forced. The contents of *Floriant et Florete* would not militate against this relation. They deal with social customs and physical charms in a way that suggests the interest in such subjects of the generation which ends with *Guillaume de Dole*, rather than the indifference to descriptive verse which is shown by the romantic literature which follows Guillaume de Lorris' *Roman de la Rose*. At all events, in contradistinction to the language of the motet, *Floriant et Florete* and *Dolopathos* point to a direct source, which is at once common and independent. On the other hand, all three poems probably derive from the same original.

Is there any other indication of the age or form of this original? The first version of *Floire et Blanchefleur*,[3] quite surely composed before 1170, might bring some testimony to bear on the age, though that testimony is very slight. In a description of the tomb built by the parents of Floire with the purpose of deceiving that prince in regard to the fate of his sweetheart, there is an account of two images, decorations of the monument, made to represent the two children. When the wind blows, these images bend towards each other, kiss and exchange endearing words:

Ce dist Floires a Blanceflor,
"Baisiez moi, bele, par amor."
(ll. 587, 588.)

The maiden answers with protestations of affection.

The difference between this passage and the text of the other three poems is great enough to preclude any possibility of contact. There is no description of beauty, no allusion to a mouth. The man speaks the words and not the woman. The resemblance consists merely in the attitude of the lovers and in the terms used. The details in *Floire et Blanchefleur* are not numerous enough nor sufficiently striking to justify any conclusion as to their source. They may have been due to the invention of the author only. Or they may be the echo of some such description and refrain as we find in the other three. But for these latter we may assume, with a considerable degree of plausibility, the existence of a common original, an original which was probably one of the many lyrics that celebrated the favorite themes of romantic love in the last half of the twelfth century.

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[2] Edited by Fr. Michel for the Roxburghe Club, Edinburgh, 1873.

[3] Edited by É. du Méril, Paris, 1856. *Bibliothèque Elzévirienne.*

GRAF FRIEDRICH VON STOLBERG IN ENGLAND.

The enthusiasm with which Klopstock's *Messiah* and especially *The Death of Adam* were received in England in the latter half of the 18th century would seem to justify the supposition that English men of letters would bestir themselves to become better acquainted with the members of the Göttinger Hain, that inner circle of followers of the German Milton. It might be expected that along with Gessner, Bürger and Voss, who sooner or later attained more or less popularity in England, Graf Friedrich von Stolberg, Klopstock's favorite and most ardent admirer, who was being proclaimed, next to the master himself, as Germany's greatest lyric poet, would find recognition across the channel. But the fact is that only the summit of the German Parnassus was visible from the narrow standpoint of insular self-sufficiency which

England occupied at this lowest ebb of her own literary productiveness.

It was not until 1784, just previous to the outbreak of a renewed interest in German literature, which culminated in the Kotzebue inundation of the English stage, that Stolberg found in England an admirer who considered it worth while to introduce him to a wider circle of readers. The *Gentleman's Magazine* for April, 1784, published in its department of "Select Poetry," two odes translated from the German of Frederick Leopold Count Stolberg, by J. Six, an author whose contributions to literature have not entitled him to an enduring reputation. He may however be identical with the scientist, James Six, who in 1794 published *The Construction of a Thermometer* and at various times wrote for the *Philosophical Transactions*. Whatever the translator's literary ability and productiveness, he deserves unusual praise for his rendering of these two odes *The Apparition* and *Homer*. Not only in strophe form and rhythm does he surpass his model, but the poetic figures are developed with a beautiful imagery and melodious cadence not to be found in the original. It is not unlikely that the poetic value of these odes induced the editors of the magazine to insert in their "Review of New Publications" for the next month, a brief notice of Stolberg's translation of Homer's *Iliad*. We are told that the Germans esteemed this the best translation extant, although the reviewer inclines to the belief that it is inferior to the Italian Annibal Caro's *Aeneid*.

Those two attempts to call the attention of the reading public to Stolberg's works were productive of no tangible results. Many years elapse before he is again mentioned in the English reviews. In 1797, Thomas Holcroft, the author of many successful comedies, and for many years a literary mediator between England and France, and England and Germany, published Stolberg's *Travels through Germany, Switzerland, Italy and Sicily*. The original had been reviewed in the *Monthly Review*, as early as 1795, by William Taylor of Norwich, who refers to Stolberg's fame as a translator of Homer, and commends him especially for his romance in dialogue, *The Island*, after the manner of Plato's *Republic*. Although Taylor should receive full acknowledgment for his untiring efforts to introduce German literature into England, he is by no means a discriminating critic, and the lavish praise bestowed upon the *Travels* is equalled only by his own willingness to join the ranks of the Kotzebue admirers. The following description of Stolberg's treatment of his material is suggestive of Taylor's attitude toward German literature in general. "Its peculiar feature is the uniform endeavor to employ the reader on objects of agreeable contemplation. Objects the most habituated to ridicule rise hallowed from his embellishing touch. Italy is here idealized into a terrestrial paradise, where the author like another Anacharsis has only to look about him and praise."

Holcroft's translation met with a very favorable reception at the hands of the reviewers. Both the *Monthly* and the *Critical* cited ten or twelve pages of extracts. There are two considerations which should have made this a popular work in England. This was an age of peregrination and books of travel were being voraciously devoured by the public. Moreover Stolberg's conservative position on the political questions which had been shaking the continent and threatening England were acceptable at a time when the Anti-Jacobin reaction against the principles of the French Revolution was at a high pitch. The defects of the work did not pass entirely unnoticed. It was justly censured for inflation by quotation from ancient writers, and for redundancy of matter, but little account was made of a lightness of touch and superficiality of treatment which distinguish this work from the travels of a Heine or a Goethe. The translation was justly termed proper, elaborate and elegant, yet lacking Stolberg's poetic style and marred by a certain diffuseness not native to the original.

But one further attempt was made in these years to popularize Stolberg in England. In 1800, the Rev. John Whitehouse, Vicar of Sharnbrook, Bedfordshire, published in quarto a twenty-one page translation of the *Hymn to the Earth*. The writer has searched in vain for a copy of this work. The only information as to its merits is gained from the *Monthly Review* for April, 1801, which noted the translation and ascribed to it considerable merit. The reviewer was especially attracted by the epistle of Count

Frederick to his brother Christian, which reminded him of Goldsmith's pathetic address to his brother in the *Traveler*. He further discovered an echo of Milton's line "Pillows his chin upon an orient wave."

It is not unlikely that a careful perusal of the English magazines of this period would bring to light many hitherto unnoted attempts by various individuals to introduce into England their favorite German authors.

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PARTÉNOPEUS IN CATALONIA AND SPAIN.

Buchanan has published recently[1] a valuable bibliography of the Peninsular versions of Parténopeus, at the same time raising the question whether the Catalan edition is really based on the Castilian version as it has come down to us. He finds that the end of the novel presents some difficulty in this respect.

I have already suggested[2] that the Catalan text is based on a Castilian edition which occupies an intermediate place between the edition of Toledo 1526 and that of Valladolid 1623. Some new details will, I believe, corroborate this opinion.*

First, it must be remembered that the end of the Arsenal copy has not been composed by the original author of the French poem. In its primary form, represented by all other MSS., only one marriage takes place. I have tried to prove that the group of versions to which the Spanish text belongs is derived from that form of the poem. In contrast to the Scandinavian versions, the Spanish novel has kept the original close: Gaudin is not married to Urraque. It is true that he marries *una donzella hija dalgo*, but this is clearly an innovation. In the Catalan translation Urraque has replaced the *donzella*. It only cost the trouble of changing a few words to bring about this very appropriate conclusion, and the resemblance to the Scandinavian branch must be considered quite illusory. It would indeed be inadmissible that Urraque's wedding, once introduced, should be given up in favour of a *donzella*.

The Catalan text presents some other points which, in my opinion, are more serious arguments against my theory. In Crapelet, v. 6319 ff., we hear that Melior receives his sister, *et puis l'enmaine en un vergier*. The Catalan text tells us that Melior and her ladies were waiting for Urraque *en un verger, que era devant lo cami ahont ella devia passar . . . y après sen entraren en un retret* (Tarragona, p. 106). The mention of the *verger* is puzzling, as it is not in the Castilian version.

When Parténopeus meets Gaudin, he asks him to let his pages go aside, cf. Crapelet, v. 7787 (Gaudin, *Ses cinq vallez a mis arrière*. After the tournament, all are content *sino lo Soldà que senanà molt enujàt perque no avia conseguit lo que tant desitjava* (Tarragona, p. 174). These and some other apparently genuine passages are wanting in the Castilian text. I do not, however, consider them decisive, as they may have been readily supplied by the context. How are we else to explain that the Aldana text once quite unexpectedly approaches the Catalan translation? In the Castilian editions (Toledo, &c.) the narrative suddenly breaks off after Aufete is baptized. Aldana continues, p. 45: *y sin que Aufete lo supiese, se huyó el Conde á las sierras de Ardeña, y Aufete se tornó á casa del Rei su padre.*

The Catalan translation informs us:

"Y aprés lo Compte sen torná en lo desert, que son Criat nou sabé. Y quant fonch en las serras de Ardenya, trabá los Cavalls que encara estavan lligats, y ell los deslligá, perque poguessen anar allá ahont volguessen; aprés lo Compte sen devallá al peu de la Montanya, y allì trobá una Font, y vent que era lloch molt aspre, y desert, deliberá de estar allì, per fer molt major, y mes gran penitencia" (Tarragona, p. 96).

The narrative shows later on that Parténopeus has stolen away to the Ardennes; he is even obliged to have a horse (not two). The fountain

[1] *Modern Language Notes*, No. 1, 1906.

[2] *Partènopeus de Blois. Videnskabs-Selskabets Skrifter*, II. *Hist.-Filos. Kl.*, 1904, No. 3, Kristiania.

*Dr. Bödtker's conjectures will be considered in the introduction to my edition of *Partinuplés*. In the meantime I hope to have an opportunity of examining the old text preserved at the University of Barcelona.—MILTON A. BUCHANAN.

is also mentioned later on. It must be borne in mind that the Aldana text, as Buchanan himself states, rather closely follows the original. This original surely was, if not exactly the edition of which a copy exists in the British Museum,[2] at least an edition very much like it. I have particularly noted the common false spelling *Mars* for *Mares*.

Instances of genuine readings in Catalan corresponding to altered readings in Castilian have not been met with. It need hardly be said that the Castilian text—besides the end—presents certain readings which we are entitled to consider genuine, and which are not found in the Catalan editions. The Catalan translation is very free, and we should not wonder that it contains amplifications which do not exist in Spanish, nor that, vice versa, it has left out some of the amplifications of the Spanish text.

The Valladolid edition and the Catalan translation have some lacunæ and even some readings in common. The age of the hero is here *quinze*, but in the Toledo and Brit. Mus. copies, *doze años*. The war-cry of the Spaniards is, in the latter editions, *Santiago, sant Jaimes*, whereas the Valladolid and Catalan texts read *Santiago, Santiago*.

On the other hand, Parténopeus receives in the Catalan text *cent camells*, the name of his companion is spelt Gaudin, and the pope's niece is still called *Elisena* (well-known from the *Amadis*), just as in the two oldest Castilian texts mentioned. The Valladolid edition only offers *diez camellos* and spells the names *Guadin, Elenisa*.[3]

These are no decisive proofs, but, everything taken into consideration, we may infer that the Catalan text is probably translated from a Castilian text which only slightly differs from the Toledo edition, and which had already introduced some of the characteristics of the Valladolid edition. The more important changes were merely brought about by the translator.

* * * * *

I have become aware that the Icelandic form *Úrakia*, has nothing to do with *Urracla*, carried into Spanish from *Urracle*. *Úrakia* has been influenced by the true Norwegian masculine name *Úrækia*, which indeed is a common spelling of several MSS.[4]

The Danish form *Fraga*, not unfrequently employed in the MS. and exclusively used in the oldest edition known, and Icelandic *Úrakia* indicate a common Old Norse source *Úraka*. This corresponds to the *Urake* of the English fragment and stipulates French *Urraque*. We see that *Urraque* and *Urracle* alternate in the French MSS., in certain cases even in the same MS. We have to explain the coexistence of the forms with or without *l* in the younger group of versions through alternating use in the original which forms their base.

The question of the real ending of the French poem has been discussed by Sneyders de Vogel.[5] He particularly draws attention to the mention of Ernoul's sons, &c., vv. 1741 ff. This passage as well as the allusion to the return of Ancelat, vv. 5728 ff., does not seem to be justified without recurring to what may be called the second part of the poem. But similar inaccuracies occur elsewhere ; they are not unfrequently found in Chrestien. Thus, for instance, the love of Gauvain and Lunete[6] is entirely forgotten by the author. It is at least worth noticing that the longer English version closes immediately after the marriage, as may be seen by the very complete and very valuable MS. in the British Museum, Addit. 35,288 : *And þus Endeth þe Romans of partonope.*

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[2] This copy is said to have been printed at Sevilla about 1560 (Gallardo, no. 1021), but the statement is not very certain. The date may, however, be approximately correct. Buchanan reads on the title-page *muye | forçado*. The frame of the wood-cut is, however, wanting on the right side, which indicates that the reading was meant to be *muy es | forçado*.* The text very nearly approaches the Toledo edition.

* I merely corrected a slight inaccuracy in Gallardo.—M. A. B.

[3] Buchanan quotes *Elenisa* from the Aldana text. In the Córdoba edition the name is, however, spelt *Elicena*.

[4] I have now examined the MS. Brit. Mus. Add. 4860 ff. 189–208, (XVIIIth century hand). Ward, *Catal. of Romances in the Dep. of MSS. in the Brit. Mus.* (I, p. 707), says that the text has evidently been derived, though with considerable alterations, from the 'Danish' MS. A. M., 533, 4° Perg. It is true that the Brit. Mus. MS. very often exhibits the readings of that MS., but it oftener follows the other connected MSS., and thus occupies an intermediate position. It is no copy of any MS. actually known, but offers no peculiar interest.

[5] *Revue des langues romanes*, 1905, pp. 5 ff.

[6] *Chev. au lion*, vv. 2395–2441.

ANGLO-SAXONICA.

OE. *arsgang* (*latrina*).

Aldhelm's *latrinarum* (ed. Giles, p. 54, 30), is in the Brussels MS. (Mone, *Quellen u. Forsch.* I, p. 411[a] = Bouterwek, *ZfdA.* 9. 498[b]) as well as in the Digby MS. (Napier *OEGl.* 1, 3917) interpreted by *arganga*, which Bouterwek suggested to stand for *arsganga*. 'Thence,' says Napier in his note to the gloss quoted, 'is the *earsgang* of Ettmüller, Leo, Bosworth-Toller.' But he doubts the propriety of such an inference, in the first place, 'because both MSS. have *ar-*, not *arsganga*'; in the second place, 'because the compound is an unlikely one.' However, *arsgang* will have to stand, for all that. For it is five times on record in Cockayne's *Leechdoms*, and twice we meet with the mistake *ar-* for *ars-* in the first volume, p. 4: *wiþ þon þe mon þurh his argang blode utyrne* = p. 82, where *O* has the correct *ars-*; in the third volume, p. 138, *þus him egleþ se blod ríne. hwilum þurh þa nosa hym yruþ þ blod, hwilum þane on arsganga sítt hyt hym fram yrnaþ;* and, *gif hyt byþ of þan þerman þanne myht þu þurh þane arsgang hyt gecnawan.* Finally, on p. 140, *þanne he to arsganga gæþ, etc.*

OE. *wīngeard* (*vitis*).

Aldhelm's *vitis* (ed. Giles, p. 27. 18) is in the Brussels MS. interpreted by *winierdas* (Mone, p. 372[a] = Bouterwek, *ZfdA.* 9, 454[a]), which in the Digby MS. is spelled *wingerdes*. Napier, in his note to the gloss (*OEGl.* 1, 2017), doubtingly asks: 'Read *wīngeardes*? It can hardly be *wingyrd* 'a vine branch,' as *gyrd* is feminine.' [1] But there is more than sufficient proof for a masculine *wīngeard* 'vine branch.' In the third volume of the *Leechdoms*, p. 86, we find *nim wingeardes sæt* (=? *sæd*) ⁊ *gnid on wæte. Ibid.*, p. 162, we are told that *gif middeswintres messedeg biþ on sunnan deg*, then, among other things, *wingeardas* will be *gode. Ibid.*, p. 164, we learn that *wingeardas*, under certain conditions, *beoþ geswencfulle.* In the second volume (which I shall quote according to Leonhardi's reprint in vol. VI of *Bibliothek d. ags. Prosa*, p. 57, 21), we read of *wingeardes twigu ufeweard merwe.* Thus, also, the *Regius Psalter* (ed. F. Roeder), Hym. 6, 32, explains *vitis* by *wingeard*, while the *Vespasian Psalter* has *wintreow*, and Luke 22, 18 both the Lindisfarne and the Rushworth gloss render *vitis* by *wingeardes* and this same genitive case for *vitis* occurs in the *Durham Ritual* 3, 10. Hence the compounds *wīngeard* (*-bōg, -hōc, -hring*) do not belong, as Sweet prints them, under *wīngeard* m. 'vineyard,' but under *wingeard* m. 'vine.' Nor can *wingeardhring* mean 'bunch of grapes,' as Sweet in his *Dictionary*, p. 207[a], though doubtingly puts it. As is plain from *WW.* 213, 16, *corimbi .i. uiti[s] racemi uel botriones uel circuli wingeard-hringas*, the meaning must be the same as that of *wīngeardhōc* (*capreolus*), *WW.* 201, 31, namely 'vine-tendril.'

[1] See also J. W. Bright, *The Gospel of St. John in West-Saxon*, Boston, 1904, Note XV, 5.

Is OE. *capian* a nonce-word?

Sweet, in his *Dictionary*, p. 32[b], records it as such with the meaning 'turn, face.' His one instance is, I suppose, from *Leechd.* III, 266, 23, *gyf heo* (the sun) *hine ontend. neoðan. þonne capaþ he* (the moon) *up.* I can add another instance from the Boulogne Prudentius glosses (ed. Holder), *Germania*, XXIII, 393[a], *sapinus capiende*, and I refer, by comparison, to *Ahd. Gl.* II, 589, 74, *uteminens also he vpcapénthi; ibid.* II, 556, 31, *supinus caffander; ibid.* II, 541, 61, *supinata* [*cervice*] *capfantemo*; *ibid.* II, 389, 1, *supinus vfchaffenter.*

OE. *edwinde* 'whirlpool.'

Besides *ZfdA.* 9, 421[a], *voraginis . . marg, eadwindan*, we have, *ibid.* 9, 423[a], *in voraginem . . . edwindan . . . .* and *ibid.* 9, 529[a], *voragines edwinde.* These three instances from the Brussels MS. reappear in the Digby MS. as printed by Napier, *OEGl.* 1, 636; 707; 5474; and they are increased by one from *WW.* 178, 15 *vortex edwinde.* Compare *Ahd. Gl.* II, 595, 11 *rotet eduuinde.*

OE. *edtælg* (*rediviva sc. purpura*).

Though in his *OET.* p. 542[a], Sweet correctly ranges the Corpus gloss 1732 *rediva aettaelg* under *telg* 'dye,' he has failed to give it a place in his *Dictionary*, perhaps, because of my one-time con-

jecture *edcuclig*. This I wish to retract now as unnecessary. I believe *ættælg* stands for *edtælg* 'redyeing' and the *rediva* of the lemma is the *rediviva* of Aldhelm (ed. Giles), p. 19, 30. As to *telg* 'dyeing,' compare *Leechd.* III, 178, *on xiiii nihte monan is god ælc telge to anginnanne.*

I, also, wish to retract what I have said in *Anglia* with regard to the necessity of changing *reodnaesc* (*partica*) of *Corpus* 1529 to *reodlæsc*. As to the genuineness of *næsc* '(soft) skin,' there cannot be any doubt. Besides *WW.* 337, 3, *nebris næsc oððe heorþa* = *ibid.* 552, 19, *nebris næst* (read *næsc*), the word is on record in the *Leechdoms* no less than three times, in the part reprinted by Leonhardi for the sixth volume of *Bibliothek d. ags. Prosa*, p. 12. 11 *do on næsc*; p. 32. 18 = 42. 35 *bind on næsce.* While the *lesc* of *readlesc* (*rubricata*) of the Brussels-Digby Aldhelm glosses corresponds to German *Lösch*, the *næsc* of the *reodnæsc* (*parthica*) of the Corpus, etc., may be an n-by-form of German *mösch* 'name eines *pelzwerkes* (Grimm, *DWtb.* VI, 2595). I am all the more inclined to assume connection between the two because of MLG. *nasch* = *masch* 'receptacle for letters, jewels, etc.' See Schiller-Lübben, *Mndd. Wtb.* III, 159. I venture the suggestion that this *nasch* (*masch*) was originally nothing but the soft skin of OE. *næsc*, used to wrap valuables up in. As to OE. *læsc* (*lesc*), it has its congener not only in Bavarian *lösch*, but, much nearer home, in MLG. *losch*, and *rēadlesc* (*rubricata*) has its exact counterpart in *rôthlosch -lesch -lasch* 'rotgegerbtes Ledern, Corduan,' recorded by Schiller-Lübben III, 513ᵇ. The quotation we find there from *Ndd. Rechtsb.* f. 155, *rothlasch sal nymant mynne vorkopen wen eyne Kunne* 'Of Corduan leather no one shall sell less than five skins,' may lead us to a better understanding of

OE. *cine* (*quaternio*).

Sweet, *Dict.*, p. 54ᵇ, suggests derivation from *cīnan*, and compares *geclofa*, explaining it as 'folded sheet of parchment.' But is it not rather like MLG. *Kunne* and Irish *cín*, a loan from Latin *quīnum*, and meant, consequently, by reason of its origin, as the Irish and MLG. word does mean, 'a layer of five skins (sheets of parchment)?' Not that Ir. *cín* means also 'a quire' and, finally, 'book' in general. According to Sweet, the word occurs only in the glosses. But, besides *WW.* 164, 1 = 314, 10 = 541, 5, there is also an instance of it in Byrhtferth's *Handbōc* 189, *ic warnige þæne þe þas cinan þengð to aspyrianne.* This instance, at the same time, shows that the word cannot be masculine as Sweet would make it, but must be feminine, as Ir. *cín* is feminine, and if my conjecture as to origin be correct, the vowel is probably just as long as it is in Irish. It is even possible that the OE. word is not a direct loan from Latin, put passed into OE. through O. Irish.

OE. *ceosol* (*gurgustium*).

I once believed to have reason for impugning the genuineness of *ceosol* as translation of *gurgustium*, and suggested corruption from *ceolor*. But I have come to think differently of the matter now. I disagree with Sweet in so far as he separates *cesol* (*ventriculus, stomachus avis*), *Ep.* 1054 from *cesol* (*gurgustium*), *Ep.* 457. I believe the two are one, and *cesol* (*ventriculus*) confirming *cesol* (*gurgustium*), I feel forced to give up my former theory, all the more so because there seems to be a Low German counterpart of the OE. word, if I am not mistaken in my conception of *keusel* I came across the other day, reading J. R. zur Megede's novel, *Modeste*, in *Über Land u. Meer*, 1905, No. 45, p. 1002, col. 1. A certain squire of Prussian Lithuania is introduced there as expressing his regret that he could not get a shot at a fox sneaking around constantly *in den* KEUSELN *da drüben. Der Kreth*, he continues, *steigt in meinem Hühnerstall aus und ein, als wenn das so sein müsste . . . . . Gegen Abend wird er wol wieder höflich auf meinem Hofe anfragen, ob nicht'n grösseres* KEUSELGESCHÄFT *zu machen ist.*

Is there warrant for *bedæcc(e)an (tradere)*?

According to Sievers, *Ags. Grammatik*³, § 407, note 19, such warrant is given by the *HH.gl. bedæhte* (*tradidit*). *Hpt. gl.* stands for *Glosse in Haupt's ZfdA.* (9, 441ᵃ), and it is true enough that there we find the gloss as quoted printed by Bouterwek. But only a few years after Bouterwek's publication Dietrich had (*ZfdA.* 11, 434 ff.) drawn attention to Bouterwek's peculiar way of editing the Brussels glosses "*worin leider*

was der codex hat und was vermutung ist, nicht allemal zu ersehen ist . . . . . so dass vor dem gebrauche seiner neuen recension ohne vergleichung der ausgabe Mone's gewarnt werden muss und eine neue streng kritische collation der wichtigen glossensammlung zu wünschen ist. This warning as well as Hausknecht's remark (in *Anglia* VI, 103) as to Bouterwek's misprints seems to have entirely escaped the notice of Sievers. Otherwise, I am sure, the distinguished Anglicist would have turned to Mone's print of the glosses and there, on page 361, 95, he would have found the usual interpretation of *tradidit, betæhte*, which is borne out by Napier's print of the Digby MS. (*OEGl.* 1, 1479). It is, then, on a mere misprint of Bouterwek that Sievers bases his assumption of an alleged OE. *bedæcc(e)an* (*tradere*). It may be well to point out here one or two more errors in the *Ags. Grammatik*. In § 222, note 4, we are told that the form *thuachl* occurs in the *Epinal*. For *Epinal* read *Erfurt* 326. Another, more serious, error is in the statement, § 413, note 1, that *geregnodæ* is a preterit form occurring in the *Epinal*. As *geregnodæ* glosses *conposito* of *mendacio conposito*, *Epinal* 618 (= *Oros.* 3, 16, 12) it is plain that it must be the instrumentalis of the past participle and, consequently, cannot be the preterit. This mistake has passed over into Bülbring's *Altenglisches Elementarbuch*, § 434, with the additional error that *geregnodæ* is rendered by *regnete* 'rained.'

Is there an OE. *besūtian*, from which *besūtod* 'dirty'?

Sweet has inferred this entry from the Boulogne Prudentius gloss (*Germania* XXIII, 403[b]) *i. sordidum obsoletum besutod.* I would suggest that *besutod* is either mistake for *besōtud*, and that we have to do then with *besōtian*, a derivative of *sōt* 'soot,' or that *besutod* is misread for *besīttod* = *besmittod*, which glosses *caccabatus* (*ZfdA.* 9, 504[a]).

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ST. HUBERTUS IN GOETHE'S

St. Rochusfest zu Bingen.

In Goethe's charming, grandfatherly account of the festival in honor of St. Rochus held on the saint's day, August 16, 1814, occurs the following passage. The poet and his friends were sitting at table at Rüdesheim, in the evening, talking of the saint:

"Indessen hatte sich ein Fremder eingefunden und zu Tische gesetzt, den man auch als einen Wallfahrer betrachtete und desshalb sich um so unbefangener zum Lobe des Heiligen erging. Allein zu grosser Bewunderung der wohlgesinnten Gesellschaft fand sich dass er, obgleich Katholik, gewissermassen ein Widersacher des Heiligen sey. Am sechzehnten August, als am Festtage, während so viele den heiligen Rochus feyerten, brannte ihm das Haus ab. Ein anderes Jahr am selbigen Tage, wurde sein Sohn blessirt; *den dritten Fall wollte er nicht bekennen.*

Ein kluger Gast versetzte darauf: bei einzelnen Fällen komme es hauptsächlich darauf an, dass man sich an den eigentlichen Heiligen wende, in dessen Fach die Angelegenheit gehöre. Der Feuersbrunst zu wehren, sey St. Florian beauftragt; den Wunden verschaffe St. Sebastian Heilung; *was den dritten Punct betreffe so wisse man nicht ob St. Hubertus vielleicht Hülfe geschafft hätte?*[1]

The words now italicized seem to have presented a very *serious* difficulty to Goethe's editors, the latest, of whom, Karl Heinemann, gives merely the following helpless footnote (17,263):—"Bischof von Lüttich (700–728), Patron der Jäger." Strehlke, in the Hempel edition, remarks (26, 344):—"Apostel der Ardennen und Bischof von Lüttich im achten Jahrhundert, dessen Gedächtniss am 3. November begangen wird. Die Beziehung ist hier etwas dunkel. 'Unser Heiliger,' sagt die 'Heiligen-Legende' von ihm (S. 1011), 'besass immer die besondere Gewalt, Wahnsinnige, Tobsüchtige und Mondsüchtige zu heilen.' Hat Goethe diese Beziehung im Auge gehabt, so

[1] My explanation came too late for use in Cotta's *Jubiläumsausgabe* (Vol. 29), now in progress, but the general editor, von der Hellen, informs me that he considers it "*sehr einleuchtend.*"

ist der Scherz gegen den Fremden allerdings etwas hart." Düntzer, in Kürschner's *Deutsche National-Litteratur* (Goethe 23, 195), gives a very characteristic explanation :—"*St. Hubertus* hilft gegen die Hundswut. Der Redende setzt wohl voraus, dass der Fremde den dritten Fall nicht nenne, weil man ihn wegen eines erlittenen Hundebisses für gefährlich halten würde. Offenbar muss eine äussere Verletzung gemeint sein, nicht der Ausbruch einer inneren Krankheit." No doubt Goethe would have been much amused at all this, for surely he was thinking not of St. Hubertus himself, but of the stag which appeared to him according to the well-known legend, or rather of the stag's *horns!* Thus we are reminded of a certain "bedenkliche" figure in the *Roman Carneval*, or of some lines in *Götz* (II, 3) :

"LIEBETRAUT. 'Nun, gnädige Frau, was verdien' ich?'

ADELHEID. 'Hörner von deinem Weibe'. . ."

In other words, the unfortunate traveller may in one respect at least be classed with Byron's four "worthies" in *Don Juan* (II, 206) :—

"Cæsar and Pompey, Mahomet, Belisarius,
Have much employed the Muse of History's pen :
Their lives and fortunes were extremely various,
Such worthies Time will never see again ;
Yet to these four in three things the same luck holds,
They all were heroes, conquerors, and *cuckolds*." [2]

[2] The italics are mine.

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MILTON'S *Sin* AND *Death*.

One of the most grimly impressive passages in *Paradise Lost* is somewhat un-Miltonic in its elaborate allegory and grotesque horror. On his journey to the world, as everyone will remember, Satan finds at the gates of Hell (II, 649)

"On either side a formidable Shape."

The woman-shape is Sin, which had sprung from his own head.

. . . . . "'Familiar grown
I pleased, and with attractive graces won
The most averse—thee chiefly, who, full oft
Thyself in me thy perfect image viewing,
Becam'st enamoured.'"

Their son is Death, and of Sin and Death are born "a cry of Hell-hounds." Of course the ultimate source of most of this is the Epistle of St. James, I, 15,[1] but some of it, as Newton, Warton, Todd, Masson, and other commentators have observed, is due to various poets earlier than Milton ; in the description of Sin there are suggestions of Hesiod, Virgil, Dante, and especially of Spenser (*Fairy Queen*, I, i, 14–5), and Phineas Fletcher (*Purple Island*, XII, 27–31), and of the two last there are reminiscences in the Hell-hounds and perhaps the figure of Death. The nearest parallel yet pointed out is that in Fletcher, according to whom Hamartia (whom the author glosses "Sinne") is the daughter of the Dragon and Eve. But most of these parallels are merely to the descriptive element in Milton.

The grisly fundamental ideas, although Todd thought it "probable that Milton commenced this famous allegory," are strikingly paralleled in another passage in the *Fairy Queen* (III, 7, 47–8) in which the Earth, the Titan Typhoeus, the giantess Argantè and her brother Ollyphant are related to each other much as Satan, Sin and Death are. But the most curiously close parallel is in John Gower's *Mirour de l' Omme* (edited by G. C. Macaulay, Oxford, 1899) :

"Ly deable . . . .
. . . . . .
De sa malice concevoit
Et puis enfantoit une file,
Q'ert tresmalvoise, laide et vile,
La quelle Pecché noun avoit.
. . . . . .
Tant perservoit le deble a gré
Sa jofne file en son degré
Et tant luy fist plesant desport,
Dont il fuist tant enamouré,
Que sur sa file ad engendré
Un fils, que l'en appella Mort.
Lors ot le deable grant confort,
. . . . . .
Au piere furont molt cheris
Pecché sa file et Mort son fils,
Car trop luy furont resemblant.
. . . . . .
La miere espousa son enfant :
Si vont sept files engendrant,
Qui sont s'enfern enheritant
Et ont le mond tout entrepris."
(ll. 205–237.)

[1] Professor Kittredge (*The Nation*, LXXI, 254) brings this verse into connection with both Milton's and Gower's allegories.

These daughters are the Seven Deadly Sins, which form the subject of the whole first part of the poem. The Devil sends all these beings abroad among men, just as Sin and Death follow Milton's Satan to this world. Since only one manuscript of the *Mirour* is known, and that was never published till seven years ago, the chance is infinitesimal that Milton ever heard of the poem. But that his and Gower's sources are ultimately the same seems to me highly probable. The idea is a distinctly mediaeval one, probably hatched in the brain of one of the more imaginative theological writers. So may not this passage be set down as one of the mediaeval elements in *Paradise Lost*, another example of its compass and universality? But in any case it is interesting to notice how characteristically the allegory is treated by each poet. In Gower it is thoroughly mediaeval, bald and intellectual, and at the structural basis of the poem; in Milton it is enriched and graphic, used (as Professor Courthope has told us is the common Renascence treatment of allegory) for purposes of adornment.[1]

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Christ (?) 1665–1693.

The affiliation of these lines is still a matter of dispute. Most scholars have considered them as the closing lines of the *Christ;* but Gollancz, in his edition of the *Christ*, printed them as an appendix, and declared his belief that they are the opening lines of the *Guthlac.* Cosijn, however, considered them an independent poem.

Taking into account the brevity of the passage, the relatively large number of parallels with the *Guthlac* which I have noted seems to me very significant, and indeed quite conclusive, as to the affiliation of the lines in question.

[1] A later passage in the *Mirour*, 841-948, in which the Seven Sins come riding on appropriate beasts, one of many such in mediaeval literature, strongly suggests some passages in Spenser, among others the Mask of Cupid in III, canto 12. (I may add that other elements in the Mask are borrowed from the *Amadis de Gaula*, II, 21, where Briolania is in the Firm Island.)

It will also be noted that, with one or two exceptions, the parallels occur in *Guthlac* A (1–819). The numbering throughout is that of Grein's *Bibliothek.*

The parallels are: (*a*) *Chr.* 1668, 'ond hīo wiþ þām līce gedǣleð': *Gu.* 198, 'sāwle ġedǣlan wið līchoman'; (*b*) *Chr.* 1669, 'hafað yldran hād': *Gu.* 471, 'onsȳn and ætwist yldran hādes'; (*c*) *Chr.* 1670, 'ābēodeð him Godes ærende': *Gu.* 131, 'Oft þurh reorde ābēad . . . . Godes ærendu'; *Gu.* 695, 'āboden hæfde Godes ærendu'; (*d*) *Chr.* 1673, 'ond wuldres lēoht tōrht ontȳned'; *Gu.* 457, 'wæs me swegles lēoht tōrht ontȳned'; (*e*) *Chr.* 1680, 'æfnað on eorþan': *Gu.* 815, 'and his bebodu læstan æfnan on ēðle'; (*f*) *Chr.* 1683, 'þe nō tȳdriað': *Gu.* 1239, 'tȳdrað þis bānfæt'; (*g*) *Chr.* 1685, 'ac him bið lenge hū sēl': *Gu.* 109, 'lufade hine and lærde lenge hū georno r'; (*h*) *Chr.* 1687, 'þider sōðfæstra sāwla mōtun cuman æfter cwealme': *Gu.* 762, 'Swā sōðfæstra sāwla mōtun . . . . ūp gestīgan'; (*i*) *Chr.* 1688, 'and his lof rærað': *Gu.* 130, 'ðǣr hē Dryhtnes lof reahte and rærde.'

The verb *tȳdrian*, according to Grein, occurs only in these two passages—*Christ* 1683 and *Guthlac* 1239. So also *hū*, used in this way, is found only in *Christ* 1685 and *Guthlac* 109.

The nine parallels given above are perhaps the most striking of those I have noted, but there may be added: (*a*) *Chr.* 1666, 'sē bið gefēana fægrast': *Gu.* 808, 'tō þam fægrestan heofonrīces gefēan'; (*b*) *Chr.* 1667, 'ofgiefeþ hīo þas eorþan wynne'; *Gu.* 203, 'ofgiefan gnornende grēne beorgas'; *Gu.* 448, 'þone grēnan wong ofgiefan'; (*c*) *Chr.* 1668, 'forlǽteð þās lǽnan drēamas': *Gu.* 301, 'forlēt longeþas lǽnra drēama'; (*d*) *Chr.* 1671, 'Nū þū mōst fēran þider þū fundadest': *Gu.* 1238, 'tō þam sōþan gefēan sāwel fundað'; *Gu.* 1062, 'sāwul fundað of līcfate tō þam longan fefēan'; (*e*) *Chr.* 1676, 'ac þǽr biþ engla drēam': *Gu.* 652, 'drēama wyn āgan mid englum'; (*f*) *Chr.* 1683, 'Ðæt sind þā getimbru þe nō tydriað': *Gu.* 456, 'þæt ic of lyfte londa getinbru gesēon meahte.'

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THE FRENCH NOVEL OF INTRIGUE FROM 1150 TO 1300. I.

Qui fort feme porreit trover
Le Criator devreit loer.
Roman de Troie, 13,446.

Si, cognosco le femene, mai no m'enfido en ele.
Proverbia que dicuntur supra natura feminarum.
Z. R. P. IX, 287–331, § 159.

Thackeray remarks that of all people children, past infancy, are the most unnatural. Evolution has become vaguely conscious and simplicity is gone, to be regained only after years. Literary genres show similar phenomena. The *Grand Cyrus* must precede the *Princesse de Clèves;* Chrétien could not have written *Sone de Nausay.* Why has the French novel not been continuous? The Hundred Years' War offers good material now for romance. Contemporaries, we think, might have found plots. Plainly, the obligation of the sons to win their inheritance does not ensure the result.

It is scarcely debatable how much the *Princesse de Clèves* reflects the court spirit of those times. No doubt the Dame de Fayel, dead since the reign of Philip the Fair, would have been no conspicuous reincarnation under Henry II. Literature as evidence we argue from but fragmentary data, and it is noteworthy that if Madame de La Fayette was a reactionary, the Old French novelist handled seldom such facts as those of the *Châtelain de Coucy.* "Jamais, peut-être, par exemple, les rapports des hommes avec les femmes n'ont été plus licencieux, et jamais pourtant l'honnêteté des mœurs n'a été plus recommandée et décrite avec plus d'estime et de charme."[1] The historian has stated the actual conditions. It may be interesting to observe how the medieval novelist[2] in France, beginning with Chrétien de Troyes, approached a story of intrigue.

Chrétien was the poet of a new life for the women of North France, a different region in 1150 from Cæsar's Gaul where "*viri in uxores . . . . vitæ necisque habent potestatem.*"[3] The women of all Gaul had done much to shape the speech of the country.[4] But until the twelfth century, in two of the three parts of Gaul at least, this was used largely to vociferate the praises of their warrior consorts—*chansons de geste* are songs of arms and the man. The work of those warriors themselves[5] had now rendered it so that the time had come for woman to go beyond shaping the forms of speech. She was now to complete the refinement necessary to make it a fit instrument for singing her own praises, render it at last somewhat conscious of its resources in every way. A *lingua aulica* was inevitable.

And then came Chrétien. His public was small and well-delimited. The knights and especially the ladies of the châteaux, shrinking from the real,[6] wishing to have a glamour cast over the real, cared not as before for the sort of *gabs* the chansons de geste could offer. A licentious and a rude society,[7] beginning to hanker after the amenities of life, wanted dreams of *cortoisie.* Instruction in the arts of love such as the courts of love gave is proof that women were already taking steps that would make it said throughout Europe, "They order this matter better in France." Chrétien was the man for these women of "views." He hit upon the very good idea of setting up his stage in the misty West—place Caerleon, time Easter—and making his characters act their love parts by the code of Ovid Christianized.[8] It was a metamorphosis, such as the unlucky poet could never have conjured up, even in his nightmares at Tomi.

[1] Cf. Guizot, *Histoire de la civilization en France*, Paris, 1863, III, 162.

[2] By 'novel' is meant such metrical romances as contain a well-defined story of love or adventure in which a hero and a heroine share somewhat equally; *i. e.*, *Romans d'aventures* for the most part. For the epic, cf. *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, XVIII. Marburg, 1884. Theodor Krabbes, *Die Frau im Altfranzösischen Karlsepos*, especially chapters III and IV.

[3] *Bell. Gall.*, VI, 19.

[4] Cf. Wilhelm Meyer, *Grundriss der Rom. Philologie*, I, 353.

[5] Cf. *Zeller et Luchaire, Histoire de France racontée par les contemporains*, III (Louis VI et Louis VII), Paris, 1882, p. 29.

[6] Cf. H. Michelant et Paul Meyer. *L'Escoufle*, Paris, 1894 [A. T. F.], p. xl, "Les mérites que nous reconnaissons à l'Escoufle ne paraissent pas avoir frappé au même degré les contemporains."

[7] Cf. Lanson. *Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1896, p. 45—"Ces bonnes gens, vrais enfants, qui ne savaient rien et ne pensaient guère."

[8] Cf. W. Foerster. *Cligès* [Rom. Bib. No. 1], Halle, 1901, p. xv, and *Der Karrenritter*, Halle, 1899, pp. lxxxviii-xcviii.

So the parfit knyghte of the Arthurian romance is to be regarded as very greatly due to the active interest of the women in getting their sentimental status changed. The immediate impulse, if Celtic, did not find complete reception in the sterner atmosphere of North France.[9] The loss of Chrétien's *Tristan* is significant, particularly when considered together with his own right-about in *Cligès*, and the attitude of the novelists, his successors, for many years. Besides the "conte de Bretagne si vain et plaisant," there was inspiration from the East where the servile condition of women had given rise to a sort of stories which might easily be welcome to the new French taste for women's emancipation. But the *zartes Wesen* never became a type in Old French fiction. Blanchefleur seems thoroughly Eastern.[10] Nicolète, her French representative, is very different. Athenais (*Éracle*) has no imitators except Flamenca of Provence and Lady Agnes (*Joufrois*) of Poitou. The *Châtelain de Coucy* and the *Châtelaine de Vergi* are not frivolous, but very serious.

Chrétien, apparently, had two notions to exploit in the second part of *Cligès* (c. 1155)—one, to present a plot from the East which should exhibit a heroine of innocent intrigue ; the other, to put forward this heroine, Fenice, as willing for anything except the reputation of an Iseult. She asseverates :

"Miauz voldroie estre desmanbree 3145.
Que de nos deus fust remanbree
L'amors d'Iseut et de Tristan.
. . . . . .
Ceste amors ne fu pas resnable ; 3157.
Mes la moie est toz jorz estable,
Ne de mon cors ne de mon cuer
N'iert feite partie a nul fuer.
Ja voir mes cors n'iert garceniers,
Ja n'i avra deus parceniers.

Thessala, the old nurse, compounds a drug which, being administered to the Emperor Alis after his marriage to Fenice, makes him a husband only in name. Cligès, the loved nephew of Alis, has had no scruples but is timid :

Cil crient que cele le rafust, 3829.
Cele ancusee se refust,
S'ele ne dotast la refuse.
. . . . . .
Se cele comancier ne l'ose, 3839.
N'est mervoille ; car sinple chose
Doit estre pucele et coarde.

After a separation, Cligès and Fenice are again together, in Constantinople. Fenice tells what the situation is in regard to herself and the Emperor. She says :

"Vostre est mes cuers, vostre est mes cors, 5250.
Ne ja nus par mon essanpleire
N'aprandra vilenie a feire."

Cligès proposes elopement :

Cele respont : "Et je dirai : 5309.
Ja avuec vos einsi n'irai,
Que lors seroit par tot le monde
Aussi come d'Yseut la blonde
Et de Tristan de nos parlé.
. . . . . .
Nus nel crerroit ne devroit croire 5317.
La chose si come ele est voire.
. . . . . .
Mes le comandemant saint Pol 5324.
Fet buen garder et retenir.
Qui chastes ne se viaut tenir,
Sainz Pos a feire li ansaingne
Si sagemant, que il n'an praingne
Ne cri ne blasme ne reproche."

Thessala aiding, they execute a plan ; Fenice swallows a potion which in appearance causes her death :

"Malade me ferai par tans.
Et vos resoiiez an espans
De porveoir ma sepouture."

Physicians cannot revive her—

Ja la voloient au feu metre 6016.
Por rostir et por greïllier.

For a year and a third—a better-starred Juliet—Fenice lives in a darksome tower to which Cligès resorts. Their stratagem is exposed and the lovers take refuge with King Arthur.

Chrétien's treatment is rather clumsy. His *Tristan*, doubtless, has been small loss. Fenice compounds with her conscience by condemning Iseult and endeavoring to escape publicity. It did not once occur to the poet that a genuine *anti-Tristan* would show Fenice for duty's sake resisting Cligès to the end. As it is, Fenice and the lady in the *Chartreuse de Parme* are considerably

[9] Cf. Guizot, *Coll. des mémoires relatifs à l'histoire de France*, IX, La vie de Guibert de Nogent par lui-même.

[10] Cf. *Floire et Blanceflor*, Édélestand du Méril, Paris, 1856, p. cxliv. "Blanceflore n'appartient pas aux mœurs heroïques de nos vieilles chansons de geste et les fictions de la littérature de société lui sont plus étrangères encore."

alike. They both contract a brilliant marriage and then prosecute an intrigue. The Emperor Alis was so little of Prof. Foerster's opinion [11]

Qu'ains puis n'i ot anpereor, 6765.
N'eüst de sa fame peor,
Qu'ele le deüst decevoir,
Se il oï ramantevoir,
Comant Fenice Alis decut.

Gautier d'Arras was a man of his times also. In his two extant works he has levied on East and West. The *Éracle*,[12] written about 1164, gives the history, with asides, of the distinguished connoisseur of that name—

Toutes les pieres connissoit 279.
. . . . . .
De femmes savoit ensement
Toute le vie et l'erement.

Éracle chooses a wife for the Roman Emperor. Rejecting a crowd of applicants, his choice falls upon a ragged, nut-brown maid, Athenais. The Emperor goes forth to the wars and shuts his wife up in a tower, notwithstanding the advice of the sage Éracle. Athenais complains :

"Mieuz ameroie en me chemise 3327.
Estre a honeur et a delivre
Qu'empereriz a honte vivre.

The Empress Athenais looks on at the Saturnalia, and is captivated by a dancer, young Paridès. Athenais sighs :

"Queus maus seroit se jou amoie 3585.
Cel bel valet que jou la voi ?
. . . . . .
Et coment ? Se je faz folie, 3695.
Je ne sui pas li premeraine
Ne ne serai li daerraine."

Paridès, ill of love, has his case diagnosed by an old woman, who offers her services. This go-between takes the Empress a basket of cherries :

Li dame sist sour un tapiz 4261.
En sus des autres auques loing :
De lour societé n'a soing.
Il ne li tourne a nul delit ;
Un livre tient, et si i lit.

After a long preamble the old woman mentions Paridès. Athenais is refractory and then amenable :

"Chetive riens, cuers deceüz ! 4350.
Pour qu'est par toi ramenteüz
Li hom el mont qui pis me fait ?
. . . . . .
Ne sai s'il est mes anemis 4366.
Mais tant sai bien : je sui s'amie."

A letter is sent to Paridès ; the old woman carries it in a pastry. Athenais is to ride out with her guards, fall from her horse before the old woman's door, be taken into the house and there will be Paridès (ll. 4559 ff.).[13] The plan is successful. Nevertheless, nothing can be hid from the seer Éracle. He sends word to the Emperor that the Empress has fallen and not only from her horse. The Emperor returns and swears that death shall be the part of Paridès. Athenais pleads :

"Faites moi ardoir ou ocire. 4846.
Se li venjance en puet soufire
Que jou seule muire pour nous.
. . . . . .
Se li plons art, que l'argenz fonde, 4852.
N'est mie droiz qu'om le confonde." [14]

The culprits are brought before the Emperor :

"Or me di, feme fausse et vaine 4946.
Qui tant avoies en demaine,
Com osas tu cestui atraire ?
—Biaus sire, amours le me fist faire.
—Coment ? aimes le tu encore ?
—Biaus sire, coment seroit ore
Se jou onques l'amai nul jour,
Que je ne vueille encor s'amour ?"

The Emperor, getting no comfort of Éracle, delivers a judgment a trifle sardonic :

"Faire vueil un nouvel martir 5077.
De cest valet, mais non ferai !
Le dame a feme li donrai."

Gautier has no theories—he is a better story-teller than Chrétien—but his Dame del Doignon is no more than Fenice, an outright instance of an intriguing wife. We learn only that Athenais is unhappily married and happily released, not until she has gone beyond the fatal compromise, "I am not the first." Gautier has told a good anecdote, and passes on to the mortal works of Éracle of

[11] Cf. *Cligès*, p. xxvi.

[12] *Éracle*. Œuvres de Gautier d'Arras, p. p. E. Löseth. Tome premier, Paris, 1890. Cf. Gaston Paris, *Romania*, xxi, p. 277.

[13] Cf. Gaston Paris. *Romania*, viii, pp. 343 ff., where parallels are noted—*Châtelain de Coucy*, 6310 ff., and La Fontaine : *On ne s'avise point de tout. Grands Écrivains*, iv, p. 366.

[14] Cf. *Floire et Blanceflor*, p. iii.

which the last was the crusade against Chosroes of Persia. As has been seen, Chrétien does hardly more. And we gather from either story that when affinities declare themselves husbands are fair game.

(To be continued.)

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DER TEUFEL IST LOS.

By CHRISTIAN FELIX WEISSE.

When the Restoration dramatist Thomas Shadwell and his brother-in-law, the actor Jevon, wrote the farce *The Devil of a Wife*, they little dreamed of the important rôle which their little piece was to play in the literary history of Germany some fifty years later.[1] Composed and acted in the spring of 1686, the farce became immensely popular because of its simple plot, rapid action, and broadly humorous dialogue. Picking it up in 1730, the dramatist Charles Coffey made it over into a three act opera, by introducing some forty-two popular airs, sung by the various characters, as solos. Music, however, was not entirely absent from the original farce. In all his other comedies, Shadwell has much to say about music, and in *The Devil of a Wife* he followed his rule by introducing three or four rollicking tunes, one of which, "A Boat, A Boat, haste to the Ferry," is still sung in England to-day. In increasing the number of songs and thereby converting the comedy into an opera, Coffey was largely influenced by the tremendous popularity of Gay's *Beggars Opera*, which appeared in 1728, three years previous. In Germany, however, the opera was a pleasing novelty to the music-loving people, so in 1743, Caspar Wilhelm von Borck, the German "Gesandter" at London, undertook the translation of Coffey's *The Devil to Pay* into German, and the piece was at once put on the stage by the Schönemann troupe and performed with great success. In 1752, Christian Felix Weisse was requested to retranslate the English opera, new tunes were substituted for the original airs which Borck had preserved in his translation, and the piece was again put on the boards. A few years later, Weisse became acquainted in Paris with a French translation of *The Devil to Pay*, entitled *Le Diable à Quatre, ou La Femme Acariatre* (by Sedaine, 1756), so in his final remodeling of *Der Teufel ist Los* in 1766 Weisse made considerable alterations in the text of the opera. It is unfortunate that we know nothing of the whereabouts of Borck's translation, and the present writer regrets also that he has had to use the 1777 edition of Weisse's *Singspiele* instead of the 1768 edition in which *Der Teufel ist Los* appeared for the first time in print. Under these handicaps the writer ventures, nevertheless, to indicate some of the changes which the English originals have undergone at the hands of the translator.

In the first place, a collation of the texts makes it evident that Weisse did not use the 1731 text (the "editio princeps") of Coffey's opera. The arrangement of the scenes, and the rime scheme of the song, "Es war einmal ein junges Weib," proves that fact conclusively. In the second place, it is quite apparent that Weisse has appropriated several of the scenes which are original with the French translator Sedaine. As an illustration of this point may be cited Act I, scene 10, of *Der Teufel ist Los*, which is found only in the French text. A case of mis-translation occurs in Act II, scene 2. In the English text, the termagant wife, Lady Loverule, has been transferred through a "cunning man's" power to the hut of a "beastly" cobbler. Suddenly she hears a noise and cries out angrily, "What dog is that?", referring, I take it, to the cobbler. The French translator takes the word literally, however, and elaborates the text as follows: "Qu'-est-ce que j'entends là? ma petite chienne sera tombée. Bibi! Bibi! venez-ici, Bibi . . . Mais je ne trouve pas le cordon de ma sonnette." Weisse avoids translating the sentence about the "dog."

Coming now to Weisse's translation *per se*, it is

[1] The reader is referred to an article by the present writer on Thomas Shadwell, which is to appear in the December *Publications of the Modern Language Association.*

[2] It was published in that form in 1731. Previous to the appearance of this quarto, however, Theophilus Cibber took it in hand, cut out the rôle of the parson, reduced the opera to one act and added one song written by his father and another by Lord Rochester. See *The Companion to the Playhouse*, London, 1764. Also *Biog. Dram.*, vol. II, page 161.

noticed that in the *dramatis personæ*, and again in the dialogue itself, Weisse has misinterpreted the cobbler's name, Zekel Jobsen, and has it read "Jobs Zekell." Many of the English puns, and much of the word-play Weisse has not, of course, been able to reproduce in the German text, but occasionally he has made up for this by introducing a German pun, which is as good (or bad!) as the English original. We find an instance of this in the passage where the cook asks his new mistress (the disguised cobbler's wife) what she will have for breakfast, remarking: "Es ist auch noch ein Stück gebratener *Kapaun* übrig." "Nein, nein," says the ignorant peasant in her innocence, "*Karthauen* esse ich nicht!" Another device which Weisse uses to enliven the humor of his translation is plenty of "stage business." A case in point is found in the scene from which I have just quoted where the cobbler's wife ends her conversation with the cook by saying, "I will take whatever you please, *Mr.* Cook," and Weisse adds the stage direction, "Kellner (geht ab und wiederholt im Gehen immer die Worte:) *Herr* Kellner, *Herr* Kellner!" Much of Weisse's translation is a very free rendering of the English phraseology, even when there appears to be no necessity for it. We can understand, to be sure, how the translator might prefer to render the particular term "popish cur" by the more general "Schlingel." But it seems as though Weisse has gone a long way out of his path in translating the phrase "I am a true English heart" by "Ich bin ein ehrlicher alter Degenknopf!"

Much of the popularity of *Der Teufel ist Los* was due to the genuine folk songs contained therein, some of them being translations, while others, such as the extremely popular "Ohne Lieb und ohne Wein," are German to the core. It was the combination of folk song and folk life, however, in *Der Teufel ist Los* that made it the favorite of the German people, and at the same time drew upon it the wrath of Gottsched and led thereby to the downfall of his school.[3] Such in brief is the history of *Der Teufel ist Los.*

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[3] See Minor, *Lessing's Jugendfreunde* (Kürschners Deutsche National-Litteratur, vol. 72, pp. xx-xxii). Also Minor, *Christian Felix Weisse und seine Beziehungen zur deutschen Literatur des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Innsbruck, 1880, and Scherer's *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, pp. 409 seq.

A STUDY IN LITERARY GENEALOGY.

To make a statement of plagiarism is a dangerous thing. Tennyson writing to a friend on the subject said: "Parallelisms must always recur. Why not? Are there not human eyes all over the world looking at the same objects and must there not consequently be coincidences of thought and impression and expression." And he quotes a Chinese friend who had found "two lines of his, almost word for word, in an old untranslated Chinese poem." Everyone whose book-lore is at all diversified or varied knows the truth of this assertion. Thus in one day's reading the present writer has noticed the suggestive likeness between Longfellow's simile of the snow bridegroom in *Evangeline*, and his friend Hawthorne's *The Snow Image.* Or more verbally the κλύδων δεινῆς συμφορᾶς of the last lines of the *Oedipus Rex* recalls Hamlet's "sea of troubles," a quotation that Lowell might have included in his abortive attempt to prove Shakespere's Classical knowledge. Though coincidences of this kind may be merely chance, there are certain similarities that are more than that; they are frank imitation, or, if you will—plagiarism.

Everyone has read Voltaire's famous *Zadig* and and everyone remembers the amusing tale, *Le chien et le cheval.* This tale has often been cited as the initial example of that ratiocinative method that Poe first applied to the detective story. But as a matter of fact this story is very old and it has quite a varied history.

Briefly Voltaire says: As Zadig is walking near a small wood he meets the king's head huntsman who asks him whether he has seen the king's horse that has escaped from one of the grooms. "It is," replied Zadig, "the horse that has the best stride; it is just five feet high, has a very small hoof, a tail three and a half feet long, etc." "Which way did he go?" asks the huntsman. "I have not seen him at all," replies Zadig, "and I never heard of him before." They immediately conclude that Zadig has stolen the horse and arrest him. Scarcely has his sentence been passed when the horse is recovered. Much surprise is expressed at Zadig's discernment and he is questioned on it. "While walking in the woods I noticed the prints of a horse at equal distances: there, I said, is a horse that has a perfect pace. The dust on the trees along the trail was brushed off just seven feet

in expanse. Therefore, the horse had a tail exactly three feet and a half long."

The apparent genesis of Voltaire's story occurs in a slightly different form in one Chevalier de Mailly's *Voyage et Aventures des trois Princes de Sarendip*, which appeared in 1719—twenty-eight years before *Zadig*.

The three princes starting out on their journey encounter a camel driver who has lost one of his herd. They have noticed the tracks of such an animal, though not seen him, and when asked by the driver if they know of his whereabouts, the eldest replies, was he not blind? the second, did he not have a tooth out? the third, was he not lame? The camel driver assents with delight to the questions and continues on his way rejoicing. Not finding his camel, however, he returns and accuses them of bantering with him. "To prove that what we say is so," said the eldest, "your camel carried butter on one side and honey on the other." The second, "And a lady rode the camel," etc. In the same manner they are arrested for theft and sentenced. And in the same manner the camel is refound and an explanation is given. "I judged that the camel was blind because I noticed that on one side of the road all the grass was gnawed down, while the other side which was far better was untouched. Therefore, I inferred that he had but one eye else he would not have left the good to eat the poor grass." "I found in the road mouthfuls of half chewed herbage the size of a tooth of just such an animal," etc.

This book of De Mailly's, which contains still more deductions of the same nature is directly transcribed from an otherwise unknown Italian writer, Christoforo Armeno. His *Peregrinaggio di tre giovanni figliovoli del re di Sarendippo*, of which but three copies are extant, was printed at Venice in 1557, with the papal permit dated 1555. It was translated into German in 1583, and into French as early as 1610. Strange to say the work through De Mailly's version was Englished twenty-four years before Voltaire's story, while other renderings in Dutch and Danish existed.

The title page of De Mailly's work reads *Traduit du Persan*, and the original, *dalla Persiana nell' Italiana lingua trapportato*. But no direct counterpart of Christoforo's work has been found. All of the stories, however, can be traced to various oriental sources and it is likely that his book was merely a collection of diverse tales. This particular episode of the lost camel is the oldest in the volume. It is found in nearly all the eastern languages—Arabian, Persian, Turkish, Indian, Hebrew,—with slight variations.

The earliest apparent source is the tract Synhedrin of the Babylonian Talmud (c. 200). This is the Hebrew version :

Two Jewish prisoners as they are led along say to one another : "The camel that is ahead of us is blind, besides he carries two leather bottles, one containing wine, the other oil, of his two conductors, one is a Jew, the other a pagan." "How do you know that?" questions their master. "He is blind because he grazes on one side of the way only. Parallel to his tracks are little bubbles on the surface of the earth—oil, and another liquid that has sunk into the ground—wine. A little later they declare that their lord is son of a *danseuse*, that the meat has the tang of a dog and the wine of death. On investigation, it is discovered that the lamb which they had eaten was nourished by a bitch, that the grapevine had grown on a tomb.

This story with unimportant changes, such as salt and honey for wine and oil, that the camel is lame instead of blind is found in no less than eleven Oriental tales. It is thought by some to be of Sanskrit derivation and is given an allegorical meaning by Hebrew scholars.

Probably from these occidental sources the tale came into Europe. Donatus, in his fictitious life of Vergil (c. 400 ?), relates that Vergil asserted that a horse newly presented to the king was reared by an ass and that his majesty was the son of a baker. Interesting to note a reasoning of much the same kind occurs in the story of Hamlet in the third book of the *Historia Danica* of Saxo Grammaticus (d. 1204), where Amleth deduces that the wheat from which the bread is made grew on a battlefield, that the lard is tainted with death, that the queen is a wench. An almost exact counterpart of this is found in Christoforo's book and it has a great similarity to the Talmud quoted above. The story recurs also in an Italian novel of Giovanni Sercambi. It is a curious fact that

Voltaire's changing of the dromedary to a horse also had a precedent. In the *Maase Buch* (1600) a collection of Judea-German stories, three brothers meet a Jew who has lost his horse. "Was he not white?" asked one. "And blind too?" the other. "Besides he bore two casks, one of oil the other of vinegar?"

Doubtless M. de Voltaire would have been as much surprised to find such an imposing ancestry for his tale as the writer was, but at all events it is quite apparent that he got his idea from De Mailly's translation of Christoforo, or possibly from some of the rarer ones before him.

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SHAKESPEARE, *Oth.* 3. 4. 74.

On the lines,

> And it was dyed in mummy, which the skilful
> Conserved of maidens' hearts,

Steevens has (Shakespeare Variorum of 1813): 'The balsamick liquor running from *mummies*, was formerly celebrated for its anti-epileptick virtues. We are now wise enough to know, that the qualities ascribed to it are all imaginary; and yet this fanciful medicine still holds a place in the principal shops where drugs are sold. So, in *The Bird in a Cage* [1. 1; Dyce's ed. 2. 382], by Shirley, 1633:

> "—Make *mummy* of my flesh, and sell me to the apothecaries."

Again, in *The Honest Lawyer*, 1616:

> "That I might tear their flesh in mammocks, raise
> My losses, from their carcases turn'd *mummy*."

'Mummy, however, is still much coveted by painters, as a transparent brown colour that throws a warmth into their shadows. . . .

'So, in the *Microcosmos* of John Davies of Hereford, 4to. 1605:

> " —*Mummy* made of the mere *hart* of love." '

The 'witches' mummy' of *Macb.* 4. 1. 23 has no note in this edition.

Subsequent commentators on the Shakespearean passages are rather meagre in quotation, if we may judge by the Furness Variorum. The following collocation of passages may therefore be welcome to students:

Hakluyt, *Principal Navigations*, Glasgow, 1904, 5. 336 (*The Pilgrimage to Mecca, ca.* 1580): 'Out of one of these [Pyramids near Cairo] are dayly digged the bodies of auncient men, not rotten but all whole, the cause whereof is the qualitie of the Egyptian soil, which will not consume the flesh of men, but rather dry and harden the same, and so always conserveth it.'

Ib. 6. 26 (Wm. Barret, in a list of goods for trading, writing from Aleppo, 1584): 'Momia from the great Cayro.'

Du Bartas, *Divine Weekes* (1579, 1605–6), 2. 1. 1. 254 (Grosart 1. 101), emphasizing the medicinal qualities of the Tree of Life, compares it with nectar, ambrosia, the fruits of the Hesperides, moly, nepenthe, and elixir, but also with mummy:

> Or Mummie? or Elixir (that excels)? . . .

Bacon, *Nat. History* 980 (*Works*, ed. Spedding, Ellis, and Heath, 2. 665): 'Mummy hath great force in stanching blood; which, as it may be ascribed to the mixture of balms that are glutinous, so it may also partake of a secret propriety in that the blood draweth man's flesh.'

Webster, *White Devil* (1612) 1. 1:

> Your followers
> Haue swallowed you like mummia, and, being sick
> With such unnatural and horrid physic,
> Vomit you up i' the kennel. . . .

Thomas Randolph, *The Muses' Looking Glass* (written before March, 1634–5) 3. 1 (Randolph, *Poems*, 1652, p. 39 of *Muses' Looking Glass*; Dodsley, *Old Plays*, ed. of 1780, 9. 214; ed. of 1825, 9. 182):

> 'But I'll have one [tomb]
> In which I'll lie embalmed with myrrh and cassia,
> And richer unguents than the Egyptian kings;
> And all that this my precious tomb may furnish
> The land with mummy [old spelling, Mummie]. . .'

Sir Thomas Browne, *Hydriotaphia* (1658), ed. Evans, London, 1893, p. 81 (= *Works*, ed. Wilkin, 3. 494): 'The Ægyptian Mummies, which *Cambyces* or time hath spared, avarice now consumeth. Mummie is become Merchandise, Mizraim cures wounds, and Pharaoh is sold for balsoms.'

Monconys, *Journal des Voyages*, 1e Partie, Lyons, 1665, p. 198 : 'Le 9. [Mars, 1647] l'on m'apporta force Momies, i'en achetay la plus entiere trois piastres. . . . Le 10. apres la Messe ou m'apporta ma Momie. . . . Une teste de Momie bandee [me coustait] trois medains.'

Ephraim Chambers, *Cyclopædia*, 2d edition, 1738, s. v. *Mummy* : 'Mummy is said to have been first brought into use in medicine by the malice of a Jewish physician, who wrote that flesh thus embalmed was good for the cure of divers diseases, and particularly bruises, to prevent the blood's gathering and coagulating. It is, however, believed that no use whatever can be derived from it in medicine, and that all which is sold in the shops, whether brought from Venice or Lyons, or even directly from the Levant, by Alexandria, is factitious, the work of certain Jews, who counterfeit it by drying carcasses in ovens, after having prepared them with powder of myrrh, caballin aloes, Jewish pitch, and other coarse or unwholesome drugs.' [1]

Samuel Johnson, *Dictionary*, 1st ed., 1755 : 'We have two different substances preserved for medicinal use under the name of *mummy* : one is the dried flesh of human bodies embalmed with myrrh and spice ; the other is the liquor running from such *mummies* when newly prepared, or when affected by great heat, or by damps : this is sometimes of a liquid, sometimes of a solid form, as it is preserved in vials well stopped, or suffered to dry and harden in the air : the first kind is brought to us in large pieces, of a lax and friable texture, light and spungy, of a blackish brown colour, and often black and clammy on the surface ; it is of a strong but not agreeable smell : the second sort, in its liquid state, is a thick, opake, and viscous fluid, of a blackish [*sic*] and a strong, but not disagreeable smell : in its indurated state it is a dry, solid substance, of a fine shining black colour and close texture, easily broken, and of a good smell : this sort is extremely dear, and the first sort so cheap, that as all kinds of *mummy* are brought from Egypt, we are not to imagine it to be the ancient Egyptian *mummy*. What our druggists are supplied with is the flesh of executed criminals, or of any other bodies the Jews can get, who fill them with the common bitumen so plentiful in that part of the world, and adding aloes, and some other cheap ingredients, send them to be baked in an oven till the juices are exhaled, and the embalming matter has penetrated so thoroughly that the flesh will keep. *Mummy* has been esteemed resolvent and balsamick ; and besides it, the skull, and even the moss growing on the skulls of human skeletons, have been celebrated for antiepileptick virtues ; the fat also of the human body has been recommended in rheumatism, and every other part or humour have been in repute for the cure of some disease : at present we are wise enough to know, that the virtues ascribed to the parts of the human body are all either imaginary, or such as may be found in other animal substances : the *mummy* and the skull alone of all these horrid medicines retain their places in the shops.'

The foregoing is attributed to Hill, meaning the *Materia Medica* of Dr. John Hill (1716?–1775). According to the *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, this was published as part of *A General Natural History*, which appeared in three volumes folio, London, 1748–52. The same authority attributes to him a translation from the French, under the title : *A Complete History of Drugs*. Fourth edition, in two parts, London, 1748, 4to. Of this the author was Pierre Pomet (1658–1699), whose book, *Histoire Générale des Drogues*, first appeared in folio, 1694, at Paris. The second edition, revised by his son Joseph, appeared in two volumes quarto in 1735. Of Pomet's work it has been said : 'In spite of its inaccuracies, it was for its time the completest work on Materia Medica.' As the first edition appeared in translation, London, 1712 (2 vols., 4to), it could not have been rendered into English by Hill, though, as we have seen, Hill's name appears in the fourth edition, 1748.

The title of the first English edition is : 'A Complete History of Druggs, written in French by Monsieur Pomet, . . . to which is added what is further observable on the same subject from Messrs. Lemery and Tournefort . . . .' From this I take the following extract (Vol. 2, pp. 221–9), which, it will be seen, is responsible for certain details in later accounts :

'We may see, by this, what Care was taken of

[1] Quoted by Nares. I have not seen this second edition, but the account in the fifth edition, 1743, is much longer, and valuable.

their Dead ; and we ought to undeceive those who are so credulous as to believe, that those are true *Mummies* which are brought us to sell again as a Commodity, being only Bodies pitched over.

'Besides these pretended Mummies, and the former, we meet with another sort ; as those of *Africa*, which are call'd *white Mummies*, and are nothing else but the Bodies of those that are drowned in the Sea, which being cast upon the *African* Coast, are bury'd and dry'd in the Sands, which are very hot ; and tho' they have been lusty Men in their Lives, after they have lain some Time there, they weigh not above thirty Pounds, and are then in a Condition of keeping for ever. There is one in *Paris*, in the Cabinet of Mr. *Boudet*, Nephew to Mr. *Boudet*, the King's Physician. These *Mummies* are little us'd, because they are both dear, and have little or no Virtue in them.

'We may daily see the *Jews* carrying on their Rogueries, as to these *Mummies*, and after them the Christians ; for the *Mummies* that are brought from *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, *Venice*, and *Lyons*, are nothing else but the Bodies of People that dye several Ways, whether bury'd or unbury'd, that are afterwards embowell'd, and have their several Cavities fill'd with the Powder, or rather Sweepings of Myrrh, Caballine Aloes, Bitumen, Pitch, and other Gums, and then wound about with a *Cerecloath* stuft, with the same Compositions ; the Bodies being thus prepar'd, are put into an Oven to consume all their Moisture ; and being likewise well dry'd, they are brought, and sold here for true *Egyptian Mummies* to those who know no better, and don't understand that the *Egyptians* put so great a Value upon their Dead, and what they did in this Kind was to preserve the Memory of their Friends, and not to make a Trade of : To prove what I say, I shall relate what Mr. *Guy de la Fontaine*, the King's Physician, and after him *Ambrose Pary*,[2] have said.

'The Sieur *Guy de la Fontaine* being at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, went to see a *Jew* in that City, who traded in *Mummies*, that he might have ocular Demonstration of what he had heard so much of ; accordingly, when he came to the *Jew's* House, he desired to see his Commodity or Mummies, which he having obtain'd with some Difficulty, the *Jew* at last open'd his Magazine, or Store-House, and show'd him several Bodies pil'd one upon another. Then after a Reflection of a quarter of an Hour, he ask'd him what Druggs he made use ? And what Sort of Bodies were fit for his Service ? The *Jew* answer'd him, That as to the Dead he took such Bodies as he cou'd get, whether they dy'd of a common Disease or of some Contagion ; and as to the Druggs, that they were nothing but a Heap of several old Druggs mix'd together, which he apply'd to the Bodies ; which after he had dry'd in an Oven, he sent into *Europe* ; and that he was amaz'd to see the Christians were Lovers of such Filthiness.

'But this is very different from what the ancient Physicians believ'd, when they prescrib'd *Mummy* ; but as I am not able to stop the Abuses committed by those who sell this Commodity, I shall only advise such as buy, to chuse what is of a fine shining Black, not full of Bones or Dirt, of a good Smell, and which being burnt, does not stink of Pitch ; This is reckon'd proper for Contusions, and to hinder the Blood from Coagulating in the Body ; but its greatest Use is for catching Fish.

'Some Authors will have it, that the Fat mix'd with *Bitumen* that flows from the Tombs, makes the true Mummy ; and others say that it is the preserv'd Flesh, which was made by a Jewish Physician, who wrote, That the said Flesh, thus preserv'd and embalm'd, serv'd for the Cure of several Diseases. They have likewise given the Name of *Mummy* to several natural Bitumens ; as that of *Judea*, and those which flow from several Mountains of *Arabia*, and other hot Countries ; but those Appellations are very improper, they being fat, viscous, stinking Humours that breed in the Entrails of the Earth.'

As early as 1567, the *Ricettario Fiorentino* states that the mummy brought to Italy was not 'the mummy of the Arabians,' this being a mixture of aloes, myrrh, saffron, and other such things. See the quotations in Tommaseo and

[2] Ambroise Paré (1517–1590), sometimes called the father of modern surgery, wrote a treatise entitled, *Discours de la mumie, des venins, de la licorne, et de la peste* (Paris, 1582). He was the first to discourage the use of mummy as a medicine. Quotations from this work may be found in Littre, *Dict.*, s. v. *Momie*. He reports that pieces of mummy were used as bait by fishermen.

Bellini, *Dizionario*. Grimm, *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, shows that the term 'mummy' has been applied to pissasphalt.

These extracts may close with one from a *Fragment on Mummies*, inserted by Wilkins in his edition of Sir Thomas Browne (4. 274–5) as a work of that author, but now believed to have been a fabrication of James Crossley (1800–1883); see *Dict. Nat. Biog.* on Browne and Crossley. As a search through the *Liber Totius Medicine* of 'Alí ibn al 'Abbās, Lugd. 1523, by an official of the British Museum, has failed to discover the 'deliverance' attributed to Haly, this allusion may well be an element in the mystification. The passage follows:

'That mummy is medicinal, the Arabian Doctor Haly delivereth and divers confirm; but of the particular uses thereof, there is much discrepancy of opinion. While Hofmannus prescribes the same to epileptics, Johan de Muralto commends the use thereof to gouty persons; Bacon likewise extols it as a stiptic: and Junkenius considers it of efficacy to resolve coagulated blood. Meanwhile, we hardly applaud Francis the First, of France, who always carried mummies with him as a panacea against all disorders; and were the efficacy thereof more clearly made out, scarce conceive the use thereof allowable in physic, exceeding the barbarities of Cambyses, and turning old heroes into unworthy potions. Shall Egypt lend out her ancients unto chirurgeons and apothecaries, and Cheops and Psammitticus be weighed unto us for drugs? Shall we eat of Chamnes and Amosis in electuaries and pills, and be cured by cannibal mixtures? Surely such diet is dismal vampirism; and exceeds in horror the black banquet of Domitian, not to be paralleled except in those Arabian feasts, wherein Ghoules feed horribly.

'But the common opinion of the virtues of mummy bred great consumption thereof, and princes and great men contended for this strange panacea, wherein Jews dealt largely, manufacturing mummies from dead carcasses, and giving them the names of kings, while specifics were compounded from crosses and gibbet leavings. There wanted not a set of Arabians who counterfeited mummies so accurately, that it needed great skill to distinguish the false from the true. Uneasy stomachs would hardly fancy the doubtful potion, wherein one might so easily swallow a cloud for his Juno, and defraud the fowls of the air while in conceit enjoying the conserves of Canopus.'

Albert S. Cook.

Yale University.

Mon Habit.

Béranger.

I.

Sois-moi fidèle, ô pauvre habit que j'aime!
Ensemble nous devenons vieux.
Depuis dix ans je te brosse moi-même,
Et Socrate n'eût pas fait mieux.
Quand le sort à ta mince étoffe
Livrerait de nouveaux combats,
Imite-moi, résiste en philosophe:
Mon vieil ami, ne nous séparons pas.

II.

Je me souviens, car, j'ai bonne mémoire,
Du premier jour où je te mis.
C'était ma fête, et, pour comble de gloire,
Tu fus chanté par mes amis.
Ton indigence, qui m'honore,
Ne m'a point banni de leurs bras.
Tous ils sont prêts à nous fêter encore:
Mon vieil ami, ne nous séparons pas.

III.

A ton revers j'admire une reprise:
C'est encore un doux souvenir.
Feignant un soir de fuir la tendre Lise,
Je sens sa main me retenir.
On te déchire, et cet outrage
Auprès d'elle enchaîne mes pas.
Lisette a mis deux jours à tant d'ouvrage:
Mon vieil ami, ne nous séparons pas.

IV.

T'ai-je imprégné des flots de musc et d'ambre
Qu'un fat exhale en se mirant?
M'a-t-on jamais vu dans une antichambre
T'exposer au mépris d'un grand?
Pour des rubans la France entière
Fut en proie à de longs débats;
La fleur des champs brille à ta boutonnière:
Mon vieil ami, ne nous séparons pas.

V.

Ne crains plus tant ces jours de courses vaines
Où notre destin fut pareil;
Ces jours mêlés de plaisirs et de peines,
Mêlés de pluie et de soleil.

Je dois bientôt, il me le semble,
Mettre pour jamais habit bas.
Attends un peu ; nous finirons ensemble :
Mon vieil ami, ne nous séparons pas.

Der alte Reiter und sein Mantel.

Carl von Holtei. (Aus dem Melodrama : Leonora, 1827).

I.

Schier dreissig Jahre bist du alt,
hast manchen Sturm erlebt ;
hast mich wie ein Bruder beschützet,
und wenn die Kanonen geblitzet,
wir beiden hab'n niemals gebebt.

II.

Wir lagen manche liebe Nacht,
durchnässt bis auf die Haut ;
du allein hast mich erwärmet,
und was mein Herze gehärmet,
das hab' ich dir, Mantel vertraut.

III.

Geplaudert hast du nimmermehr,
du warst mir still und treu ;
du warst mir getreu in allen Stücken,
darum lass' ich dich auch nicht mehr flicken,
du Alter würdest sonst neu.

IV.

Und mögen sie mich verspotten,
du bleibst mir theuer doch ;
denn wo die Fetzen 'runter hangen,
sind die Kugeln hindurch gegangen,
jede Kugel die macht' ein Loch.

V.

Und wenn die letzte Kugel kommt
in's deutsche Herz hinein :
lieber Mantel, lass dich mit mir begraben,
weiter will ich von dir nichts haben ;
in dich hüllen sie mich ein.

VI.

Da liegen wir zwei Beide
bis zum Appel im Grab !
Der Appel der macht Alles lebendig,
da ist es denn auch ganz nothwendig,
dass ich meinen Mantel hab' !

A recent reading of the above songs called my attention not only to the resemblance of the subject-matter, but to a certain similarity of treatment as well. This does not imply that one writer must necessarily have copied from the other, since there are many subjects which poets are likely to deal with independently. Both songs belong to the first half of the nineteenth century. I find that the French song is printed between two other songs by Béranger, both of which are dated 1816 ; the German song is of 1827 and is taken from the melodrama *Leonora*, by Carl von Holtei. I have been unable to ascertain as yet whether Carl von Holtei was acquainted with Béranger's songs or not. It is known, however, that his melodrama was written after his return from Paris.

Meanwhile I desire to point out a few minor resemblances as well as differences between the two songs. In both songs an inanimate thing is addressed as if it were a living being. There is tenderness and naïveté in both ; and the speaker in each case hopes that his long companionship with his coat may never end. In both songs the old age of the garment is dwelt upon ; both are torn and have been patched.

Among differences, we note that the mantle is that of a German soldier—the coat of the Frenchman that of an ordinary citizen. In the German song there is a closer intimacy and friendship between the man and his mantle—a greater *Innerlichkeit*, more heart. In the French song we are considerably removed from the simple strains of the German warrior—there is a more self-conscious art, more reflection.

In the French song the coat is the thread on which the owner strings the beads of memory—he recalls a celebration of his saint's day when the coat was new ; and a patch in the coat brings to his mind an old love-scene. In the German song the old soldier's heart is in a glow of emotion at the idea of their having had all kinds of experiences together, but he does not recall particular events.

Moritz Levi.

University of Michigan.

GERMAN LITERATURE.

Julius Vogel : *Aus Goethes Römischen Tagen.* Kultur- und kunstgeschichtliche Studien zur Lebensgeschichte des Dichters. Leipzig : E. A. Seemann, 1905. 8vo., viii u. 330 S.

Dass das Interesse für Goethes Aufenthalt in Italien in fortwährendem Wachsen begriffen ist, haben die jüngsten Publikationen von Graevenitz

und Smidt neu bewiesen. Vogels Buch reiht sich diesen an, obschon der Verfasser ein anderes Ziel ins Auge gefasst hat. Er versucht nämlich "in grossen Zügen ein Kulturbild der römischen Zustände und des römischen Lebens zu Goethes Zeit zu entwerfen," (S. VII), ohne sich jedoch mit Justis Winckelmann vergleichen zu wollen. Im grossen Ganzen hat V. seine Aufgabe befriedigend gelöst. Er gibt uns eine im guten Sinne des Wortes populäre Darstellung, die diese wichtige Epoche im Leben Goethes und vieler seiner Gesinnungsgenossen dem grossen Publikum näher bringt. Leider verliert sich aber der Verfasser nur zu oft in ermüdende Breite. (Vergleiche z. B. die Auseinandersetzungen über Angelica Kaufmann, S. 120 ff.) Hier und da allerdings vereinigt er in dankenswerter Weise weit zerstreutes Material (vgl. z. B. die Bemerkungen über Tischbein und Bury, etc.) Auch dem Forscher willkommen sind die Abschnitte über den napoleonischen Kunstraub und seinen Einfluss auf das Stadtbild Roms. (S. 148 ff.)

Bei aller Sorgfalt fusst aber V.'s Behandlung in den seltensten Fällen auf neuem Quellenmaterial und unabhängiger Anschauung. So hätte ihm ein eingehendes Studium der von Volkmann benutzten Werke (Richard und Lalande) die fast sklavische Abhängigkeit des Deutschen gezeigt und sein überschwängliches Lob (S. 26 und 35) gemildert. Das Ansehen, dessen sich Volkmanns "Nachrichten" erfreuten (Vogel hätte erwähnen können, dass sogar Kugler in der ersten Auflage seines *Handbuchs der Geschichte der Malerei*, Berlin, 1837, Bd. I, S. XVI, Volkmanns Buch "zu den vorzüglichsten und brauchbarsten Beschreibungen in Italien vorhandener Kunstwerke" zählt) beweist nichts zu Gunsten Volkmanns. Die Zeitgenossen bewunderten in dem Werke ahnungslos den Sammeleifer und die Tüchtigkeit Lalandes und Richards und das Kunsturteil Cochins. Die Bedeutung des Letzterwähnten für die Kunstkritik des 18ten Jahrhunderts scheint V. überhaupt nicht bekannt zu sein. Sonst hätte er nicht d'Argensville, sondern eben Cochin in Verbindung mit Mengs erwähnt. Erst gegen Mitte des 19ten Jahrhunderts wurde in Frankreich der Einfluss Cochins überwunden. Auch anlässlich der Besprechung Hirts möchte ich darauf hinweisen, dass nicht allein Herder und Schiller sich ungünstig über ihn ausgesprochen haben, sondern dass einer der feinsinnigsten Kunstkenner des 19ten Jahrhunderts, C. F. von Rumohr, sich mit der grössten Schärfe gegen ihn gewandt hat (vgl. *Drey Reisen nach Italien*, S. 293 ff.)

Für die Schilderung des geistigen Lebens in Rom hat Vogel, ebenso wenig wie andere Darsteller, die Briefe des gelehrten spanischen Klerikers Andres herangezogen, die doch so viel interessantes und belehrendes enthalten. Im ersten und zweiten Bande seiner "Cartas familiares," Madrid, 1786, liefert er erstens eine genaue Beschreibung der ewigen Stadt zur Zeit Goethes, ferner aber eine detaillierte Besprechung des Künstler- und Gelehrtenlebens. Tischbein, Angelica Kaufmann, David, Batoni, auch Dichter wie Monti ziehen an uns vorüber. Ausserdem behandelt er die Vertreter theologischer, orientalischer und antiker Studien. Ich kenne kein Buch (nicht einmal K. P. Moritz's *Reisen eines Deutschen in Italien*), in dem die vielseitigen geistigen Bestrebungen Roms zu Goethes Zeit lebhafter geschildert werden. Zur Vervollständigung des Bildes wäre wenigstens eine kurze Besprechung der Persönlichkeit und der gesellschaftlichen Bedeutung des Cardinals de Bernis wünschenswert gewesen. Dieser geistreiche und liebenswürdige Kirchenfürst hatte in seiner Jugend in naher Beziehung zu Voltaire gestanden. Nach einer bewegten politischen und diplomatischen Laufbahn kam er im Jahre 1769 als französischer Gesandter nach Rom, wo er bis zu seinem Tode 1794 blieb. Was seiner Persönlichkeit ein besonderes Interesse verleiht, ist die Tatsache, dass er selbst in früheren Jahren als Dichter von "poésies légères," aber auch von religiös-philosophischen Epen, wie *La Religion Vengée*, aufgetreten war. Sein Salon bildete jahrelang einen der glänzendsten Mittelpunkte des gesellschaftlichen Lebens in Rom. Für die Kenntnis der Sitten der päpstlichen Hauptstadt um 1780 ist ausser den von V. angegebenen Quellen noch wichtig: John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*. The third ed., corrected, London, 1783.

Camillo von Klenze.

Brown University.

SPANISH LITERATURE.

Revista de bibliografia catalana. Any tercer: 1903. Barcelona, L'Avenç, 286 p. Preu: 10 pessetes; fòra d'Espanya, 10 francs.

The first volume of this *Revista* came out in three parts (janer-juny, juliol-novembre, desembre 1901); the second in two (janer-juny, juliol-desembre 1902); while the third, issued a few months ago, is published in a single number, as will be also the fourth, which is announced as being "a punt de sortir."

The present volume contains besides the usual *Butlletí bibliografic*, articles on the following subjects: *Un Lançalot català* (1-25); *Ramon Muntaner i sa familia* (26-38); *Auzias March* (39-44); *Manuscrits catalans de Valencia* (45-86); *Pere Labernia* (87-115); *Repertori dels noms propris i geografics citats en la Cronica de Jaume I, fet am referencia a l'edició publicada en la Biblioteca catalana* (116-167) per A. Aguiló; *Codexs catalans de Tarragona* (168-216).

In the first article A. Rubió-Lluch discusses, in connection with the early introduction of Arthurian romances into Catalonia, a hitherto unknown fourteenth-century Catalan *Lancelot*, a fragment of which, recently found in the parish archives of Campos on the island of Majorca, is transcribed by M. Obrador. The text of this manuscript is considered by Rubió-Lluch to be far superior to that discovered some time ago in Milan and now being investigated by B. Sanvisenti. The portion here printed describes the fight between Lancelot and Carados in which the latter is overcome by one of his own swords foretold to be fatal to him.

The second article consists of a few explanatory paragraphs, by E. Aguiló, and a number of royal letters belonging to the middle of the XIVth century, likewise found in Majorca, in regard to a grant of fifty pounds a year to Muntaner and his heirs.

J. Pijoan gives a list of sources of information about Auzias March, and publishes a letter that helps fill the long gap between 1439 and 1457:

"Al amat e feel conseller e Maestre Racional de dita cort en lo Regne de Valencia, mossen Guillem de Vich, cavaller, o an Bernat Stellers, Regent lo dit offici per absencia d'aquell, o altre qualsevol del amat conseller nostre mossen Berenguer Marcader, cavaller, batlle general del dit Regne, compte hoydor, Salut e gratia. Com lo dit batle general de les pecunies de son offici de batlia, haia donats e pagats an Adam Lopiz, falconer, e an Jacme Dezpla, scriva, de la galera grossa de mercaderia patronejada per lo amat nostre en Galceran Mercader, donzell, cinch cents cinquanta sols reyals de Valencia, ço es, al dit Adam Lopiz vint florins o per aquell CCXX sols de la dita moneda per acorriment de viatge que aquell ha fet portant a nos dos falcons e hun ca gruers, los quals lo amat nostre mossen Ausias March, cavaller, en dies passats havia afaytats per obs e servey nostre. . . . Dada en lo Castell nou de la nostra ciutat de Napols a VIII dies de Maig del any de la nativitat de nostre senyor Mil CCCCXXXXIIII. Rex Alfonsus."

The editor, J. Massó-Torrents, adds to his series of articles on Catalan manuscripts a description of twenty-two preserved at Valencia.

J. Ribelles-Comin gives a biography of the lexicographer Labernia, followed by a list of his writings. An illustrated fourth edition of the Catalan dictionary is, we are told, to be published before long by Salvat of Barcelona.

In the last article J. Bofarull, after lamenting the careless management that has permitted the mutilation and loss of certain manuscripts belonging to the library of Tarragona, describes thirteen that remain.

E. H. TUTTLE.

New Haven, Conn.

Victoria y Otros Cuentos por JULIA DE ASENSI, edited with Notes and Vocabulary by EDGAR S. INGRAHAM, Ph. D., Assistant Professor of Romance Languages in Ohio State University. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1905. iv + 166 pages.

Another volume has been added to the helps for the study of Spanish, and while we already have not a few well edited texts, this collection of short stories by Julia de Asensi is particularly welcome. For the beginner (and it is for him that they are intended) these *cuentos*, consisting of one hundred and ten pages of text, have several advantages over most of the works thus far offered to the American student: they are written in a clear, flowing style, and hence easy to read, and they are not too long. Besides,—an important matter

in texts for beginners,—the stories are all very interesting, and hold the reader's attention.

Dr. Ingraham in his Preface says: "At the stage of work for which this collection of stories is intended, the aim of the teacher is usually to give the student a general vocabulary and to make him familiar with forms and elementary syntax. It is believed that these stories are excellently adapted to this end. They are largely narrative, and are written in a clear, simple style which is almost wholly free from involved and difficult constructions."

Indeed, it is hard to imagine a better reading book for a beginner. There is, besides, a full vocabulary, and the editor's work is done with great care. The notes, so far as we have tested them, are excellent, and the little book is singularly free of typographical errors.

HUGO A. RENNERT.

University of Pennsylvania.

Rhetoric in Practice, by A. G. NEWCOMER and SAMUEL S. SEWARD. New York: Henry Holt and Company, pp. xii and 285.

This is a thoroughly useful text-book, practical in purpose, logical in arrangement, simple, clear, direct, and interesting in style. Its purpose is two-fold: First, to supply the student with a text and exercises "that will be helpful in the act of arranging and giving expression to his thought"; and second, to arrange the subject-matter so "that it may be constantly and readily referred to by the teacher. An indirect aim of the exercises, both creative and critical, is to bring the composition work of the student into direct contact with his everyday life. . . . It is safer, if we wish students to express themselves, and not merely reflect the opinion of others, to draw for the most part upon their personal observations and experiences for their material, and to let them write on literary experiences rather because they will than because they must." In arrangement it reverses the usual order of subject-matter, and logically treats first the composition as a whole,—including narration, description, exposition, and argument,—taking up afterwards the separate parts: the paragraph, the sentence, and finally words and mechanical processes.[1] The exercises (pp. 203–285), designed to accompany and illustrate the rhetorical principles, and properly placed at the end of the book, contain subjects for oral and written work, based, not upon the student's reading or knowledge of literature, but upon his own experience and personal observations.

J. M. MCBRYDE, JR.

Sweet Briar Institute, Va.

CORRESPONDENCE.

ANGLO-SAXON CHARMS.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—Since publishing my article on "Charms to Recover Stolen Cattle," *Modern Language Notes*, June, 1906, my attention has been called by Professor J. M. Hart, through Professor Bright, to the fact that Leo, *Rectitudines*, Halle, 1842, pp. 56–57, arranged in poetic form the legal ritual of Thorpe. The division into lines which I suggested (p. 183) agrees closely with Leo's version, with the exception of the following passage:

17 oððon ahvar on gemote . on ceap-stove.
oððe on cyric-vare . þa hvile þe he lefede
Unsac he väs on life . beo on legere
Sva sva he mote . Do sva ic lære.

With such irregular rhythm, however, there might be many different arrangements of the lines, and it is difficult to determine with absolute certainty what was the original version.

It behooves me also to confess that in some way I overlooked altogether the printed versions of Leo and Schmid.[1]

[1] This arrangement had already been carried out by Professor Newcomer, in his *Elements of Rhetoric*, 1898, and in that same year had been suggested by Mr. W. F. Webster in a paper read at the National Educational Association in Washington. In 1900, Mr. Webster issued a text-book, *English in the Secondary Schools*, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., based on this arrangement.

[1] *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, 2nd edition, revised and enlarged, Leipzig, 1858, pp. 408–409, Appendix XI; 1st edition, Jena, 1832, pp. 216–217.

Leo (p. 56) refers to Schmid and Thorpe, and apparently bases his version on their printed texts, and not on the original MSS. Schmid prints his text from MS. C.C.C. 383, and collates with Textus Roffensis. I have noted the following slight variants in Schmid and Leo, as compared with Cockayne :

3 Schmid and Leo, *mid feo and feore*

7 Schmid and Leo, *landes ne strandes*

18 Schmid, *þa hwile þe he lifede* ; Leo, *lefede.*

Leo calls the whole passage "eidesformel," but Schmid (p. lxvii), in view of the detailed declaration of ownership and the conclusion, *beo þu be þinum and læt me be minum*, insists that it should more properly be called a legal declaration of ownership in answer to the claims of another. Schmid (*l. c.*) further notes that MS. C.C.C. 383, which Thorpe places in the tenth century, must belong to a later date, since it includes the laws of Canute (1017–1055).

J. M. McBryde, Jr.

Sweet Briar Institute, Va.

The Reported New Edition of the *Chanson de Willame.*

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs :—The two hundred copies of the beautiful edition of the *Chanson de Willame*, Chiswick Press, London, 1903, are said to be all sold. Certain it is that if any copies are still to be found, they must cost considerably more than two pounds. In view of the rarity of this splendid poem, the announcement that a new edition exists has brought numerous inquiries to the book dealers.[1] A few facts concerning this reported new edition may be of interest to your readers.

An edition of the *Chanson de Willame* appeared in 1904, at Freiburg in Breisgau, with the title thus printed : L'Archanz (La Chançun de Willelme). There is no indication whatever of date, place of printing, printer, or editor. At the end of the volume, which numbers ninety-nine pages, is an alphabetical list of proper names, compiled by "Hugo Wehrle, stud. phil." Barring this appendix, the volume is an exact reprint of the original edition.[2] The book was prepared for the Romance Seminar of the University of Freiburg. It was not intended for the trade, and copies are not to be had under any circumstances whatever.[3]

Raymond Weeks.

University of Missouri.

[1] Vid. for instance : J. Runeberg : *Études sur la Geste Rainouart*, Helsingfors, 1905, p. 8, note 1 ; and H. Suchier : *Vivien*, in the *Zeitschrift f. Romanische Phil.*, xxix, p. 663, note 2. Mr. Runeberg speaks of the volume as coming from the press of C. A. Wagner, Freiburg. Wagner simply printed the book under a private contract, and has no copies to sell.

[2] There are, to be sure, a small number of misprints. No attempt has been made to correct evident errors in the original edition.

[3] If by chance a very few copies of the original edition remain unsold, they are doubtless in the hands of J. & J. Leighton, 40 Brewer St., Golden Square, W., London.

Beowulf, 62.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs :—As silence might be construed as acquiescence, I beg to say a few words about Professor Bryant's extended reply (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxi, 143–5) to my cursory criticism (*ib.*, xx, 11) of his paper on *Beowulf*, 62 (*ib.*, xix, 121 f.).

I still believe what I said in my paper under discussion, viz. : "Whether that unlucky scribal blunder which has caused so much headache to modern scholars occurred before or after *elan cwen*, cannot be learned from [the erasure]. Nor do we know whether the (first) scribe of our *Beowulf* actually committed or merely transmitted it." Supposing,—to instance one of the many possible cases,—the original text of l. 62 was : *hyrde ic þ oðryð*[1] *wæs onelan cwen*, and the MS. copied by the scribes of our present *Beowulf*, being already faulty, contained the following lines (of 27 (26) letters each)[2] : *gar ⁊ halga til hyrde ic þelan cwen || heaðo scilfingas heals ge bedda || þawæs hroð*

[1] Of course, this is not meant as an emendation. Any other suitable name beginning with a vowel might be selected.

[2] Many such lines occur in our unique copy of the *Beowulf*. By the way, a defect in the scribe's original MS. would help to explain the fact that he "became confused."

gare here sped gyfen, the copyist might have skipped a line after *cwen*, and when he got as far as the end of *þawæs*, mended his mistake by substituting *heaðo*, etc. "That unlucky scribal blunder" which spoiled the context completely, need not be related at all to the erasure now definitely established by Professor Bryant. The presumable genesis of the erasure is that the scribe had penned some word or words[3] containing an *s*, noticed that he had blundered, and proceeded to correct his error. That the letters erased spelled the correct name (or part of it) either of Healfdene's daughter or his son-in-law, is not impossible but rather unlikely, for why should they then have been erased?[4] There is of course the remote possibility that the scribe merely fancied he was wrong. The nature of the word or words erased as well as the reading of the scribe's original MS. is entirely a matter of speculation.

It should be added that "a genitive ending in *as*, and a feminine nominative singular ending in *a*" (Bryant, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXI, 145) are not in the least suspicious. For the former (*Heaðoscilfingas*), cf. *yrfeweardas* 2453, *Merewioingas* 2921, *giefstolas*, *Wand.* 44, *unrædsiþas*, *Riddl.* XII, 4 (*Anglia-Beiblatt*, XVII, 300 f.), further, Krapp's note on *Andreas*, 523, and Sievers, § 237, n. 1; for the latter (*healsgebedda*), see Sievers, § 278, n. 4, and especially Kluge, *Beitr.* VIII, 532 f.[5] It is certainly not to be admitted that "after the word *cwen* everything is peculiar."

On the other hand, he would be altogether too optimistic that would shut his eyes to the problematic character of the proper name *Elan* (*Ela*).

As to the function of *hyrde ic*, it is impossible to prove mathematically that the phrase is not to be taken in its strictly literal sense alluding (perhaps) "to the composer's uncertainty of information." But it appears to me in the highest degree probable that its stylistic use has been correctly explained with reference to the *gefrægn* formulas. That *hyrde ic* should be regarded in the same light as *ic gefrægn*, *we gefrunon*, and similar expressions which are ". . . employed to introduce poems or sections of poems, [or] to point out some sort of progress in the narrative . . ." (*Mod. Phil.* III, 243), is not an unreasonable theory. Its use in the three passages in the *Beowulf* is to be interpreted as a special application of the general principle. A close *functional* parallel is furnished by *Beow.* 1023: *mære maðþumsweord manige gesawon | beforan beorn beran* (*l. c.*, 244).

[3] More properly, he had written some letters.

[4] "The word must have been wrong to be erased" (Bryant, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIX, 121).

[5] Also the occasional "common gender" of masculine nouns like *munuc*, *þeow* (*Anglia*, XXVII, 255) may be referred to.

Decidedly similar is the case of *hyrde ic* in *Fat. Ap.* 70, mentioned by Schücking, to which I beg to add, by way of suggestive illustration, the different methods of introducing the apostles enumerated in that poem. (*a*) *swylce* 16, *swylce . . . eac* 50. (*b*) negative phrase: *næs his broðor læt, | siðes sæne* 33; *næron þa twegen tohtan sæne* 75. (*c*) (*gc*)*hyrdon*, *-e*: *hwæt, we eac gehyrdon . . . reccan* 23; *hwæt, we þæt gehyrdon þurh halige bec* 63; *hyrde we* 70. (*d*) *huru wide wearð wurd undyrne* 42. Attention is also invited to *gehyrde ic*, *Mald.* 117 (cf. *Anglia*, XXVIII, 449, and note).

My confidence in the sanity of the view taken has been strengthened by the fact that Schücking in his very careful study of the *Beowulf* has arrived at the same conclusion.[6]

It also gives me pleasure to note that the main object of my former paper has apparently been accomplished, for Hroðulf's name has not been mentioned again in this connection.

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[6] The existence of Schücking's monograph was unknown to me when I sent the article on 'Hroðulf' to *Mod. Lang. Notes*. My paper on the 'Textual Interpretation of Beowulf' was in editorial hands before the close of May, 1904.

"Garmombles."

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

Sirs:—In Shakespeare's *Merry Wives* (IV, v), Sir Hugh says to the Host, "there is three Cozen Iarmans that has cozend all the Hosts." In the quarto of 1602 this reads, "there is three sorts of garmombles."

Knight pointed out (in connection with the pretended visit of a German duke to Windsor) that in 1592 a German duke did travel in England, under the title of Count of Mümpelgart, or Mombeliard; but he does not seem to have associated this with the strange word in the quarto. A later critic (I cannot remember who) suggested with some plausibility, that "garmomble" was a disguise of Mümpelgart. But it does not seem very likely that the joke would have any point ten years after the duke's visit.

But the word is found in English at least as early as 1599. In Nash's *Lenten Stuffe*, a fisherman delivers a herring to the Pope's caterer, "teaching him to gearmumble it, sauce it, and dress it."

Now the questions are: what does "garmomble" mean, and what is its origin? The *Oxf. Dict.* ignores the word.

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